

Eyes only
WAH/Vance Cook
at State Dept 17 Aug 78

NOTES - 17 AUGUST 1978

WAH TALK WITH CY VANCE

- On CT Ban - Discussion with the Soviets still surrounds the nature of the seismic stations and the number (black boxes). No agreement within the administration - discussion three/five years.
- On MBFR - Soviets have made a serious proposal that will be studied and will begin to be negotiated early next year. We want a reduction of 1700 Soviet tanks whereas they only propose 1000. The greatest difficulty for the agreement is on the number of the forces. *27 / 11 - 12 - 78*
- Under SALT II the Soviets will reduce about 300 missiles, whereas without SALT they could add 900.
- We have an agreement that in their MIRVed missiles there should be a limit of 10 warheads.
- Nothing in SALT adds to our ICBM vulnerability, in fact MIRVs are limited to 820.
- Cy says that there is a paper that is declassified and had been given to Congress this week which deals with the vulnerability of our ICBMs. (at lunch today Les Gelb said that this was highly classified material and would have to be sanitized and there has not yet been an approval from Defense or NSC.) Cy suggested I get the paper from Marshall.
- The Soviet buildup in Europe started when they thought they were way behind us, particularly with our tactical nuclear weapons. They probably kept going because of bureaucratic programs. They went to the big nuclear missiles as they were behind us in other respects and the size gave them certain prestige.
- In Rhodesia Cy is hopeful of being able to get all the groups together as even Smith is disgusted with the way his plan is working.
- Paul W. said in their other talks about the limiting of weapons sales they were beginning to make some progress in purposes, i. e. "solely defensive" and with restraint in regions, etc.
- On the Dresser oil bit deal, it will be investigated by Jackson. All except Schlesinger agree that the same technology can be obtained by the Soviets in Europe and Japan. We need the money for balance of payments.

NOTES (cont'd 17 Aug 78) WAH TALK WITH CY VANCE

-- China - We are moving ahead as reasonably as possible. It is not considered in conflict with SALT. Some progress is being made--for example, thousands of students are coming to the United States to study.

-- SALT - Cy thinks the soonest possible meeting between the President and Brezhnev would be October. He feels it would be a mistake to try to delay it until after the election, but it may well be delayed until then by natural reasons. He is for using all reasonable methods for expeditious negotiations. There is real danger in delay as the Soviets are even now suspicious of our intentions. Brezhnev is getting older and there is always the danger of his health. Cy's policy and the President's is to move ahead and sign as soon as an agreement is reached. My own view is, in which Les Gelb agrees, that natural course of events will drag it beyond election day. Cy makes the point that there are no restraints on our options for action after the protocol. In the meantime, we can go on with testing and developing. We can deploy one type of missile if we want to and no inhibition in developing or testing anything else. We have a reasonable Backfire understanding-- 35 maximum production and other restraints. The Soviets can go ahead with replacing SS-11's single warhead missile. The President wants to sign with Brezhnev. The President does not want to play politics in any way with SALT negotiations. Cy is hopeful that in time we can work out the remaining problems. Paul will be going to Moscow next week if we can get an agreement within the administration on what he can take. They agree it should be arranged for him to see Brezhnev if he goes. Cy expects to see Gromyko about September 20;