

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

Kissinger Moscow Trip
January 21-23, 1976
Sensitive Exchanges

ORIGINALS

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SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP TO MOSCOW
January 21 - 23, 1976

Wednesday, January 21, 1976

Subjects

HAK/Brezhnev
11:00 am - 1:50 pm

SALT; Angola

Report to the President

HAK/Gromyko Exchange of Toasts
Gromyko luncheon

HAK/Brezhnev
5:00 - 6:30 p.m.

SALT

Thursday, January 22, 1976

HAK/Gromyko Exchange of Toasts
HAK Return Luncheon

HAK/Brezhnev
6:04 - 9:42 p.m.

SALT; Angola; MBFR

Report to the President

Friday, January 23, 1976

HAK/Gromyko
9:34 - 11:45 a.m.

Middle East; Angola; Japan;
China; Limitation of New
Weapons of Mass Destruction;
PNE Negotiations;
MBFR.

Final Communique

HAK Records of Schedule

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/96, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY , NARA, DATE 10/23/07

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Jan. 21,
1976





[Brezhnev entered first, wearing a blue suit, blue shirt, red patterned tie, and four medals: Hero of Soviet Union; Hero of Socialist Labor; the Lenin Peace Prize; and the Joliot-Curie Prize. The speakers stood on one side of the long table on which stood, among other drinks, bottled Pepsi. Black and white portraits of Marx and Lenin were on the wall.]

Brezhnev: [to the press] This is a link-up of Soviet and American journalists, like Soyuz and Apollo.

[To Secretary Kissinger, as he entered] You look much younger.

Kissinger: You look very well.

Brezhnev: Thanks for the compliment.

Kissinger: I'm fat.

Gromyko: No. You lost weight.

[The members of the Secretary's party were introduced. The press took photos.]

Brezhnev: [to Sonnenfeldt] Here's an old acquaintance, a traveling companion.

Nicholas Daniloff (UPI) [In Russian:] When will your visit to us take place?

Brezhnev: That all depends on what Secretary Kissinger says.

Daniloff: Can you evaluate the current status of US/Soviet relations?

Brezhnev: It's hard for me to evaluate. It's up to what nice things Kissinger has to say.

Kissinger: I hope he [Daniloff] is friendlier in Russian than he is in English.

Daniloff: What are the chief subjects of your talks?

Brezhnev: The primary subject is the achievement of a new SALT Agreement. There are also questions of the reduction of forces in Europe



and a general review of the international situation. The world is big, and the subjects are inexhaustible.

Reporter: Will Angola be among the subjects?

Brezhnev: I have no questions about Angola. Angola is not my country.

Kissinger: It will certainly be discussed.

Gromyko: The agenda is always adopted by mutual agreement.

Kissinger: Then I will discuss it.

Brezhnev: You'll discuss it with Sonnenfeldt. That will insure complete agreement. I've never seen him have a disagreement with Sonnenfeldt.

Murrey Marder (Washington Post): The two countries each have a large event coming up on February 24, the New Hampshire primary and the Party Congress. Do you expect -- (interrupted)

Brezhnev: The Congress is a great event for me, for our Party, and for the entire country. It is a great event for me as the one who gives the major report. It's a momentous occasion.

Marder: Will you report about a SALT agreement?

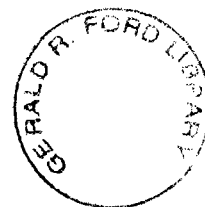
Brezhnev: If such an agreement is reached, I will talk about it. If an agreement is not reached by then, and there is something to report about it, I will do so. Our people are used to being told what is happening.

Reporter: Do you hope to visit Washington for a Summit in the near future?

Brezhnev: I expect to. I can't say when. If I can return to the first part of the question, let me say the basic importance of that visit is that agreement must be reached. And then Comrade Brezhnev can go to Washington and sign the agreement.

Reporter: Do you expect these talks to produce an agreement?

Brezhnev: I can't give a definite reply before the talks, but I certainly appreciate your curiosity. Your question contains your answer.



Gromyko: This is a diplomatic answer.

Brezhnev: I appreciate your interest. Thank you for your respect, and you have to realize that I can't give precise answers to questions before this conference.

[The press were ushered out and the parties sat at the table and the talks began.]

Brezhnev: I'm happy once again to welcome you here in Moscow, Mr. Secretary. A little over a year now has passed since we last met, but in the world many events have taken place of a different sort.

But the major fact is, in our view, that in spite of all the complexities that exist, our two countries have succeeded in consolidating the line of detente and the line of improvement of US-Soviet relations. That line is, I may say, now passing through a test of its durability. And it is proving, in our view, its durability and its wisdom. We appreciate that both President Ford and you as Secretary of State of the United States are upholding that line in the face of unceasing assault on it by various ill-wishers.

I wish here to place emphasis on one very important point of principle. Since today and tomorrow we are due to engage in very serious discussions, I should like to emphasize that we, for our part, remain dedicated to those fundamental agreements and understandings that have been agreed between our two countries and we are ready to continue efforts to bring about their consistent implementation. At the same time, I must say outright, that in recent months not everything is shaping up in US-Soviet relations as we would like. And I would like to stress, through no fault of the Soviet Union, there has appeared a certain hitch in the development of our relations, and that includes the preparations for a new agreement on strategic arms limitation. We regard it as not only wrong but also harmful to allow of any pause or, all the more, of any stagnation in the implementation of the joint line we have both undertaken.

I, Dr. Kissinger, would not be mistaken to say that you know full well that the Soviet Union -- the Soviet Government and the entire Party, and I myself -- are in favor of truly businesslike relations with the United States on a broad range of questions. And I don't know what the reasons are why



objections are raised and proposals are put forth that are overly complicated. We must make an effort to improve relations on a broad front, and we have untapped resources in this respect, and we must move forward along that line. I must speak frankly. I trust you'll agree with me; that our countries have no right to slacken our efforts at ending the threat of war and ending the arms race. And there are other problems, too, requiring our joint efforts.

Dr. Kissinger, this is by no means our first meeting. We have had others. There is a good tradition that has been established in the past, and it is one of a frank exchange of views on whatever questions arise. And I'd like to suggest we discuss today whatever questions we have in the same spirit.

The newsmen a little while ago asked us what questions we would be discussing and I said one of the most important was the negotiation of a new SALT agreement. And I trust you'll agree. So I would like Dr. Kissinger to start out on the question of SALT and set out.

I want to say I have the full text here of President Ford's State of the Union speech, but I have not yet had a chance to make a detailed study.

The floor is yours, Dr. Kissinger. Have a cookie. Just one. I really don't see they are any danger to you. [Laughter]

Gromyko: You see all these plates here are fully MIRV'd. [Laughter]

Kissinger: The General Secretary is personally responsible for at least 15 pounds of my overweight.

Brezhnev: My God! Add that to all my other responsibilities? If that were all, it would be a lot easier.

Another thing I can tell you: I have given up smoking. It took one day to do that.

Kissinger: Where is that cigarette case that had the clock on it?

Brezhnev: I had two. I gave one away. I don't know where it is. My doctor suggested: Why don't you give up smoking? I am surprised how easy it was.



Kissinger: When the General Secretary comes to the United States, I hope he can teach my wife how to do it.

Brezhnev: I don't know whether I can do it. The urge to smoke is just vanishing. I used to do it before going to bed, but now I have the urge a little bit but still don't.

Kissinger: My wife is in the hospital and has to give it up. So she's a little irritable.

A year ago, the doctor sent her to a hypnotist as a way to get her to stop. He sent a nurse along with her. Afterwards, she came back to my office and told me about it. She lit up a cigarette while telling me about it. [Laughter] But the nurse has given up smoking. [Laughter]

Brezhnev: That's like a story by Zoshchenko. I remember it almost literally. He wrote short humorous stories. One dealt with the harm of smoking. A man said: I'll just give it up. It's hard, though, so someone suggested I go to a hypnotist. So I went to a hypnotist. The room was in almost total darkness. I seated myself in a chair and the hypnotist says: Take everything out of your pocket and put it on the table. I took out a pack of homegrown tobacco. He made passes with his hands and he said, don't think about anything. And I said to myself I shouldn't forget about one thing -- to be sure to leave the tobacco when I left. [Laughter]

That is in a collection of stories published here, by Zoshchenko.

I feel when people can joke with each other, they are in a good mood and can do business with each other. A man who can't joke isn't a good man.

