May 17, 1972

TO: Ambassador Smith, Helsinki

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

Dobrynin handed me the text of two instructions provided to Soviet delegation by Moscow today. They read as follows:

"1. Additional launchers on submarines - in excess of the 48 modern submarines operational and under construction - will be put in commission in the Soviet Union in lieu of older-type ICBM launchers built before 1964 and in lieu of launchers on older-type submarines.

"2. Therefore, the Soviet side proceeds from the premise that the whole of this problem and primarily the issue of dismantling the U.S. missile submarine bases outside the U.S. territory will find their appropriate solution in the course of subsequent negotiations."

I made no comment but you should be aware that we still do not consider the term "premise" as acceptable if it carries any implication that it is a shared premise.

TO: Ambassador Smith, Helsinki
FROM: Henry A. Kissinger
President now believes you should plan on travel to Moscow so as to arrive there Thursday afternoon, May 25 Moscow time. He wants you to bring Nitze and Allison.

Warm regards.