

ORIGINAL
MEMO - 1 DEC 76
+ CARTER GILL
STATEMENTS
TO BREZHNEV

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION - WAH AND AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN
AT LUNCH ON DECEMBER 1, 1976 - SOVIET EMBASSY

I gave Dick Holbrooke the following report to make to President-elect Carter on my luncheon talk with Ambassador Dobrynin on Wednesday, December 1, 1976. Holbrooke telephoned me that he had reported it to the President-elect, and it was received by him warmly and he was gratified.

1. I gave Dobrynin the written and oral statements from President-elect Carter to Brezhnev (copies attached). Dobrynin said that these replies from President-elect Carter to Brezhnev would be well received. He did, however, press me for any details that I could give him on the President-elect's attitude on the details of SALT II. I told him that, as I had written, it was impossible to get into any form of negotiations at this stage.

2. In answer to the President-elect's question, Dobrynin told me that it was quite clear that Brezhnev wanted to negotiate and sign a CTB treaty between the US and the USSR solely. But as we did in the case of the limited test-ban treaty, other countries would be asked to adhere to the treaty. This would of course include China.

3. I gave Dobrynin the President-elect's message regarding Dobrynin's talks with Vanik on the subject of reopening the

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trade treaty. Dobrynin said that he had only one talk with Vanik and that was about three months ago. He said that Vanik had asked him to dinner tomorrow night at his house in the country and that he presumably would discuss the matter further. He asked whether Carter authorized him to carry on discussions. I said the President-elect has no authority to authorize any actions with the Congress but that I was instructed to tell him that any such talks had his blessing. The President-elect wanted to get negotiations going and he felt the best way to do it was if it started with the Congress. So he hoped that some progress could be made. I would naturally be interested in any reports of talks Dobrynin had with Vanik.

4. I said I was raising the subject because the Soviet government had always been willing to be helpful in our negotiations with North Vietnam, but I would like to find out whether Brezhnev would be willing to try to help in breaking the impasse that had developed between the U.S. and North Vietnam over the list of Missing in Action. Dobrynin said that he knew that North Vietnam placed much too much value on the lists and that they had been encouraged to do so by the American press' emphasis on it. In answer to his question, I said that it would be impossible for any administration to do

anything for North Vietnam financially at this stage. All they could offer would be to withdraw their objection to the entrance of Vietnam into the United Nations and to start normalization of our relations which presumably would lead to trade. I understood that North Vietnam wanted trade. He said he had no hesitation in raising this subject with Brezhnev, and he felt sure that whether he chose to do anything about it or not he would be pleased that the President-elect felt that he could ask him for such a favor. The possibility of a meeting between the new President and Brezhnev at an appropriate time came up, and I asked whether it wasn't Mr. Brezhnev's turn to come to the United States. He agreed and said he felt sure Brezhnev would respond favorably to an invitation from President Carter to come to the United States.

President-elect Carter has received the communication from General Secretary Brezhnev and is gratified by the sentiments expressed. He personally appreciates receiving the views of the General Secretary. While it is not possible for him to engage in negotiations prior to his inauguration, he wishes to state that he shares Mr. Brezhnev's desires for improved relations between our two countries. He also recognizes the importance of the mutual limitation of nuclear weapons and the ending of the arms race.

Mr. Carter expressed these sentiments often during the recent presidential campaign, and he believes that most Americans agree with his desire to limit nuclear weapons in our two nations and to prevent further spread of nuclear weapons capability among other nations.

He notes with satisfaction that Mr. Brezhnev shares his views on the importance of cooperation between our two countries to protect against proliferation of nuclear arms.

President-elect Carter looks forward also to the establishment of a constructive relationship in the other matters that Mr. Brezhnev mentions. With goodwill on both sides, President-elect Carter believes progress can be made in cooperation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which will enhance world peace.