

# Kissinger's

## Secret Arms 'Deals' Told

Washington

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, without informing Congress, made at least two secret arrangements with Soviet leaders in 1972 on the number of strategic nuclear missiles on each side, administration officials said yesterday.

The secret arrangements concerned the interim agreement, expiring in 1977, that mutually limits offensive nuclear missile launchers. They do not concern the treaty, signed in Moscow at the same time in May, 1972, that restricted defensive missile systems.

Kissinger, according to sources, gave private assurances to Soviet officials that the United States did not intend to build the maximum number of launchers permitted by the interim agreement.

The second arrangement made by Kissinger had the effect of allowing the Russians to build more launchers than Congress had been led to believe was permissible under the interim agreement.

This second arrangement was disclosed to a Senate committee Thursday in closed session, congressional sources said, by Paul H. Nitze who resigned last week as a member of the American team negotiating the arms talks.

But the Congress has yet to be informed of the first arrangement.

Kissinger, asked yesterday about Nitze's testimony before a Senate Armed Services subcommittee, said he had explained this matter to the subcommittee and it is based on "classified information." That view must be based on a misapprehension of the negotiations by some of the witnesses," he said.

Senator Henry M. Jackson (Dem.-Wash.), chairman of the subcommittee, said yesterday, "I don't think it will

upset the balance of power but the numbers represent a substantial alteration of the agreement as represented to the Congress."

Government experts do not consider the additional Soviet advantage in numbers of missiles of military significance. But the fact

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that the Nixon administration did not submit the secret understanding to Congress may be a violation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961.

Under the interim agreement, the ceiling on missile launchers for the U.S. was set at 1710 and for the Soviet Union at 2358.

The Americans were allowed 1054 land-based missile launchers and 656 submarine launchers. If Washington decided to retire 54 of its older land-based missiles, it could build up to 710 submarine launchers.

At this point, according to administration sources, the first secret arrangement was made by Kissinger, then presidential adviser for national security affairs.

At the Moscow summit, before Mr. Nixon and Brezhnev signed the agreement, Kissinger gave a "unilateral assurance" to Soviet leaders that the U.S. would not build up to the allowable 710 submarine missile launchers when it decided to retire the 54 older land-based missile launchers.

The administration officials said they did not know why Kissinger did this, but they speculated that he might have meant it as a gesture of good will.

According to several senators deeply involved in nuclear arms matters, no member of the Nixon administration has ever officially informed Congress of this unilateral assurance. These

senators did not want to be identified.

The agreement allowed 1618 land-based missile launchers and 740 launchers on nuclear-powered submarines. But if Moscow decided to retire 210 of its older land and sea-based launchers, it could have as many as 950 submarine missile launchers on no more than 62 modern missile submarines.

The reason that modern nuclear submarines and missile launchers were specified, officials explained, was that the 22 older diesel "G-class" submarines with 70 missile launchers were not to be counted as part of the total of 950 submarine launchers.

This is where the second secret arrangement made by Kissinger is involved. On June 17 in Washington, according to the sources, Kissinger met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin and "clarified" the understanding on diesel submarines.

The sources said Kissinger told Dobrynin that it was his understanding that the Soviet Union could put 70 modern missile launchers in the old diesel submarines, thus going over the 950 total without violating the agreement.

In other words, the sources said, Kissinger was "giving" the Russians an extra 70 missile launchers. Dobrynin accepted. The administration sources said they did not care to speculate on why Kissinger did this.

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