Kissinger: Mr. General Secretary, I'd like first to bring you the greetings and warm regards of President Ford, who hopes my mission will succeed and looks forward to your visit to the United States soon, hopefully in the Spring.

Brezhnev: Thank you for the greetings and good wishes. And I say this in great sincerity and great respect for the President.



Kissinger: Mr. General Secretary, I first came to Moscow in April of 1972 at a very critical period in our relations. At that time, there was a sharp increase in tensions in the world. The talks on strategic arms were stalemated. Conflicts in other parts of the world, especially South-east Asia, threatened our relationship. Nevertheless both our countries, conscious of our responsibility, worked with dedication to overcome all obstacles. What we were able to achieve in that atmosphere was a testimony to the special responsibilities we share to bring the nuclear arms race under control and to bring peace to the world at last.

In some respects this present meeting occurs in similar circumstances. For what we accomplish in the next few days, or fail to accomplish, will have a very important impact on the future course of Soviet-American relations and therefore the peace of the world.

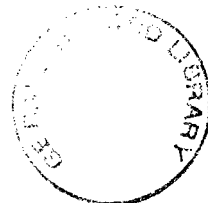
Our countries are the strongest nuclear powers in the world. Others can talk about petty problems, but we bear a special responsibility to lessen the dangers of nuclear war, to lessen tensions that could lead to confrontation and to work together to achieve a world of greater peace.

I have had the privilege of many conversations with the General Secretary and I know he is dedicated to bringing about an improvement in our relationship and he is as conscious as we are of the special responsibility of our two countries. On our side, the President is firmly committed to improving our relations. And despite our election campaign and despite attacks by some of the leading contenders for the Presidency in both parties, he will persevere on this course.

And my presence here in the face of much criticism is testimony to the sincerity of our purpose. Nevertheless it is clear that what we accomplish here is going to be subjected to the most minute scrutiny in America.

I am also aware, Mr. General Secretary, that you will be reporting to the Party next month. Thus we both have reason to regard the outcome of this meeting as a very crucial element in both our countries' foreign policies.

We both have spoken many times of our responsibilities and of the need to make an improvement of our relations irreversible. This remains our objective. But events in the past 12 months have demonstrated this has not been achieved. The majority of Americans still believe that it is



essential for world peace that the two strongest powers continue to improve relations and that they take a further step to limit strategic arms.

[Brezhnev speaks loudly to Gromyko while Dr. Kissinger continues.]

We will continue on this course. But we cannot ignore the fact that this possibility will be greatly influenced by events. Thus the first task of our meeting is to make progress on strategic arms limitation and then to make progress on other matters that divide us.

It has been over a year since the meeting at Vladivostok. New issues have arisen on both sides that were not foreseen at that time. We must not permit these issues to become obstacles to the truly historic gains achieved at Vladivostok. I've given your Ambassador a new proposal [Tab A] which deals with the issues of cruise missiles and the Backfire bomber. We believe these proposals represent a serious effort, and believe it is time that both of us approached these issues in a spirit of compromise, if we are to have any chance of concluding a new agreement.

The day of my departure from Washington, President Ford met with his National Security Council for the third time on this subject. At the end of the meeting, he emphasized to his advisers, and to me, the importance he attaches to bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion, even though it is fair to say not all the advice he received was unanimous. It is an indication of the seriousness in which he approaches my mission and his determination to make every effort that he has approved this proposal and sent me here with instructions to exert every effort to work out a possible agreement that both sides can sign.

I hope to hear your reaction to this new approach.

Angola

But before I conclude, I would like to raise one new issue that has arisen between us.

It is intolerable to us that a country in the Western Hemisphere should launch virtual invasion of Africa. Moreover, the support of the Soviet Union to this Cuban force creates a precedent that the United States must resist. We have made it a cardinal principle of our relations that one great power must exercise



restraint and not strive for unilateral advantage. If that principle is now abandoned, the prospect is for a chain of action and reaction with the potential for disastrous results.

In addition to Angola, we are also prepared to discuss the Middle East.

Brezhnev: You say that in the sense of a threat of some kind of war breaking out.

Kissinger: It is not a threat of war, Mr. General Secretary. But if every country behaves this way, it could grow into a very dangerous situation.

Brezhnev: But I think we should conduct discussions first and foremost on the SALT issue. If we raise all sorts of extraneous matters, we will accomplish nothing.

I am just sleeping in my bed and all of a sudden I hear about events in Portugal, about which I know nothing. Then I hear Costa Gomes wants to visit the Soviet Union. So I receive him. You can read the communique. We promised him trade. So what? We trade with many countries. As for the leader of the Communist Party -- Alvaro Cunhal -- I've never set eyes on him in my life.

Then the Angola situation comes up. Portugal grants it independence. Neto approached Cuba after aggression was committed and Cuba agreed to support them. There is no Soviet military presence in Angola.

It is true that before independence we agreed to sell them some tanks, but that is no secret. If you talk of catastrophic consequences for the Soviet Union, that is the wrong way to talk. I could talk of disastrous consequences for the United States in the Middle East, but that's the wrong way.

There is no way to underestimate the importance we attach to reaching agreement on strategic arms limitation. We reached an important agreement at Vladivostok. Now someone says that was nothing but a piece of paper. We should deal with it in a businesslike way.

I don't know what Andrei Andreyevich [Gromyko] thinks on this. He's the diplomat. But if President Ford were sitting here, I'd say the same thing.



I don't want to discuss the President's State of the Union Address because I have not read it. But we had a chance to discuss it yesterday. He talks about the 1976 military budget being greater than 1975, the need to have superior military power, the need to discuss questions including SALT with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. I could never have admitted the thought that such a lackadaisical attitude could be given to such important agreements.

Kissinger: I agree, Mr. General Secretary, first priority should be to a new agreement on strategic arms.

Brezhnev: I agree.

Kissinger: But it is also a fact that our two countries, because of our power and because of our strategic interests around the world, have a special responsibility to show restraint. Because success by one country in one area can always be compensated by success for the other in other areas. I have never forgotten the conversation I had with the General Secretary, when he told me his father said the monument to peacemakers should be placed on the highest mountain. We should remember that the issues that seem important now may look like nothing a few years from now. Tens of millions were killed in Europe over Alsace-Lorraine, and what difference does it make today? The casualties in a future war would end civilized life as we know it.

I must tell you frankly, the introduction into Angola of a Cuban expeditionary force backed by Soviet arms is a matter that we must take extremely seriously. I agree also that we should be prepared to work on strategic arms. We have worked almost five years on this. If we do not complete it, our successors will have to. We will work with all seriousness to conclude the agreement we achieved at Vladivostok, which we do not consider a scrap of paper.

Brezhnev: That I like. If you have instructions to take a serious attitude on that. It is one thing to joke; it is another thing to take it in a serious way.

We will see how matters stand in actual fact.

You mentioned your first visit in 1972 and the situation and atmosphere at that time. You are quite right, it was complicated then. And we showed at that time that the Soviet Union wants good relations with the United States, that



we don't want war, but we want peace with all nations. There could be no better proof of our dedication to peace at that time. The bombs were falling on Vietnam; Communist parties all over the world were berating the United States. We had to face the dilemma of whether to receive Dr. Kissinger and President Nixon in Moscow or not. We gave proof to that. We knew the war in Vietnam would ultimately end and it would not produce a world war. And the decision we made then is proof of our dedication. In this spirit I will be addressing the 25th Party Congress -- not from positions of strength but from positions of seeking peace.

Are we here to discuss SALT? Or Angola? What do we need a success in Angola? We need nothing in Angola. But the whole world can read in the press that the West, and America, are sending arms and mercenaries in Angola. And you turn everything on its head. I've never been to Portugal; we are not responsible for anything there.

In Spain, there are lots of strikes going on -- and you can hold the Soviet Union responsible. If you have proof to the contrary, lay it out on the table.

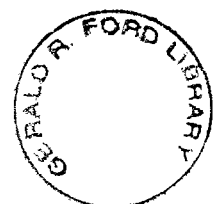
Aleksandrov: Tell him about what you read.

