

Hyland  
+ Sonnenfeld  
approval  
in Ord

**FILE**

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~TOP SECRET~~URGENT INFORMATION

April 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: <sup>100</sup> Phil Odeen/Helmut Sonnenfeldt

SUBJECT: SALT and New SLBM Intelligence

There have been some recent events which should affect any consideration of whether or not to give up trying to get SLBMs included in the interim freeze.

-- Because of some mistaken estimates by the intelligence community, our present SLBM proposal is not as attractive as we imagined and may figure in Soviet resistance to SLBM inclusion.

-- The Soviets have shown some flexibility at Helsinki on SLBMs. As Gerry Smith has pointed out, rather than flatly ruling out the inclusion of SLBMs, the Soviets now say it is "sufficient" to have an ICBM-only freeze. Whether this is just a milder form of rejecting SLBMs or whether it signals a Soviet change in position is still unclear.

Given the above, before we face the issue of dropping SLBMs, we should consider offering the Soviets freedom-to-mix from ICBMs to SLBMs.

The Mistaken Intelligence Estimates

Until the past few weeks, the intelligence community had unanimously informed us that the Soviets had accelerated Y-class submarine construction and that they had started construction of the 42nd Y-class submarine (which would have given them an advantage in modern subs and SLBMs).

These estimates were conveyed to the Soviets through press leaks and comments by Gerry Smith to Semenov.

The intelligence estimates were wrong -- significantly inflated.

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Authority NLN 02-19, #11 - AppealNARA RMH Date 8/13/2015

their 100 launchers in G and H-class boats with an equal number of new launchers in Y-class subs.

In fact, excluding G and H-class replacement, the Soviets probably are now allowed to complete only 41 Y-class subs and about 604 Y-class SLBMs. This is parity in new subs, but slightly less than parity in SLBMs. By allowing replacement we give the Soviets a slight numerical edge in subs and SLBMs. However, this assumes that the Soviets would want to replace the 100 SLBMs on their recently modified G and H-class subs.

However, because of our forward sub bases, the Soviets would need about 60-65 Y-class submarines to have roughly equivalent on-station time with the U.S. (Even this number would require the Soviets to adopt some U.S. operating practices -- e.g., double crews.)

Consequently, there seems to be increased reason for suggesting some form of freedom-to-mix from ICBMs to SLBMs.

-- We might limit it, at least initially, to replacing soft-pad ICBMs (the Soviets have 134) for SLBMs.

-- Alternatively, we might limit it initially to replace silo-launched ICBMs. (The Soviets have 75 SS-7s and SS-8s in silos.) This makes freedom-to-mix less attractive to the Soviets since they get no credit for replacing soft pads.

Freedom-to-mix does have its problems. It essentially allows unequal aggregates for each side. The JCS oppose it on this basis.

However, as we have argued before, getting SLBMs included in the interim freeze is worth the cost of allowing freedom-to-mix.

Attached is a revised chart which gives the latest estimates of the number of Y-class subs and SLBMs allowed under our present proposal and by allowing freedom-to-mix.

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SOVIET SUBMARINE  
DEPLOYMENTS <sup>a/</sup>

|   | <u>Y-Class Subs</u> | <u>Total Soviet<br/>SLBMs</u> |
|---|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>I. Current Proposal</u>  |                     |                               |
| Current Freeze Date -- (Date<br>of signature--assumed late<br>May 1972) | 41-43               | 604-652                       |
| Replacement of G & H Subs<br>(31 with about 100 SLBMs) <sup>b/</sup>    | <u>8</u>            | <u>100</u>                    |
| Subtotal  | 49-51               | 704-752                       |
| <br><u>II. Possible Modifications</u>                                   |                     |                               |
| Replacement of 134 Soft Pad<br>SS-7s and 8s <sup>c/</sup>               | <u>11</u>           | <u>134</u>                    |
| Total   | 60-62               | 838-886                       |

<sup>a/</sup> The U.S. has 41 Polaris/Poseidon boats with 656 SLBMs. The British and French now have 5 boats.

