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NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY GROUP MEETING
Friday, October 11, 1985
Cabinet Room
11:00 a.m. - 12:00

ABM TREATY ISSUES

Agenda

I.	Introduction and Overview of ABM Treaty Issues	Robert C. McFarlane (15 minutes)
II.	Discussion	All Participants (40 minutes)
III.	Summary	Robert C. McFarlane (5 minutes)

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Declassify on: OADR

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ABM Treaty: Article II

1. For the purpose of this Treaty an ABM system is a system to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory, currently consisting of:
   - (a) ABM interceptor missiles . . .
   - (b) ABM launchers . . . ; and
   - (c) ABM radars . . .

2. The ABM system components listed in paragraph 1 of this Article include those which are:
   - (a) operational;
   - (b) under construction;
   - (c) undergoing testing;
   - (d) undergoing overhaul, repair or conversion; or
   - (e) mothballed.

ABM Treaty: Article III

Each Party undertakes not to deploy ABM systems or their components except that:

(a) within one ABM system deployment area . . .

ABM Treaty: Article IV

The limitations provided for in Article III shall not apply to ABM systems or their components used for development or testing, and located within current or additionally agreed test ranges. Each Party may have no more than a total of fifteen ABM launchers at test ranges.

ABM Treaty: Article V

1. Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land based.

ABM Treaty: Agreed Statement D

In order to insure fulfillment of the objective not to deploy ABM systems and their components except as provided in Article III of the Treaty, the Parties agree that in the event ABM systems based on other physical principles and including components capable of substituting for ABM interceptor missiles, ABM launchers, or ABM radars are created in the future, specific limitations on such systems and their components would be subject to discussion in accordance with Article XIII and agreement in accordance with Article XIV of the Treaty.

European Allies and SDI

25X1

Allies briefed on SDI Research

UK	Netherlands
FRG	Belgium
Italy	Canada
Norway	Israel

Allies Most Likely to Sign Up

- UK (MOU along with pathfinder projects)
- FRG (MOU along with pathfinder projects)
- Italy (use existing agreements with pathfinder projects)
- Israel (use existing agreements with pathfinder projects)

West Eruopean Aerospace Firms Eager to Join

- West Germany: MBB, Dornier, Siemens, AEC Telefunken, Diehl
- France: Matra, Thomson CSF, CGE, COLAS, SAT, REOSCH
- UK: British Aerospace, Plessy, Marconi, Thorn EMI, SCICON
- Italy: FIAT, SNIA-BPD, Selenia, Aeritalia, CITES (consortium)

Awareness of SDI*

	UK	FRG	IT	BEL	NETH	DEN
				(Percent)		
Great deal/Fair amount	46	33	50	39	29	50
Not very much/ Nothing at all	51	54	49	53	57	41
Opinion of US SDI Development						
A good idea	51	48	43	46	32	27
A bad idea	25	23	36	24	28	36
Neither good/Nor bad (volunteered)	12	–	14	–	13	12
Don't know	12	30	7	30	27	25
SDI: Needed Deterrent or Bargaining Chip						
SDI should not be given up	32	31	18	28	18	14
SDI is important primarily as a bargaining chip	47	39	61	31	46	38
Don't know	21	31	21	41	36	47

Source: USIA Poll. *Figures may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Perceived Effects of SDI Development

	UK	FRG	IT	BEL	NETH	DEN
			(Percent)			
On West European Security						
Increases security	46	39	37	40	33	26
Decreases security	28	22	44	32	30	27
Undecided	26	39	19	27	37	47
On changes for Arms Control Agreement						
Increases chances	31	35	30	37	22	15
Accelerates the arms race	44	35	56	32	41	49
Undecided	25	31	14	31	37	36

West European Consensus on SDI

Research

US efforts justified by ongoing Soviet BMD research.

US research not a violation of the ABM treaty.

Participation

Prefer a joint response, if possible.

Will not prevent West European firms' participation.

Strategy

Research evaluation prior to decision on deployment.

NATO Flexible Response Doctrine must be retained.

Alliance cohesion (coupling) must be preserved.

Conventional defense must not be adversely affected.

SDI must not achieve military superiority.

Arms Control

ABM treaty should be preserved.

SDI research could strengthen bargaining position.

SDI deployments might cause arms race in space.