Brezhnev: Recently, I read Kissinger will be going to Spain. An American delegation was there and made preparations for a new agreement on military bases. Here am I making every effort for peace, and Kissinger is going around making agreements on military bases. I won't say this publicly, but this was in my head. If I were discussing strategic arms, I wouldn't go around organizing military bases, but I would go home and report to President Ford and work on a new agreement on strategic arms. So you can visit Moscow only in passing and your primary aim is to visit Madrid, you can do that if you want, but it certainly won't earn you respect in the world.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

Let me now, Dr. Kissinger, say a few words on substance of SALT, our principal goal. We have recently, Dr. Kissinger, already set out to the President our assessment of the state of affairs regarding the new agreement. We did this in all frankness and without beating around the bush.

Kissinger: What is the General Secretary referring to?



Dobrynin: The last letter [Tab B].

Brezhnev: After all, work on preparing a new agreement has not yet been completed and therefore the Vladivostok understanding so far remains unrealized. I believe all this should be of equal concern to both sides since we do not believe the United States is interested in an agreement to any less extent than is the Soviet Union. During the negotiations already after Vladivostok, we for our part have made significant important steps to meet the United States in questions that are of particular importance to the American side, to display a readiness to seek constructive solutions to highly important problems. The United States to date has made no equal responsive steps or even steps comparable with ours.

The American side, as is evident from its latest proposals of January 14, attempts on the one hand to introduce limitations on Soviet arms that are not strategic arms at all, and on the other hand to legalize for yourself new systems that are genuinely strategic. Needless to say, such an approach complicates the process of reaching agreement.

Could we have a little five minute break?

Kissinger: I was going to propose the same.

Brezhnev: So we have achieved our first agreement!

[There was a break from 12:25 to 12:41 p. m., and the meeting resumed.]

Brezhnev: Dr. Kissinger, let me just in passing express my gratification that you have, as you say, instructions -- as I have, too -- to work out a mutually acceptable agreement on strategic arms. And I would like both of us to carry out our instructions in good faith, without worrying about second-rate matters. We can have different views about bombers, about 100 questions, and you could put questions to me and I to you. But let us secure an agreement and the kind of peace we want, and we can crown our efforts.

Kissinger: I agree. And that is the spirit we should conduct our discussions.

Brezhnev: Good.



[Brezhnev and Gromyko confer about the schedule.]

We are threatened with complete starvation. They have taken all our teacups and everything.

Kissinger: I'm sure you have lost many state guests to starvation in the Kremlin!

I met yesterday the Queen of Denmark who was very impressed with her visit to the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev: I didn't meet her.

Kissinger: If you start undermining royalty... She saw some family jewels in the Kremlin. [Laughter]

Gromyko: She was very impressive as a personality.

Brezhnev: There are some very impressive people there.

Kissinger: But when you start impressing European royalty, the sense of insecurity is great. [Laughter]

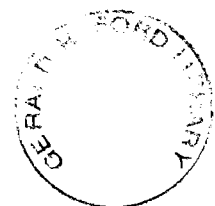
Brezhnev: Women start out by looking at jewels. That is why there are so few women in politics.

Kissinger: The ones that are bloodthirsty.

Brezhnev: So, who dictates the terms of the new agreement? We've got to get down to writing a draft.

Kissinger: We made a proposal to you, to which we have not yet received a reply, in which we really attempted to meet several of your points. So we would appreciate your reflections or any counterproposal you may have. Of course, we could also sign this proposal, and then I could go to Leningrad tomorrow. If it exists.

Gromyko: Maybe Leningrad is just a legend -- spread since the time of Peter the Great.



Kissinger: Since my wife saw it, I'm a little bit more convinced.

Gromyko: Couldn't that have been hypnosis? [Laughter]

Brezhnev: Like the man sitting and thinking about one thing in the world -- not to forget his tobacco. [Laughter]

First of all, I would deem it necessary to remind you that the readiness to count in the number of MIRV'd missiles, in the 1320, all missiles of such types as had been tested with MIRV's was and is contingent on mutually acceptable solutions on the other as yet outstanding questions.

Kissinger: I understand that.

Brezhnev: So I trust there is no misunderstanding on that.

Kissinger: The Foreign Minister has made it clear. I do not exclude there are one or two others in our government who believe you have conceded that. But the Foreign Minister has made it clear in every meeting we have had.

Brezhnev: Now as regards air-to-ground cruise missiles. We feel as hitherto that air-to-ground cruise missiles with a range of over 600 kilometers carried by heavy bombers must be on an equal footing with ballistic missiles of that class and must be counted in the total of 2400 strategic armed vehicles, each one counted as one vehicle.

Kissinger: But this was always your position.

Brezhnev: That solution most effectively meets the goals of limiting strategic arms and accords with the substance of the Vladivostok understanding.

Comrade Kissinger -- I mean Dr. Kissinger. [Laughter]

Kissinger: Maybe at the Party Congress they will do it. [Laughter] I believe if the General Secretary called me Comrade Kissinger, it would not be without influence on subsequent primaries. Jackson and Reagon would be very grateful.



Brezhnev: I'm not all that familiar with all the ramifications of your election campaign. So I'd better be objective.

At the same time, Dr. Kissinger, we are prepared to look for a possible other way of solving the question of equipping heavy bombers with air-to-ground cruise missiles. But on the essential condition that the limitations on such missiles be organically tied in with the basic parameters of the quantitative limits agreed in Vladivostok.

Kissinger: I'm sure the General Secretary will explain that.

Brezhnev: We will be prepared to make this additional step forward to meet the United States, or speaking more directly, this concession to the United States, on condition that a mutually acceptable solution is achieved to the entire complex of issues on cruise missiles.

Specifically, as such a variant of a solution to this question, we are proposing that heavy bombers with cruise missiles with ranges exceeding 600 kilometers be regarded as vehicles equipped with MIRV's and that accordingly they be counted within the agreed figure for those vehicles, that is, 1320.

At the same time, a B-52 heavy bomber should be termed to be equal to one MIRV'd missile, and the B-1 heavy bomber equal to three such missiles.

As regards the US proposal that the cruise missiles with a range over 2500 kilometers on heavy bombers be banned, we agree with it.

That is our view on what we feel to be a very important element of the whole complex of strategic arms limitations.

Kissinger: Could I listen to the rest of...? If the General Secretary has reactions to the rest of our proposal. And then I will give a comprehensive answer.

Brezhnev: All right.

[Kissinger confers briefly with Wade.]

I'll go on, Dr. Kissinger, and go on now to sea-based cruise missiles.



Our position on sea-based cruise missiles of long range remains as before. We propose that all such cruise missiles of over 600 kilometers in range be completely banned. We consider that only such a solution can ensure the effective closing off of a new channel for the strategic arms race. We believe the fact that the United States now agrees to the banning of such missiles on submarines is a good thing. But it is not enough. This ban should apply also to surface ships. This also is a very realistic and concrete proposal.

Now on land-based cruise missiles. We proceed from the assumption that between us it is already agreed that land-based cruise missiles of intercontinental range should be banned. And we understood that agreement to mean that insofar as the United States and Soviet Union are concerned, there should be no question at all of shorter-range cruise missiles.

Kissinger: Could you explain this?

Dobrynin: They would be banned.

Kissinger: All land-based cruise missiles?

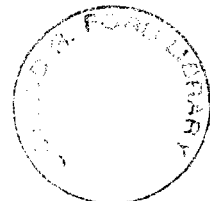
Dobrynin: He will go on.

Kissinger: All right.

Gromyko: All land.

Brezhnev: Since, however, as will be seen from the latest American proposals, the United States admits of such a possibility, by proposing there be permission to build missiles of very long range, that is, up to 2500 kilometers, we regard it as a necessity to introduce complete clarity on this score by banning land-based cruise missiles of a range over 600 kilometers.

Now, on the Soviet TU-22 bomber -- the one that you call Backfire. As we have officially stated on more than one occasion, the Soviet bomber called the Backfire by the American side is not a heavy bomber. This in fact was admitted by the American side. Therefore they have nothing to do with the agreement now being negotiated. American proposals having to do with this, including the very latest ones, limiting this within the total number of 2400, are totally unacceptable.



To put an end to all sorts of speculation on the characteristics of this airplane, I am prepared to give you officially its range. The maximum range is 2200 kilometers. And I wish to inform you we would be prepared to reflect that figure in the materials of the negotiations.

Kissinger: About 1400 miles. If an airplane flies over the United States and drops bombs, we know it's not a Backfire.

Sukhodrev: It's radius of action is 2000 kilometers.

Kissinger: Is the General Secretary finished?

Brezhnev: Maybe I should stop there. I feel there is ample material from what I've said to fulfill the instructions we both have and reach agreement.