<sup>b/</sup> Note: Most of these boats have recently undergone extensive modification so the Soviets may not wish to replace them.

<sup>c/</sup> The Soviets also have 75 SS-7s and SS-8s in silos.

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**NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE**

|        |          |       |                    |
|--------|----------|-------|--------------------|
| DOC    | RECD     | G NBR | INITIAL ACTION OFF |
| MO DA  | MO DA HR |       |                    |
| 040704 | 0814     | 3119  |                    |

DDC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: ELIOT \_\_\_\_\_ U \_\_\_\_\_ LOG IN/OUT ONLY \_\_\_\_\_  
 KISSINGER  \_\_\_\_\_ ROGERS, W \_\_\_\_\_ LOU \_\_\_\_\_ NO FORN \_\_\_\_\_ NODIS \_\_\_\_\_  
 HAIG \_\_\_\_\_ LAIRD, M \_\_\_\_\_ C \_\_\_\_\_ EYES ONLY \_\_\_\_\_ LIMDIS \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Odum/Somn* \_\_\_\_\_ S \_\_\_\_\_ CODE WORD \_\_\_\_\_ RES DATA \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ TS  \_\_\_\_\_ SENSITIVE \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: *Salt and Atom SLBM Intelligence*

REFERENCE: S S \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ NOT XEROXED \_\_\_\_\_

APPTS: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ HAK \_\_\_\_\_ TALKER \_\_\_\_\_ MEMCON \_\_\_\_\_ DATE REQ. \_\_\_\_\_

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

| INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION |        |      |                  | ACTION REQUIRED                            |         |
|-----------------------------------|--------|------|------------------|--|---------|
|                                   | ACTION | INFO | REC<br>CY<br>FOR |  |         |
| ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG           |        |      |                  | MEMO FOR HAK                               | (_____) |
| STAFF SECRETARY                   |        |      |                  | MEMO FOR PRES.                             | (_____) |
| FAR EAST                          |        |      |                  | REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE                  | (_____) |
| SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA                |        |      |                  | FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH                  | (_____) |
| NREAST/NORTH AFRICA               |        |      |                  | MEMO _____ TO _____                        | (_____) |
| EUROPE/CANADA                     |        |      |                  | RECOMMENDATIONS                            | (_____) |
| LATIN AMERICA                     |        |      |                  | JOINT MEMO                                 | (_____) |
| UNITED NATIONS                    |        |      |                  | REFER TO STATE                             | (_____) |
| ECONOMIC                          |        |      |                  | ANY ACTION NECESSARY                       | (_____) |
| SCIENTIFIC                        |        |      |                  | CONCURRENCE                                | (_____) |
| LR PLANNING                       |        |      |                  | DUE DATE:                                  |         |
| PROGRAM ANALYSIS                  |        |      |                  | COMMENTS: (Including Special Instructions) |         |
| NSC PLANNING                      |        |      |                  |  |         |
| CONGRESSIONAL                     |        |      |                  |  |         |

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

| DATE | FROM        | TO          | S          | ACTION REQUIRED             | CY TO |
|------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 4/8  | <i>Odum</i> | <i>HAIG</i> | <i>CIX</i> | <i>Info</i>                 |       |
| 5/12 | <i>Somn</i> |             |            | <i>Noted by [Signature]</i> |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |
|      |             |             |            |                             |       |

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH \_\_\_\_\_ NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

SEE LOG \_\_\_\_\_ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO \_\_\_\_\_

JOINED BY LOG \_\_\_\_\_ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: \_\_\_\_\_ SA, \_\_\_\_\_ HP, \_\_\_\_\_ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

MICROFILM DATA

DO *[Signature]* INIT \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 23 1972 DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ORIG) \_\_\_\_\_ NSC \_\_\_\_\_

TO ) \_\_\_\_\_ PAF \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ WHC \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ SUBF \_\_\_\_\_