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12/9/74

## TX2 THEIS--FORD SUMMIT (ANALYSIS)

BY WILLIAM THEIS

CHIEF (NAME OF PAPER) WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON, NOV. 25--SOME WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS CALL IT TRIUMPH AT VLADIVOSTOCK. BUT CONGRESS AND FUTURE SALT II NEGOTIATIONS WILL PROVIDE THE LONG-TERM TEST OF PRESIDENT FORD'S SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING A SOVIET-AMERICAN AGREEMENT ON GUIDELINES FOR A 10-YEAR LIMITATION ON OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS.

NEVERTHELESS, FORD'S FIRST SUMMIT CONFERENCE WITH SOVIET CHIEF LEONID BREZHNEV CAME OFF AS A DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL IMPORTANCE.

NEWSMEN WHO COVERED FORD'S EIGHT DAY ASIAN TRIP TO JAPAN, KOREA AND FINALLY THE SOVIET UNION WERE NOT "DAZZLED" OR "AMAZED" BY SUNDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT, AS SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN RON NESSEN. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER HAD PRETTY WELL FORECAST THE OUTCOME IN GENERAL TERMS THE DAY BEFORE.

YET OBSERVERS HAD TO BE IMPRESSED WITH KISSINGER'S APPRAISAL THAT THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT "MARKS THE BREAKTHROUGH" ON SALT II NEGOTIATIONS AND "PRODUCES A VERY STRONG POSSIBILITY" THAT A FORMAL AGREEMENT WILL BE SIGNED WHEN BREZHNEV VISITS THE UNITED STATES NEXT SUMMER.

POLITICALLY, FORD BROUGHT HOME THE BACON WITH HIS (CAP S) SALT. HE DEMONSTRATED THAT HE CAN TAKE SUMMITRY IN STRIDE, EVEN AFTER ONLY THREE MONTHS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND CAN DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH OTHER GLOBAL LEADERS. AND IN DOING SO EARLY IN HIS ADMINISTRATION, HE FREED HIMSELF AT LONG LAST TO CONCENTRATE MORE ATTENTION ON THE ISSUE THAT MOST LIKELY WILL SHAPE THE OUTCOME OF THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION--INFLATION AND RECESSION--WHEN HE WILL BE A CANDIDATE.

(MORE)

TX3 SHEET TWO THEIS-FORD SUMMIT (ANALYSIS) X X X CANDIDATE.

FORD RETURNED FROM HIS 17,000 MILE JOURNEY SUNDAY EVENING, TELLING WELCOMING OFFICIALS AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE THAT "A GOOD AGREEMENT THAT WILL SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW WITHIN OUR GRASP." HE WAS GREETED WITH KISSES BY HIS WIFE, BETTY, AND HIS DAUGHTER, SUSAN.

THE PRESIDENT WILL BRIEF BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS TUESDAY ON THE SALT II GUIDELINES FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATORS AT GENEVA. AND HE WILL TELL THEM THE PRECISE AGGREGATE NUMBERS ON STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES AND MULTIPLE WARHEAD MISSILES (MIRVS) HE AND BREZHNEV AGREED SHOULD BE IN ANY PACT THEY SIGN NEXT YEAR. EACH COUNTRY WOULD HAVE AN EQUAL NUMBER.

NESSEN, TOLD REPORTERS ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE ENROUTE FROM VLADIVOSTOK TO ANCHORAGE, ALASKA THAT THE SUMMIT PRODUCED "ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENTS SINCE WORLD WAR II." AND HE ADDED; IGNORING THE NIXON-KISSINGER GROUNDWORK OF SALT I AND THREE SUMMIT MEETINGS:

"RICHARD NIXON COULD NOT ACHIEVE THIS IN FIVE YEARS; PRESIDENT FORD ACHIEVED IT IN THREE MONTHS."

THE ACTUAL FORCE CEILING NUMBERS WILL BE MADE PUBLIC IN ABOUT A WEEK. FORD IS WAITING FOR A WRITTEN SOVIET STATEMENT ON THE NUMBERS BEFORE GOING PUBLIC, PROBABLY IN A TELEVISION ADDRESS.

AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID FORD AND BREZHNEV "HIT IT OFF FAMOUSLY," AND THAT THE CHEMISTRY OF THEIR PERSONALITIES HELPED THEM TO THEIR AGREEMENT.

(MORE)

TX4 SHEET THREE THEIS-FORD SUMMIT X X X AGREEMENT.