Kissinger: May I ask a technical question, Mr. General Secretary? And then I'd like a five minute break.

Brezhnev: Please.

Kissinger: How did you calculate this range? What speed and at what altitude?

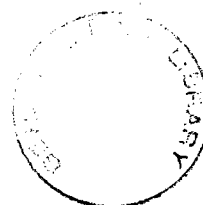
Brezhnev: I'll be absolutely honest. I don't know. But I can ask for an official brief on that.

Kissinger: Because that makes a difference. If you calculate it at supersonic flight at a low altitude, you get one answer. If you calculate it subsonic speed and a high altitude, it is another answer. With a heavy load there is a different answer; with a different load, another answer.

Kozlov: [Standing up at the end of the table] The plane was flying at a high altitude of 18,000 meters, at speeds intermittently both subsonic and supersonic. And the loads were minimal. If it was carrying a maximum load, the range would have gone way down to 1000 kilometers.

Brezhnev: That is absolutely official.

Kissinger: Let me understand. What is the range if it flies subsonically, at a high altitude, with a medium load?



Kozlov: As I just reported to the General Secretary, if the load is increased, and at that height, the radius would only be 1000 kilometers.

Kissinger: The General Secretary said alternating...

Brezhnev: Would you excuse me.

[He goes out.]

Kissinger: The General said 1000 kilometers at a medium height. If it flew at say 15-20,000 meters altitude, all subsonically, what would be the radius?

Kozlov: In that case, given a tailwind, the radius could perhaps go up to 2400 kilometers.

Kissinger: He is very conservative. We think it could do 6,000 kilometers, or more.

Wade: 4,000 kilometers.

Hyland: 4,000-5,000 radius.

[Brezhnev returns]

Brezhnev: What is the time in Washington now?

Kissinger: 5:30 in the morning.

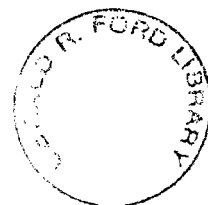
Brezhnev: How do you get yourself accommodated so easily?

Kissinger: I had a good night's sleep. I was here.

Brezhnev: I saw your arrival on television last night. I saw your fur hat.

Kissinger: I got it in Vladivostok. If you say about 2400 kilometers [radius], then the range one way would be 4500 to 5000 kilometers. Is that right?

Kozlov: Yes, you are absolutely right.



Kissinger: 5000 plus.

Kozlov: That is the range.

Brezhnev: Dr. Kissinger, not you yourself, but let's as an experiment, put Sonnenfeldt on that plane, and fill it with gas and fly it to New York. Or both, and call it MIR Vd.

That is a very substantive answer. Because my honest word is behind it. Because if this isn't true, I would stand exposed before the whole world. Because if I say this officially and agree to have it reflected in the document, if it were not true, it would be a serious thing.

Kissinger: Let me take five minutes to discuss this.

Brezhnev: All right. I think, Dr. Kissinger, you and I have a good basis for understanding. We should not try to pull things out of each other.

Kissinger: I tell you. Our generals double the range of your Backfire; your generals cut it in half.

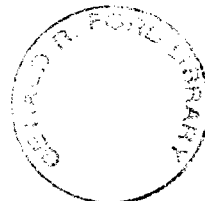
Brezhnev: Your generals should not control your government, any more than ours do ours. If generals were allowed to govern, there would be a world war and they wouldn't be among the living and would have no one to govern.

[The meeting broke from 1:30 to 1:40 and then resumed.]

Brezhnev: Dr. Kissinger, please. Could I just say something? I want to make one suggestion. This is a very important question we are discussing. This is really the very core of our future relationship. So I would like to make this suggestion. This is a matter that I am sure requires a certain thinking and consideration and therefore a certain period of time. So perhaps we should declare a recess. All the more so since Comrade Gromyko has a luncheon party for you which will require some time. After all, it takes time to talk.

And we could perhaps resume our discussions at five o'clock this afternoon.

Kissinger: That's a better idea.



Brezhnev: I'm seeking no advantages for myself.

Kissinger: I was going to make the same proposal.

Brezhnev: [Pointing to the album which the Secretary has taken out in front of him] What are those and I hope reasonable proposals?

Kissinger: [handing over the album of photographs] These are photos we took of the General Secretary at Vladivostok and Helsinki. There are some very good pictures in it.

Brezhnev: [Looks through the album] I weighed less when I was in Helsinki than now. Now I'm 85-88 kilos.

Kissinger: The General Secretary looks very well.

Brezhnev: I try. All young people try and look that way, so I try.

Kissinger: I understand the General Secretary's speech [to the Party Congress] has to be two-to-three hours. That takes great stamina.

Brezhnev: Even more.

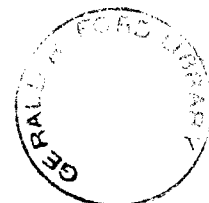
Aleksandrov: Castro once talked 10 hours!

Brezhnev: But ours will get big attention -- the international part. There will be an economic section, and a part on the Party itself. As at the 24th Congress, we are setting out the program for the coming five years. And we have a very big step forward in these last five years -- in the economy, in various social fields, in the spiritual field. Our own political unity of the people and the Party has gained in strength. It is a big Party, so there are quite a few things to say. About 15-15 1/2 million members, quite a big organized force.

Kissinger: We will meet again this afternoon.

Brezhnev: Good.

Kissinger: Can I meet with the General Secretary one minute alone?



[He confers privately with the General Secretary at the end of the table.]

I'd like to say a word about that electronic problem. We have not briefed our people on it. Your measurements were taken at ground level. But on the higher floors, which we will let you measure, it becomes very high. If it becomes public...

Brezhnev: The President answered me on that.

Kissinger: I'm not saying it for negotiating purposes. We appreciated your reply. If you could pay some attention to it.

And in general terms we wanted to tell the General Secretary we genuinely want an agreement. We have a difficult situation.

Brezhnev: We hope we can achieve an agreement and it will help Ford's situation.

Kissinger: Not so much Ford's situation but we have a concrete subject to defeat the opponents [of detente]. I agree you have nothing to gain in Angola. We have nothing to gain in Angola. But 8000 Cubans running around... You wouldn't want Hungarians running around conducting anti-Soviet activities.

[The meeting ended.]



JAN. 21
8 AM

difficulties in other parts of world, esp SEA
precedent rel. Nevertheless
both our countries worked with
dedic to overcome all obstacles

OPENING STATEMENT

Mr. General Secretary, I first came to Moscow in April 1972 at a very critical juncture in our relations. At that time, there was a sharp increase in tensions ^{in the world} between the USSR and the US. The talks on strategic arms were stalemated. What we were able to achieve in that atmosphere was a testimony to the special responsibilities we shared to bring the nuclear arms race under control & *to bring peace to world at large.*

In some respects this present meeting is similar to that period (and this may turn out to be our most important meeting.) For what we accomplish during these next few days, or fail to accomplish, will have a decisive impact on the future course of Soviet and American relations. *a therefore a peace of war*

(We still bear a special responsibility as the ^{one} two *countries* strongest nuclear powers to lessen the danger of nuclear war, *in world. Other can talk about really prob.* and to lessen tensions that could lead to a sharp confrontation, *we have special responsibility* ^{to work together towards world of greater peace.} ~~or to a deterioration in our relationship~~

In the United States, as you know, we will shortly begin the Presidential election campaign. Foreign policy and Soviet-American relations in particular may be an issue ^{one issue still,} in that contest. The President is

I have had privilege of many conversations, & I know he dedicated to working about & he is conscious of special responsibilities for peace in world

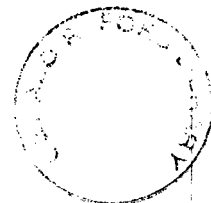
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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/89, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY *lan*, NARA, DATE *10/22/03*



firmly committed to improving our relations, ^{and despite electoral losses} ^{and attacks} ^{on both parties} some of our leading contenders for the Presidency clearly intend to attack Soviet-American relations ^{he will renounce..} ^{including} the SALT agreements. ^{What we accomplish here, therefore,} ^{is going to be subjected to the most minute scrutiny.} ^{to sincerity of our purpose.}

I am also aware that you will be reporting to the Party next month. Thus, we both have reason to regard the outcome of this meeting as a ^{very} crucial element in both our countries' foreign policies.

