

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald Ford  
Dr. Fred C. Ikle, Director, U.S. Arms Control  
and Disarmament Agency  
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant  
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, January 6, 1975  
12:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

President: Happy New Year.

Ikle: I have a bit of good news. The Senate has ratified the Geneva Protocol. A signing ceremony would show that the Legislature and Executive are now cooperating.

Another issue: The danger of nuclear proliferation. The Congress is very worried. Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan, Libya all may be looking around. South Korea also. A number of efforts are under way. We are trying to deal with the export of nuclear materials. Action is slow because the French are obnoxious.

What this comes down to is a number of hard decisions which may come at a price. For example, the Italians are holding back from signing the NPT. Some never will sign. But if it begins to unravel we could be accused of not doing enough.

President: How many potentials have not signed?

Ikle: Most of them. But if we could show motion with Italy, it might keep a sense of momentum.

President: What nuclear powers haven't signed?

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Ikle: France and the PRC. But the PRC has not exported material. I bring this up to show that things have to be done. We are preparing a package for you of things which have to be done.

President: I think the success of getting the Senate to move was excellent and I congratulate you. I haven't focused on a signing ceremony.

Giscard seemed forthcoming on this at Martinique.

Scowcroft: Their team is coming next week. We don't know what they're coming with.

Ikle: But maybe if they won't join a conference we can work with them bilaterally. But France is preparing to export reprocessing plants, and there is no way to prevent diversion of materials from these.

President: Do they have the technical people -- Israel, Pakistan, etc.?

Ikle: They are developing it, and the expertise is transferable from other (such as reactor) areas.

President: What do we do now?

Ikle: We must develop proper safeguards, such as we have in the export of reactors to Israel and Egypt.

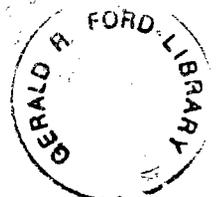
President: What do they think of Vladivostok?

Ikle: They think the dropping of FBS was real progress. Some of them want the levels brought down and additional limitations added. Most of them feel this is a turning point. It will be important as we flesh out the treaty to deal with verification. We can't be trapped into promising absolute verification, but within limits. If we promise further negotiations, that will be important in getting the academics on board.

President: But first we must get this one signed. I think the opposition is dying, isn't it?

Ikle: Several of them want to know how much we will save.

President: If the sense-of-the-Senate resolution about renegotiating goes through, I will tell the Senators they should add a clause promising the five to ten billion dollars that will be necessary if they destroy the agreement by forcing a renegotiation.



Ikle: In the last analysis, few of them will want to destroy the agreement. Do you have time for a minute on MBFR?

President: Yes.

Ikle: The talks are somewhat stalemated. There are three key elements: One, the nuclear package. It shouldn't follow too closely on Vladivostok. But the Nunn Amendment requires the Secretary of Defense to report on reductions in overseas nuclear deployment. Two, the Soviet pressure for European reductions. Three, the connection with CSCE. It would look bad if there were no progress in MBFR. While there is no formal coupling, there is an informal political coupling. We don't care about CSCE, but we do care about MBFR. It would be embarrassing if one moves without the other.

President: Is MBFR stalemated?

Ikle: We do have tentative agreement on adding air manpower. We may be able to combine stages one and two into one, to help the USSR. In the last analysis, if there is no agreement, we should have at least made a proposal that is convincing to the Congress.

President: I think the new House will be worse than the last. It would be bad to be forced to give something without getting anything in return. With the new Congress reconvening, we have to have a story of pushing hard.

Any change of attitude on the part of the Europeans?

Ikle: The Germans are not pushing for reductions, but as you know, the Brits are. We have to be careful a landslide doesn't start, because Congress wants American, not European reductions.

President: How about the Threshold Test Ban?

Ikle: The talks start in February. The big issue is PNE's above the threshold. It has implications for the NPT. As a personal judgment, if we can't get PNE's restricted to below the threshold, we may not want to sign the TTB and submit it to Congress. The Soviets probably wouldn't want it submitted if it would be defeated.

