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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1978

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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: SEP 20 2016

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Cyrus Vance *CV*
Paul Warnke *PW*

SUBJECT: Strategy for Completion of SALT at Summit Meeting

We want to give you our sense of what needs to be done between now and a possible meeting between you and Chairman Brezhnev hopefully in June in order to complete a SALT agreement. In our view, each one of the following steps should be carried forward to lay the proper groundwork and to ensure success at the meeting.

Issues to be Resolved in Geneva

- Heavy bomber definition, providing counting rules for heavy bomber variants and cruise missile carriers.
- Verifiable limitations on modernization as part of ban on "new types" of ICBM's.
- Cruise missile range definition.
- Pre-notification of ICBM launches.
- A few remaining minor and technical details.

Issues to be Pre-cooked in Geneva for Vance Trip to Moscow

-- Our alternative provision on non-circumvention to be discussed by Warnke with Semenov as something we are prepared to table if assured this will settle the non-circumvention and non-transfer issues.

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- Timing of reductions to meet lower aggregate number.
- Duration of Protocol where extension for three months to end of 1989 may settle existing differences and help on timing of reduction issue.
- Joint Statement of Principles and Guidelines for SALT III.

Issues to be Resolved by Vance in Moscow

- Non-circumvention alternative.
- Joint Statement of Principles and Soviet concurrence in announcing this agreement at the end of the trip. This could well be the one point of agreement that we would want to announce in Moscow, giving credence to the progress we will assert has been made, and showing that the negotiations are on track for the solution of additional problems in SALT III.
- Timing of reductions and duration of Protocol issues.
- If possible, getting the Soviets to fall off their request for exception for one "new type" single RV ICBM.

Issues to be Pre-cooked by Vance in Moscow for the Summit

- If the "new type" issue cannot be resolved in Moscow, the discussion would be carried to the point of establishing possible lines of resolution.
- Backfire. The importance of this issue to us on the merits and for purposes of ratification would be stressed, specifically trying to bring the Soviets closer to our view as to what their letter of assurances on Backfire should contain.
- Press our case further on cruise missile definitions in order to set the stage for whatever action you may take on this at the Summit.
- Seek to prepare final agreement on the over-all aggregate figure at about 2200 and the MIRVed missile launcher limitation at 1200, along the lines of your present guidance, but leaving the final resolution of this issue to the Summit.

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Agenda for your Meetings with Gromyko in May and Brezhnev in June

We would hope that the above process would narrow the remaining issues to the following:

- Backfire
- The aggregate and MIRVed missile launcher numbers
- Cruise missile definition
- Resolution of ban on "new types" of ICBM.

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