We have both spoken many times of our unique responsibilities and the need to make ^{an} ^{of} improvement of Soviet-American relations irreversible. ^{This remains our objective} But events over the past 12 months have demonstrated that this has not yet been achieved. The majority of Americans still believe that it is essential for world peace that the two strongest nuclear powers reach an accommodation of interests, and, above all, ^{that they} take a further step in regulating their nuclear armament. ^{possibility} ^{WE will continue on this course} But we cannot ignore the fact that ~~this view of Soviet American relations~~ will be greatly influenced by events. Thus, the first task of our meeting, Mr. General Secretary, is to make progress in strategic arms limitation and then to consider other issues that divide us.



It has been over a year since the meeting at Vladivostok. New issues have arisen on both sides which were not foreseen at that time. ~~These issues~~ ^{We must not permit these issues} ~~now threaten~~ to become an insurmountable obstacle to consolidating the truly historic gains made at Vladivostok.

I have given your Ambassador a new proposal which deals with the major issues of cruise missile limitation and the ~~Soviet~~ Backfire bomber. We believe these proposals ^{represent} ~~are~~ a serious effort [to meet your concerns ~~about the~~ capability of the new Soviet bomber. ⁴ Moreover, we believe it is time that both sides approached these issues in a spirit of compromise, if we are to have any chance of concluding an agreement ~~based on the Vladivostok understanding.~~]

I will not repeat all the details of our position. I hope you have had an opportunity to analyze our proposal and will comment on it. Let me emphasize the following:

-- Under our approach, we have accepted the Soviet proposal that all cruise missiles more than 600 km in range would be banned on submarines.

-- Under our approach, cruise missiles with a range between 600 km and 2500 km could be deployed only



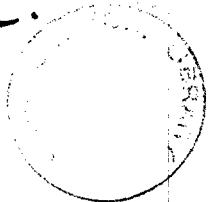
on heavy bombers or on surface ships, and in both cases, each such bomber or each such surface ship would count against the 1320 MIRV ceiling.

-- Thus, there can be no major expansion of individual weapons because any cruise missile would, in effect, be a replacement for a ballistic missile.

We have also taken into account the fact that the Backfire bomber was not raised in Vladivostok and that when you undertook this program, in your view, it would not be affected by SALT. Therefore, we have made a proposal that would not require any counting of Backfire bombers before October 1977, when the agreement would go into effect. After that date each bomber would count in the 2400 ceiling.

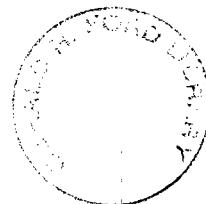
The day of my departure from Washington, President Ford met with his National Security Council advisers for the third time on SALT. At the end of the meeting, he emphasized to me the importance he attached to bringing our negotiations to a successful conclusion. But I must say, in all candor, that the proposal we have put to you goes well beyond the position many of the President's advisers have recommended. It is an indication of the seriousness with which he approaches this task that he approved this proposal as the basis for our discussions.

that all the advice he received was not unanimous.
this advisors & even though it is fair to say
my mission. that
at some, and. to want it
possible. agreement we can both sign.



I hope to hear your reaction, ~~Mr. General Secretary~~, to this new approach, but before I conclude, I would like to address a new issue ^{that} which has arisen between us ~~that can~~ have the most serious consequences. I have discussed Angola in several public statements. If it is not brought under control, there is no doubt that it will threaten our relationship.] It is intolerable to us that a country of the Western Hemisphere should launch a virtual invasion in Africa. Moreover, the support of the Soviet Union to ^{this} ~~the~~ Cuban force, -- ~~however successful it may seem today~~ -- creates a precedent that the US must resist. We have made it a cardinal principle of our relations that one great power should exercise restraint and not strive for unilateral advantage. If that principle is now abandoned, ~~then~~ the prospect is for a chain of action and reaction with potentially disastrous results.

In addition to Angola, we are also prepared to discuss the Middle East.





MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

January 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

Secretary Kissinger has just sent you the following report of his first meeting with General Secretary Brezhnev.

The meeting with Brezhnev has just ended. Brezhnev led off with a fairly conciliatory statement emphasizing his interest in concluding a SALT agreement. I then made an opening statement in a similar spirit but I hit hard on the consequences of Cuban and Soviet intervention in Angola, which drew a sharp, prolonged response from Brezhnev, disclaiming any responsibility for Angola. At one point, he referred to the State of the Union and the increase in our Defense budgets as a sign of the obstacles arising in Soviet-American relations. However, he calmed down somewhat and expressed his appreciation that you and I were still committed to an improvement in relations despite increasingly sharp attacks from critics.

At this point, we returned to SALT and I asked Brezhnev to respond to our latest proposal. He then proceeded to present an item-by-item proposal of his own based upon our position. He began by calling attention to their concession on MIRV verification and he emphasized very strongly that this was organically linked to a solution of all outstanding problems and stressed there should be no misunderstanding about this linkage.

He then addressed the ALCM problem and said they still preferred to count each individual cruise missile on heavy bombers. However, they were prepared to accept our proposal that heavy bombers equipped with ALCMs over 600 km in range would count as a MIRV against the ceiling of 1320. But he introduced a new wrinkle by claiming that each B-52 would count as one, but the B-1 would count as three. Second, he accepted our proposal that all ALCMs over 2500 km in range would be banned. Third, he addressed sea-based cruise missiles and took note of the fact that we now both agree that SLCMs over 600 km in range would be banned

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BY *da*, NARA DATE *10/23/03*



from deployment on submarines. Nevertheless, he said the Soviets still proposed that all sea-based missiles over 600 km in range should be banned altogether. On land-based cruise missiles, Brezhnev took a new position. He claimed that the previous agreement to ban land-based cruise missiles of intercontinental range was meant to ban all cruise missiles of shorter ranges as well. In order to clear up any misunderstanding, he now proposed a ban on all land-based cruise missiles over 600 km in range. Finally, he turned to the question of backfire and began by emphatically denying that the backfire bomber could be considered a strategic weapon. He referred to his previous statement to you on this matter and said that he could now officially give us the official range estimate for this bomber and that this could be made a matter of record in the negotiations. He stated that the radius of the backfire was 2200 km.

At this point, I interrupted to ask some questions about the backfire estimate; namely, what conditions of flight altitude, subsonic or sonic, etc., were assumed in this estimate of 2200. Brezhnev turned the question over to General Kozlov who said this range reflected an altitude of 10,000 meters with a maximum load. I asked what the radius would be for a subsonic mission at a higher altitude, say 15,000 meters, and General Kozlov said it might be 2400 km. Brezhnev then suggested that we recess to reflect upon what he had said and proposed reconvening at 5:00 p.m. this evening Moscow time.

In addition to the foregoing, Gromyko told me privately last night and again before lunch today that a deferral option was completely out of the question. He characterized it as a present to the United States since they believe backfire should not be counted in any case.

In light of Brezhnev's presentations and Gromyko's remarks, my strong recommendation is that we not proceed with a straightforward presentation of Option 3 which would merely challenge Brezhnev on the backfire and without benefit of some preliminary discussion of the concept behind Option 3. What I propose to do is to explore with Brezhnev the modified version of Option 3 which we discussed briefly in the NSC meeting in which backfire and surface ship cruise missiles would be put in a separate category for limitations during a five-year period beginning in 1977 through 1982. This has the advantage that the Soviets would not be able to develop

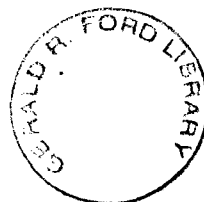
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EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

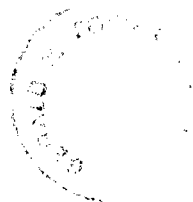
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or deploy sophisticated cruise missiles in this period, while our surface ship cruise missile program would be approaching an optimal level for breakout or for putting pressure on the negotiations. Moreover, this approach would ease the verification problem since the Soviets would not be able to deploy the cruise missile at long range. In addition, since the Soviets claim that the backfire has a 2400 km radius this provides an opening to group both the backfire and cruise missiles of a similar range. I would start out by suggesting a separate limit on backfire during this period at about 250 and in this way, allow Brezhnev to save face and to keep open all our significant cruise missile options. As discussed at the NSC, I would outline a limit on surface ship cruise missiles at about 25 ships with 10-15 launchers, but my main aim this evening will be to persuade Brezhnev this is an equitable compromise without yet committing ourselves to specific numbers. On land-based cruise missiles I will say that we have two choices, either to return to the original agreement banning intercontinental missiles and therefore permitting shorter ranges, or to accept our new position of banning above the range of 2500 km.