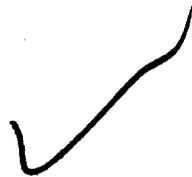
President: I appreciate your bringing me up to date. I hope we can give Resor some forthcoming recommendations. It would be a disaster to have to give things away without getting anything in return.

Thanks for coming in. Keep me posted through Henry or Brent and I'll see you at the next NSC meeting.



P/I kle

6 Jan 75



P Happy new year

I A bit of good news. The Senate has ratified the Geneva Protocol. A signing ceremony would show logic & respect for our effort.

Another issue: danger of some party. Congress worried. Brazil, Oregon, Pakistan, Italy & all may be looking. S. Korea also. A # of efforts smaller army - part of some materials. Action is slow because of some objections.

What this comes down to is a set of hard decisions which may come at a price. For ex. & others are holding back from signing NPT. Some never will sign but if it begins to unravel we could be accused of not doing enough.

P How many potentials have not signed?

I Most of them. But we could show motion w/ them it might ~~not~~ help sense of momentum.

P What more papers haven't signed?

I FR & PLC. But PLC has not started material.

I bring this up to show things have to be done. We're preparing a package for you of things which have to be done.

P I think success of getting Senate to move was speedier & I congratulate you. I haven't focused on signing ceremony.

Garcia seemed forthcoming at Montenegro.

S ~~Can~~ Team coming next week. No content

I But maybe if they won't join a conf we can work w/ them bilaterally. Best FR is preparing to X reprocessing plants & there is no way to prevent discussion.

P Do they have a technical people (I - Pabo, etc.)

I They are doing it + a expertise is transferable from other ~~area~~ (such as reactor) areas.

P What do we do now

I We must delay people's questions. See ch 10 X of reactor to F + F

P Okay

I They think to BS was real prog. Some want levels brought down + a technical limitations added.

Must feel this is a turning point. Will be important as we flesh out - treaty to deal w/ verification. We can't be trapped into promises absolute verification, but w/in limits.

If we promise further negotiations that will be important in getting academics on board.

P But, it must get this one signed.

~~For the treaty~~ I think the opposition is dying isn't it?

I Several want to know how much we will save.

P If sense of Senate <sup>isolation</sup> about re-negotiating it yes then, I tell Senators they should add clause promising = 5-10 bil necessary if they destroy = agreement by passing a-  
negot.

I In last analysis, few will want to destroy a agreement.

Do you have time for MBER?

P Yes

I They somewhat staterated. There are 3 key elements:

(1) Univ. package. Shouldn't follow too closely



area dead. But from environment agencies  
Sci. Dept report on reductions in other  
areas. (2) See pressure for Ems. reductions  
(3) Connection w/ CSE. Would look bad if  
no progress in MBER. While no formal  
commitment, there is informal pol. commitment  
We don't care about CSE, but do about  
MBER. Would be embarrassing if we make  
w/o other.

P & MBER statements!

I We do have tentative agreement on adding  
air transport. We may be able to combine  
stages 1 & 2 into one to help USSR. In  
last analysis, if no agreement, we should  
have at least made a proposal concerning to  
Cong.

P I think a new House will be worse than last.  
Would be had to be forced to give something  
w/o getting anything in return. W/ new Cong  
recommencing we have to have a story of pushing  
hard.

Any change of attitude on Ems?

I Germans not pushing for reductions, but as you  
know, Brits are. We have to be careful  
London doesn't start because Cong wants  
US, not Ems reductions

P How about TIB

I Talks start in Feb. Big issue is PNE  
above threshold. Plus implications for MPT.  
A personal judgement, if we can't get PNE restricted  
to below threshold, we may not want to sign



+ submit to Lang. The Snow job wouldn't  
work if submitted if would be filed.

I appreciate your bringing this up to date.  
I hope you can find some further  
information. I would be a disaster to  
lose to give this away w/o getting anything in  
return.

Thanks for coming in. Keep me posted thru  
K or S + I'll see you at a chat HSC unit.