CONGRESSIONAL REACTION--PARTICULARLY THAT FROM SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON, D-WASH., THE FOREMOST ARMS CONTROL CRITIC AND LEADING DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDER--WILL GIVE A BETTER READING OF HOW WELL THE FORMER HOUSE GOP LEADER DID AT VLADIVOSTOK. AND THEN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WILL COME INTO PLAY, AS THE HIGHLY COMPLEX TECHNICAL QUESTIONS ARE RESOLVED.

KISSINGER'S FEELING WAS THAT THE VLADIVOSTOK JOINT STATEMENT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO "SPEAK FOR ITSELF." BUT JUST THE SAME HE SAID OF THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATING DILEMMA:

"THE BACK OF THIS THING IS BROKEN."

BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE ALLOWED UNDER THE GUIDELINES TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN MIX OF WEAPONS IN THE CEILING CATEGORIES OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES AND OF LAND OR SUBMARINE LONGRANGE MISSILES WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS. STRATEGIC BOMBERS WOULD BE COUNTED AMONG STRATEGIC VEHICLES, KISSINGER EXPLAINED, BUT FORWARD BASE SYSTEMS LIKE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE WOULD NOT BE COVERED IN THE COUNT.

IN THE SALT I INTERIM FIVE-YEAR AGREEMENT OF 1972, THE U.S. WAS ALLOWED 1,054 LAND-BASED MISSILES, 656 SUBMARINE BASED MISSILES. OF THE TOTAL, 750 AMERICAN MISSILES ALREADY HAVE MIRV WARHEADS.

THE INTERIM AGREEMENT SIGNED AT MOSCOW ALLOWED THE SOVIET UNION 1,410 LAND-BASED MISSILES BUT 950 SUBMARINE BASED MISSILES. THE SOVIETS HAVE TESTED THREE MIRV MISSILES BUT NONE HAS BEEN DEPLOYED.

(MORE)



TX5 SHEET FOUR THEIS-FORD SUMMIT X X X DEPLOYED.

THE NEW 10 YEAR AGREEMENT WOULD RUN FROM OCTOBER 1977 THROUGH DEC. 31, 1985. RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE 1972 AGREEMENT WOULD REMAIN IN FORCE THE FIRRSST TWO YEARS, UNTIL OCTOBER 1977.

KISSINGER, WHO HAS PUT TOGETHER THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF SALT AGREEMENTS FOR BOTH PRESIDENT NIXON AND FORD, SAID THE PROPOSED PACT WOULD MEAN THAT "A CAP HAS BEEN PUT ON THE ARMS RACE FOR A PERIOD OF 10 YEARS."

THE BUSY SECRETARY LEFT FORD SO HE COULD FLY TODAY TO PEKING FOR A FOUR-DAY VISIT WHEN HE WILL BRIEF CHINESE LEADERS ON THE NEW SALT APPROACH. HE ALREADY HAD ASSURED THE JAPANESE, THE ONLY PEOPLE EVER TO HAVE BEEN UNDER ATOMIC ATTACK, THAT THEY WOULD BE FILLED IN ON THE BREZHNEV SUMMIT.

IN IMMEDIATE TERMS, FORD'S VISIT TO JAPAN LAST WEEK MAY BE AS IMPORTANT AS THE VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT, WHERE BREZHNEV AND FORD MET AT A HEALTH RESORT IN THE HILLS OVERLOOKING AMUR BAY. THE FIRST PRESIDENT EVER TO VISIT JAPAN, FORD PROMISED THAT JAPAN WOULD GET "SPECIAL ATTENTION" ON ITS FOOD NEEDS AND NOT AGAIN BE "TAKEN FOR GRANTED."

PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THE LATTER WAS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE TO THE JAPANESE," WHO WERE "SHOCKED" WHEN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION TOOK MAJOR MONETARY AND ECONOMIC MEASURES IN 1971 WITHOUT CONSULTING THEM IN ADVANCE.

FORD MANAGED TO GET THROUGH HIS JAPAN VISIT WITHOUT EMBARRASSMENT FROM PREMIER KAKUEI TANAKA'S DOMESTIC CRISIS. TANAKA WAS EXPECTED TO RESIGN TUESDAY.

P DH242A 11-25A-74

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1974

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAUL A. MILTICH  
FROM: JERRY H. JONES

The attached was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

-- Thanks/excellent.

cc: Don Rumsfeld

bcc: Ron Nessen

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...<sup>44</sup>

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 12/2/74

TO: The President

FROM: Paul A. Miltich

FYI X ACTION

OTHER :

I thought you might like to  
read this column by Bill Theis  
of the Hearst papers--in case  
you might not have seen it  
elsewhere.

*MR. F.*  
*Thanks / Wallant*