I anticipate a lengthy evening session but it is also likely that Brezhnev will have to consider what we say and take it to the Politburo probably tomorrow, which means we may have a decisive session on Thursday afternoon. I will report this evening my impressions of what the prospects for an agreement are. As of now, I am impressed with Brezhnev's determination to get into the substance of SALT, signified by the presence of some of his SALT experts and his willingness to respond in detail to our proposal. Nevertheless, it is clear that on backfire, at least, he has a tough political problem, and his claim that it is not strategic is being backed up by official military estimates. Thus, this evening's session is almost certain to be very tough going.

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY





PRESS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



January 21, 1976

NO. 20

TOAST BY
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
AT A LUNCHEON HOSTED IN HIS HONOR
BY SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO
MOSCOW
January 21, 1976

[As prepared for delivery]

Secretary Kissinger:

Mr. Foreign Minister, ladies and gentlemen: I have not counted it precisely, but there must now have been more than 15 occasions, during less than 4 years, when we have visited each other in our respective countries or met in third countries to discuss the serious issues of our times. As in the past, my associates and I appreciate your hospitality and the thoughtful arrangements you have made for our stay here.

Our meetings, though not without their relaxing moments, have always concentrated on the hard tasks we face together. The discussions I am having on this occasion with your General Secretary, you and your colleagues are no exception.

Since the beginning of our new relationship, our two countries have recognized the enormous and fateful special responsibility resting upon us, as the most powerful nations of the world, to manage our affairs so that a secure peace can be built. Three years ago, at the Summit Meeting of 1972, we concluded significant first agreements to limit defensive and offensive strategic weapons; we enunciated principles to govern our relations so that not only we ourselves would benefit from them but that security and peace everywhere would be strengthened; we signed several bilateral cooperative agreements. Since then, President Ford has carried our relationship forward, building on those first accomplishments; our frequent contacts at the highest levels are a part of that process.

Today, we are faced with the challenge of giving fresh momentum to our dialogue, on issues that are much more complex. For we have learned already that the evolution we have mapped out is not automatic; it requires persevering effort, imagination and courage, and above all, that scrupulous respect for the interests of all concerned to which we have so often referred in our joint documents and in our meetings.

Our discussions here on this occasion are focused once again on the limitation of strategic arms. We must give substance and binding force to the accords agreed upon by the President and the General Secretary in Vladivostok 14 months ago. On the success of this effort depends the fulfillment of the commitment we have both made before the whole world that we will achieve not only the limitation but the actual reduction of the levels of strategic offensive arms. Each of us, Mr. Foreign Minister, must, if we fail, answer to his own people, to the world at large and to history.

For further information contact:



the question: did this or that specific, possibly quite technical issue, justify the failure or prolonged delay of the total effort? Did we do everything in our power to spare mankind the burdens and risks of a nuclear arms race? I can assure you that this question has been asked many times in the deliberations of my Government, and in answering it to ourselves, honestly and with the full responsibility inherent in our positions, we have strengthened our resolve to seek an equitable and mutually acceptable outcome. We believe we have a right to ask a similar approach from you. Our task is a common one, just as success in its accomplishment will be to our common advantage and failure will leave us both losers.

Strategic arms limitation is perhaps the most concrete task we face together, but it is far from the only one. In recent weeks we have found ourselves with differing or opposing views on important issues bearing on international peace and security. We believe that the restraint, and respect for each other's interests, and the understandings concerning the avoidance of crisis situations and the acquisition of unilateral advantage, remain at the core of the search for a stable world order. These principles are part of our special responsibility. They must be applied to specific situations, wherever they arise, for they must be the norm of international conduct if peace is to be secure and lasting. We know from history that great powers will not long accept a diminution of their security or inroads into their interests, and that sooner or later they will seek -- and find -- compensation in some other place or manner. But it is precisely this chain of action and reaction that has led to catastrophe in the past and which must be broken if the disasters of history are not to be repeated. We have said to each other and the world that we understand these stark realities. So, we must act in accordance with them.

If we do so, the vistas before us and mankind are filled with the most promising prospects. The choice, Mr. Minister, is ours. We have the capacity to translate our words and our expressed sentiments into deeds and living, long-term policies. That is the historic challenge before us and that is how we see these meetings this week.

So it is in this spirit -- of accomplishment but of greater tasks yet to be accomplished, of determination to fulfill the obligations placed before us by history to contribute to a just and secure peace -- that I ask you to join me in raising your glasses. To your health, Mr. Minister and that of your colleagues; the wisdom and statesmanship that we owe it to ourselves and future generations to display.

* * * * *

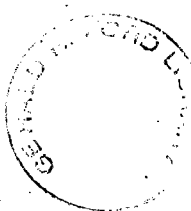
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GROMYKO TOAST
2-8

MOSCOW 0908

I should like first to greet the Secretary of State and all our other American guests present at this table.

I would like to make just two or three points. Today there was a meeting between the General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, with my participation, and with the Secretary of State of the United States. During today's meeting the thought was voiced in a very clearcut way on the need to continue by both sides the line that has been formulated in recent years, the line that has found expression in Soviet-American accords, and this in itself is of immense significance. This is indeed the main theme--to remain true to the fundamental line that has taken precedence in recent years in relations between our two countries and to this I trust you will all agree, since it is looked upon with favor by the people of our two countries and indeed by the people of the whole world and we trust that line will continue in future as well.

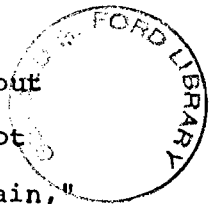
There are of course certain forces who do not share these assessments of the state of Soviet-American relations but, objectively speaking, I believe that this fact merely serves to emphasize the correctness of the assessments that have been given and are being given for the positive changes that have taken place in Soviet-American relations, and I do believe there is no need to be any more specific as to whom we are addressing.



MOSCOW 0908

Secondly, there are quite a few problems that are the object of discussions and exchanges of views on these problems which are of interest to our countries and indeed to the entire world. There are several such problems but it would at the same time be correct to say that major attention has been and will be devoted ~~to~~ this meeting to the question of the elaboration of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic arms by the United States and the Soviet Union. This is indeed a matter of great importance and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev once again strongly emphasized the importance of this problem.

The Secretary of State of the United States also spoke of this. President Ford, too, has spoken of this on more than one occasion. The Soviet Union is firmly in favor of the full implementation of the understanding achieved at Vladivostok and is in favor of the successful completion of our discussions and the elaboration on the basis of that agreement of a new accord between our two nations. It is a risky business indeed in politics to indulge in prognostication. One can of course hit the mark but one can also make errors. So I would therefore not like to use words such as "certainty", "I am certain," or "I am convinced" of this or that. I would merely like to say that the Soviet leadership and General Secretary Brezhnev personally express the hope that these discussions will signify a step and, better still, a serious step forward towards the completion of work on the new accord which I have been referring to. It is our very strong desire to see this accord

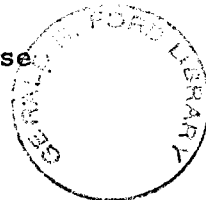


Thirdly, a great deal has been said and written--and much more has been written, I suppose--about various Soviet-American agreements signed in recent years. The Soviet Union and, insofar as we know, the United States too, believe that all that has been achieved to date has been correct. I would like to take this opportunity to reemphasize that our state and the Soviet leadership will do all in its power to insure that all these accords are implemented in full and in all their parts. We know at times that one agreement or another has become the target of criticism or critical remarks leveled at them by certain circles frequently for considerations which have no relation to the actual content of those agreements. The Soviet Union, as a party to those agreements, believes that the leadership of both the United States and the Soviet Union should, so to say, remain strongwilled and display their will and their resolve to give no one any chance of shaking or even more of toppling those accords, and should do all they can to insure their complete implementation henceforth as well as now.

And that is the way in which the Soviet Union intends to act. It is up to the United States to say what their intention is in that regard. We will of course welcome it if they act likewise.

To the successful outcome of the negotiations that have been started here in Moscow today;

To the expectation of the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in various spheres;



MOSCOW 0908

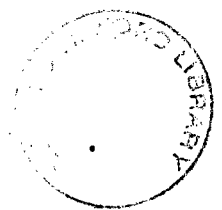
To cooperation between our peoples in the interests of
strengthening the peace and national detente;

To your health, Mr. Secretary of State, and to the health
of all other American guests present at this table, and
good health to all those present, both Americans and
Soviets;

I ask you to join me.