European Technological Capabilities

- **Allies could make significant contributions to speed up research and potentially control costs.**

Basic research:	**In some areas ahead of US; grows out of fusion research; European manpower will be important**
Scientific components:	**In select areas can provide advanced equipment (radioscopes, IR sensors, large optics)**
Critical new materials:	**Not available in US in high quality; (new semiconductor materials, optical glass, and new materials for IR sensors)**
SDI subsystems:	**Available industrial capabilities to produce subsystems related to kinetic kill vehicles, terminal defense systems, optical sensors.**

- **European participants primarily interested in non-nuclear SDI research with tactical military and commercial spinoffs:**

Kinetic energy research (interceptors, tactical weapons)

Sensor development (optics)

Computers/software

Artificial intelligence/robotics

Space transportation

Systems architecture

Allied Scientific and Technological Skills and SDI

SATKA

IR Sensors
- Japan
- UK
- France

Materials
- France
- Japan

Microwave Sensors
- FRG

Signal
- UK
- FRG

Directed Energy Weapons (DEW)

Directed Energy Research and Power Sources
- UK
- Japan
- FRG
- France

Accelerator Technology
- FRG

Large Optics Technology
- FRG
- Japan

Precision Optics Finishing
- France
- FRG
- Canada
- Japan

Kinetic Energy Weapons (KEW)

Tactical Missile Systems/Subsystems
- France
- FRG
- UK

Electromagnetic Railguns
- UK
- FRG
- Netherlands
- France
- Japan

Battle Management

Computer Software
- Canada
- UK

Artificial Intelligence
- UK

Survivability, Lethality, Space Logistics

Solar
- UK
- FRG

Satellites, Subsystems
- FRG
- France
- UK
- Italy

Survivability, Lethality Analyses
- UK
- France

SDI Pathfinder Projects

Pathfinder Strategy

- Identify near-term collaboration for joint research projects
- Draw upon existing bilateral agreements to extent possible
- Develop supplementary arrangements as needed

SDI Pathfinder Projects

Italian Pathfinder Projects:

- High Speed Computing
- Pulse Power Technologies (Energy Storage, Switches, Circuits)
- Infrared Focal Planes
- Laser Imaging
- Tethered Satellite Concepts
- Hardened Large Scale Integrated (LSI) Circuits
- Directed Energy (Particle and Radiation Physics, Charged Particle Beams, Inertial Confinement Fusion)
- Radar Component Development

SDI Pathfinder Projects–Con.

UK Pathfinder Projects:

- Ion Source Improvements (Neutral Particle Beam Applications)
- Laser and Particle-Beam Vulnerability and Hardening
- Laser and Ion Source Diagnostics
- Mercury-Cadmium-Telluride Infrared Sensors and Gallium-Arsenide
- Electromagnetic Launcher Experiments
- High-Power Thyratron Switch Research
- Command and Control Secure Network Architectures/ Info Processing
- Integrated Transceiver Research for Laser-Radars
- MOD Integrated SDI Architectural Trade-Off Study
- Optical Systolic Processing
- Special Materials Research

Western Europe and EUREKA

ORIGINS

- Mid-April 1985 French proposal to West European governments
  - European Research Coordinatin Agency (EUREKA)
  - Joint public and private funding
  - Stressed civilian aspects
- Seven areas of collaboration:
  - Artificial intelligence
  - High-powered lasers
  - Large computers
  - Microelectronics
  - New material
  - Optoclectronics
  - Space research

MOTIVE

- Fear of Technology Gap and "Brain Drain"
- Tactic to Slow European Participation in SDI Reasearch
- Bargaining Leverage on Technology Sharing

Western Europe and EUREKA

PROGRESS TO DATE

- French flexibility to gain West European support
  - Dropped idea of "new agency"
  - Reemphasized civilian aspects
  - Agree to High Level Group Meeting in November
  - Start with small projects
  - Pledged initial funding $115 mil

INDUSTRIAL COLLABORATION

- Siemens/Philips/GEC/Thomson (microelectronics projects)
- Aerospatiale/MBB (aerodynamics and new materials)
- Matra/MBB (laser transmission/information systems)
- Matra/Norsk Data (supercompters)
- Siemens/Bull (supercomputers)
- CCE/Plessy/Italtel/Danet (telecommunications/artificial intelligence

Implications for SDI

- Potential Areas of Competition with SDI
  - Civilian vs. Military Research
  - Manpower and Resources
    - Advanced Computer
    - Space Research
    - Laser Research
- Political Attention
- Limited Leverage on SDI Research
- Not a Forum for European SDI Response