END TEXT

M for
STOESSEL



HAK/Brezhnev
P.M.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: USSR

Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU
Andrei A. Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU;
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Georgiy M. Korniyenko, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Ambassador to the U.S.
Andrei M. Aleksandrov-Agentov, Assistant to the General Secretary
Vasilii G. Makarov, Chef de Cabinet to the Foreign Minister
V.G. Komplektov, Acting Chief of USA Dept, MFA
Viktor M. Sukhodrev, Counselor, Second European Dept, MFA (Interpreter)
Maj. Gen. Mikhail Kozlov, Deputy Chief of General Staff
Nikolai N. Detinov, CPSU Secretariat

US

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Amb. Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Ambassador to the USSR
Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department
Winston Lord, Director, Policy Planning Staff
William G. Hyland, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
James P. Wade, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Plans and NSC Affairs;
Director of DOD SALT Task Force
Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NBC MEMO, 11/24/96, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY Jan, NARA, DATE 10/23/03



DATE AND TIME:

Wednesday, Thursday 21, 1976; 5:02-6:30 p.m.

PLACE:

Brezhnev's Office, The Kremlin
Moscow

SUBJECT:

SALT CLASSIFIED BY Henry A Kissinger
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 B (3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp to Det

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

Brezhnev: I took a rest. I was reading some summaries, including about China, your friend.

Kissinger: They just gave you a helicopter.

Gromyko: Our own!

Brezhnev: They formed a committee for the funeral of Chou En-lai. It had 107 members, including Mao. But he didn't attend anything or speak any word on behalf of Chou. He's probably considering his next poem.

Kissinger: The most dangerous position in the world is to be number two in China.

Brezhnev: I didn't want to discuss China.

Kissinger: If you want a smaller discussion while I'm here, we can do it.

Brezhnev: We would just get into a state of confusion. We had better stay away from it.

Well, Dr. Kissinger, we'll hear from you. These are weighty matters. If the time elapsed since our morning meeting is sufficient, maybe you could reply.

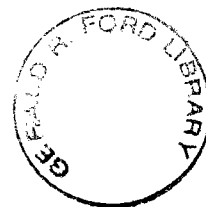
Kissinger: Could I ask one technical question on the Backfire?

Brezhnev: Please.

Kissinger: Because I'm trying to reconcile your estimates with ours. And we are trying to figure out how you arrived at 2200 kilometers. We thought the profile was for low-altitude flight, of which all except 20% would be high-altitude and supersonic and rest low-altitude and subsonic. Either an all low-altitude flight at 0.85 Mach or a high-altitude flight of which 250 nautical miles are supersonic would get you to 2200.

The thing that concerns us is high-altitude flight with subsonic speed -- say about 10 kilometers [in altitude].

That's our question.



Kozlov: What radius would you have expected if it flew at 0.85 and a height of over 10 kilometers?

Kissinger: Over 4,000 kilometers.

Kozlov: Those figures aren't confirmed either by theoretical consideration or by practical testing. The figure of 2200 was taken at optimal altitude and speed. It is a figure that has been officially given to you and there really can be no other. And as you yourself said three hours ago, Mr. Secretary, you can go on to say the maximum range would be 5000 kilometers.

Kissinger: From those figures.

Well, let me go on to the General Secretary's observations.

First of all, I would like to say I have been very impressed by the seriousness of the General Secretary's remarks and the Foreign Minister's remarks on the subject. And I also appreciate that the General Secretary has given us concrete positions which in some respects take into account considerations we had expressed.

Now let me deal first with the cruise missile. And we all understand that just as your agreement on MIRV counting is dependent on agreement on other issues, so is any summary might make now on what we believe we have agreed dependent on an agreement. That goes without saying.

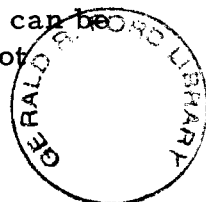
My understanding after listening to the General Secretary is that we agree that air-to-surface cruise missiles of a range greater than 600 kilometers can be deployed only on heavy bombers, that is to say, on those bombers that are counted against the total of 2400. This is what we seem to have agreed upon.

Brezhnev: Yes.

Kissinger: I'm just summing up, to see where we agree and where we disagree.

Brezhnev: I listen.

Kissinger: We also agree that no air-to-surface cruise missiles can be deployed of a range greater than 2500, even on planes that are not heavy bombers. They are banned completely.



Gromyko: Yes.

Kissinger: This morning we agreed that air-to-surface missiles on heavy bombers will be counted as MIRVed missiles -- that is, each bomber counts as one MIRV -- with cruise missiles of a range up to 2500 kilometers.

Gromyko: Between 600 and 2500 kilometers.

Kissinger: Any heavy bomber with cruise missiles of a range between 600 and 2500 will be counted as MIRVed. According to the Soviet proposal, each B-52 is counted as one MIRV and each B-1 is counted as three MIRV, if they are armed with cruise missiles. Now we cannot accept that -- to disturb that harmony. That part we cannot accept. But I will make a proposal with respect to that in a minute. In fact, I'll do it now. I will propose that we agree to deploy no more cruise missiles on a B-1 than we would deploy on a B-52. So they both (each) would be counted as one.

Senator Church will control it for you.

[Gromyko explains it to Brezhnev.]

In other words, we agree that on each B-1 we'll put no more cruise missiles than we would put on the B-52. The same principle.

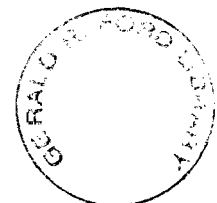
Gromyko: It's clear.

Dobrynin: The speed is different.

Kissinger: The speed has nothing to do with the cruise missile. The cruise missile is subsonic; the B-1 is supersonic. You don't want a bomber to outrun its cruise missile.

Gromyko: It makes no difference. The bomber delivers its missile in this length of time.

Kissinger: If you study it, I think you'll find the B-1 flies supersonically only part of the time. So you'll find that the time it takes to approach the release point is of marginal difference.



Brezhnev: Terrible things we're talking about--"approaching release points."

Kissinger: It should be our highest goal to prevent such an event from ever arising.

Let me now go to sea-based cruise missiles. We agree now that no cruise missiles with a range greater than 600 kilometers should be deployed on submarines.

Gromyko: That agreement was reached quite long since.

Kissinger: This morning.

Gromyko: This was confirmation.

Kissinger: I'm just summing up. We do not agree on cruise missiles on surface ships.

On land-based cruise missiles of 5500 kilometers, of intercontinental range, should be banned. That usually means that they are permitted below that. And we accepted that. We accepted your proposal.

Gromyko: But there was no understanding reached on what would be permitted. It would be wrong to believe that missiles with other parameters would be allowed.

Kissinger: I admit I've not been in office as long as the Foreign Minister and don't know all the subtleties of international diplomacy, but I've usually assumed that what is not prohibited is permitted.

Gromyko: Yes, but on both sides new elements are introduced.

Kissinger: I'm not complaining. You have every right to introduce new elements. But if you ban them of range above 5500 kilometers, you permit them below 5500 kilometers.

Gromyko: That's wrong.

Kissinger: That's wrong? Well, when I'm Foreign Minister for 20 years I'll understand this. But I'm not going to pursue this now. It's a lack of experience on my part.



Gromyko: [Laughs]: For you to judge.

Kissinger: We propose to ban everything of range above 2500 kilometers, to establish symmetry in the counting.

Brezhnev: The ban?

Kissinger: Above 2500.

Wade: It was our last proposal.

Kissinger: By "We," I mean the United States. For symmetry.

Gromyko: That was your proposal of January 14, to which we objected.

Kissinger: That's right. So the only two proposals we've ever studied were your proposal of 5500 which you made in May and our proposal of 2500 which we made on January 14.

But can I assume in the rest of the proposal, except for land-based, that everything not banned is permitted? Or counted.

Gromyko: Yes, but you suggest that in exchange for something on our side.

Kissinger: Just to get the record straight. You proposed 5500; we accepted it. So we accept either 5500 or 2500, whichever you prefer.

[They confer]

Gromyko: Then missiles with ranges between 600 and 2500 kilometers remain outside the scope of the proposal, and second, you link it with proposals unacceptable to us.

Kissinger: That may be true. But the Foreign Minister in Geneva proposed 5500 and we accepted and sent it to Geneva. It was negotiated between Semenov and Johnson. It was never disputed by the Soviet side until this morning.

Brezhnev: Are you suggesting we be allowed land-based cruise missiles with ranges up to 2500?



Kissinger: All I'm saying is, we assume....Mr. General Secretary, I'm simply trying to get the record straight. You proposed 5500; we accepted it. President Ford confirmed it to the General Secretary in Helsinki. We then agreed to shift the implementation of this to Geneva. And they're discussing it in Geneva. We never heard the figure of 600 until this morning.

In fact, they already agreed to it in Article IX in Geneva.

[They confer among themselves.]

Brezhnev: Dr. Kissinger, could I ask, what would be the purpose of having land-based cruise missiles with a range of 2500 kilometers?

Kissinger: What is the purpose of having them with a range of 5500 kilometers?

Dobrynin: They could reach each other. Intercontinental range.

Gromyko: Classic intercontinental range.

Dobrynin: This is why the General Secretary asked what you need them for, at 2500 kilometers.

Kissinger: We've never considered your proposal of 600 kilometers, because the Foreign Minister on behalf of your government made a proposal of under 5500. We accepted it. President Ford agreed at Geneva. Our delegation, on behalf of our government, negotiated it at Geneva.

Gromyko: That's why we are now making this proposal, In fact, the first time we heard of cruise missiles was after we agreed at Vladivostok.

Kissinger: But the Foreign Minister made this proposal after Vladivostok, and our delegations agreed on it after Vladivostok.

[Brezhnev and Korniyenko go off and confer.]

Gromyko: But you raised the whole matter of cruise missiles at Vladivostok.



Kissinger: Let me read what was discussed at Helsinki. [He reads from the discussion of August 2, 1975:] Our President said: "We have agreed to ban land-based cruise missiles of intercontinental range." We accepted. The General Secretary then said: "When you say cruise missiles intercontinental range, do you mean land-based?" Then I said: "You wanted to ban them and the President has agreed."

Then we listed a few other things and we agreed we'd send them to Geneva. And Brezhnev said "Very good."

Gromyko: That was part of the question.

Kissinger: Yes.

Gromyko: And that part did not exhaust the question in its entirety. Haven't both sides raised new points?

Kissinger: You have every right to raise a new point, but I'm only saying it was never considered in our government.

Gromyko: The whole question of the cruise missile was raised after Vladivostok. You can't reproach us.

Kissinger: I'm not. Our delegations at Geneva have agreed on language. But that's not a reproach.

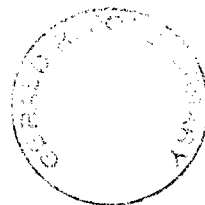
Gromyko: And they'll do that without any difficulty because this is a question they haven't considered. What they agreed about 5500-kilometer-range missiles stands.

Kissinger: If you've agreed on banning them over 5500 kilometers range, what's the point of banning them over 600 kilometers?

Gromyko: What you can ask us rightfully is: Why didn't we raise this in the first place? But we can boomerang that to you, and ask why have you raised new points? We've raised new points too.

Kissinger: I'm just making a summary. This is a point we've not agreed.

As to Backfire. It is clear that we have a disagreement but we appreciate the General Secretary's official presentation on the range of the aircraft.



Brezhnev: And I confirm that is indeed official and a fact.

Kissinger: And we appreciate his willingness to include it in the official record.

[They confer]

Kissinger: Do you want to take a break?

Gromyko: Just for two minutes.

Kissinger: Do you want to translate that [last sentence]? [Sukhodrev translates the sentence about including it in the official record.]

Brezhnev: I confirm that too.

[There was a break from 5:57 to 6:07. Brezhnev and Gromyko go in the back room to confer, and return.]

Brezhnev: Why doesn't Sonnenfeldt say anything?

Kissinger: The truth is, he speaks and I just move my lips.

Brezhnev: I didn't know that. I keep attacking you, and actually the target should be Sonnenfeldt. I'm misaddressing all my comments.

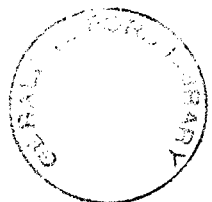
Kissinger: Don't think Sonnenfeldt doesn't feel it. If you look closely at the photos in that album, you'll see Sonnenfeldt is always leaning forward to block me out.

Brezhnev: There are some very great experts in that field.

Kissinger: Should I continue. Maybe we can agree on limiting the range of Sonnenfeldt. [Laughter] Or counting him. [Laughter]

Hyland: Three to one. Just don't MIRV him.

Kissinger: The Soviet Union says the Backfire bomber with a range of around 2400 kilometers should not be considered a strategic bomber, but the US side considers surface ships with cruise missiles of a range of 600 kilometers should be included. We're willing to consider a compromise.



Brezhnev: I said 2200.

Kissinger: The General [Kozlov] said with a tail wind. Let's say 2200.

I will make the following proposal. On the whole business. We could agree on those aspects of the cruise missile that we've agreed to up to now, as part of the Vladivostok agreement, that is, on air-launched cruise missiles and on submarine-launched cruise missiles. Then we could make a separate interim agreement for five years which deals with the Backfire and ship-launched cruise missiles -- and I suppose, now that you've raised the issue, land-based cruise missiles. And we would then propose that the total number of Backfires in that interim agreement, over five years, to 1982, should be limited to 275, and the total number of ships on which we could have cruise missiles of 600 kilometers should be limited to 25. And I haven't figured out what to say about land-based cruise missiles. And as part of this proposal, I would propose that the total number of delivery vehicles be reduced to 2300 after three years.

Brezhnev: That is, to revise the Vladivostok figure?

Kissinger: After three years.

Brezhnev: I don't think that could be an appropriate proposal. Why should we go back on our agreement?

Kissinger: In 1977 it would be 2400.

Dobrynin: Right.

[Sukhodrev explains to Brezhnev.]

Brezhnev: But in any event it does amount to revision of the classical Vladivostok agreement.

On such a basis it would be difficult to agree. We wouldn't agree what had been revised at Vladivostok. I don't see why we should have all these combinations. And then again, the Backfire in one way or another would be included in the agreement, while it's not a strategic bomber.



Kissinger: No, outside the total.

Gromyko: But in the agreement. Makes no difference if it's in a separate agreement or in the same basic agreement.

Brezhnev: Maybe we wouldn't like to get into an impasse on this. Maybe we're a little tired after a full day's work.

Kissinger: Our theory is we would put the weapons in a gray area of similar range into a separate category.

Gromyko: You mean Backfire and surface-ship cruise missiles?

Kissinger: Yes.

Gromyko: In short, you want, in return for Backfire, to include another strategic weapon, while in principle we do not consider the Backfire a strategic weapon?

Kissinger: But we don't consider a sea-launched cruise missile of 600 kilometer range a strategic weapon.

Gromyko: It will operate just as any other rocket of that category. And you realize full well what distance into Soviet territory those weapons could reach.

Brezhnev: So I think we should give some thought to that proposal. I don't want to reject that out of hand.

Kissinger: Maybe that's a good idea. Or make a counterproposal.

Sukhodrev: On 2300.

Stoessel: On the whole complex.

[They confer. Korniyenko hands Brezhnev a paper, probably the communique on the second meeting. Both sides confer. The Soviets discuss the next day's schedule.]

Brezhnev: Shall we perhaps take a recess, and take a rest? Do you have any objection to that?



Kissinger: No. I could get to see the ballet, which I also don't know if it exists.

Gromyko: What will you do there? Compare ballerinas with Backfire?

Kissinger: I'm going to determine the range of the ballerina.

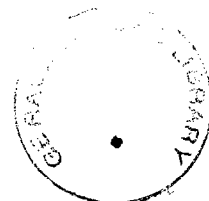
Brezhnev: But that is a methodology we don't use. And we don't even have it. [He draws a diagram]. It's a triangle. If you sit in the box, it's one distance. If you sit in the orchestra, it's another. That is land-based. [Laughter]

Kissinger: I'll make myself a forward-based system, and I want to be counted.

Brezhnev: I think we should meet tomorrow at 12:00.

Kissinger: Good.

[The meeting ended. The Secretary and his party, accompanied by Ambassador Dobrynin, went directly to the Bolshoi Theatre for a performance of "Giselle" in honor of the Secretary.]





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