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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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PLEASE PASS TO BREMER/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

MAY 20, 1974

TO: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: PREPARATION FOR MEETING OF TTR EXPERTS

I HAVE GONE OVER THIS SUBJECT WITH LODAL, HYLAND, AND
SONNENFELDT, AND THIS PRESENTS FOR YOUR APPROVAL WHAT WE
PROPOSE TO DO IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING OF TTR EXPERTS
SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN MOSCOW ON MAY 29.

MORI/CDF
C03345676

LODAL HAS CALLED A MEETING OF THE VERIFICATION PANEL WORKING
GROUP ON THE TEST BAN FOR TUESDAY MORNING. IT WILL DEVELOP
A DRAFT US POSITION PAPER FOR A "POSSIBLE" MEETING OF US-
USSR TECHNICAL EXPERTS NEXT WEEK. UNTIL WE GET FIRM
ARRANGEMENTS MADE WITH THE SOVIETS, WE WILL NOT TELL THE
BUREAUCRACY THAT THE MEETING IS SET. THE BUREAUCRACY HAS
ALREADY DONE CONSIDERABLE WORK ON THIS, LARGELY AS A RESULT
OF YOUR PREVIOUS DIRECTIVE TO VERIFICATION PANEL PRINCIPALS
TO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT AT THE TEST BAN
VERIFICATION PANEL MEETING.

OSD review completed

ALL AGENCIES APPEAR TO AGREE THAT IF WE ARE TO PROCEED
TO A TTR, THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS IS TO HOLD THE TECHNICAL
TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS. AS YOU RECALL, THE DOD "COUNTER-
PROPOSAL" MADE TECHNICAL TALKS AND AGREEMENT A PRECONDITION
TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION OF A TTR. HOWEVER, IKLE HAS SENT YOU
A MEMO WHICH RECOMMENDS THAT DISCUSSION OF THE TECHNICAL
ISSUES TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF MORE GENERAL
PREPARATORY TALKS.

State Dept. review completed

IKLE ARGUES THAT WE NEED TO ESTABLISH EARLY AGREEMENT
WITH THE SOVIETS ON:

DOE review completed

- A SPECIFIC THRESHOLD (WITH OR WITHOUT AN OVER-THRESHOLD
QUOTA ALLOWANCE AS PROPOSED BY OSD);
- AN EFFECTIVE DATE FOR A TTR;
- A POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING ON TESTING RESTRAINTS PRIOR TO

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

***** *WHSR COMMENT*****

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THAT EFFECTIVE DATE; AND

THE FORM OF AGREEMENT AND ITS RELATION TO
MULTILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS.

WE SUSPECT IKLE WANTS TO ELEVATE THE LEVEL OF THE TALKS TO
ENCOMPASS POLICY QUESTIONS TO GIVE ACDA A GREATER ROLE.

WE RECOMMEND THAT AT THIS STAGE, THE TALKS AVOID ALL
POLICY DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING THE LEVEL OF THE THRESHOLD,
WHICH HAS BECOME HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL IN TOWN. THE TALKS
SHOULD BE TECHNICAL IN NATURE. THEY WOULD HAVE THE MAJOR
PURPOSES OF ENSURING THAT WE AND THE SOVIETS ARE USING
IDENTICAL CRITERIA FOR THE DEFINITION OF SEISMIC MAGNITUDE.
THE AEC IS LIKELY TO WANT THESE EXPERTS TO DISCUSS HOW PNES
WOULD BE HANDLED ABOVE THE THRESHOLD, BUT OUR GUIDANCE TO
THE DELEGATION CAN KEEP THEM QUIET ON THIS, GIVEN THAT
YOU HAVE ALREADY AGREED WITH THE SOVIETS IN GENEVA THAT
PNES WOULD BE BANNED ABOVE THE THRESHOLD, BARRING
A SEPARATE FUTURE ARRANGEMENT ON PNES.

THERE IS SOME SENTIMENT IN DOD FOR A THRESHOLD TO BE SET
IN TERMS OF EXPLOSIVE YIELD RATHER THAN SEISMIC MAGNITUDE.
HOWEVER, THIS APPROACH IS NOT DIRECTLY VERIFIABLE. IN
ANY CASE, DOD IS LIKELY TO GO ALONG WITH DISCUSSION OF A
SEISMIC THRESHOLD IN THE EXPERTS TALKS.

WE HAVE GIVEN SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHT TO THE
COMPOSITION OF THE US DELEGATION TO THE TALKS. TENTATIVELY,
WE BELIEVE A SMALL TEAM COMPOSED OF A SEISMOLOGIST FROM
DOD'S ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY (ARPA), A NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND SEISMIC EXPERT FROM AEC, AND THE LEAD TEST BAN
PEOPLE IN STATE AND ACDA. ALL HAVE TECHNICAL BACKGROUNDS AND
EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS.

AS TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE DELEGATION, WE CONTINUE TO
BELIEVE THAT STOESEL WOULD BE A LOGICAL CANDIDATE, BUT
YOU MAY FEEL THAT THIS WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS TOO MUCH OF
AN OPENING TO SHIFT THE FOCUS OF THE MEETING TO POLITICAL
ISSUES. IF SO, PERHAPS THE DOD SEISMOLOGIST (DR. ERIC
WILLIS), DIRECTOR OF NUCLEAR MONITORING SEISMOLOGY IN
ARPA) WOULD BE A BETTER CHAIRMAN, WITH STOESEL A
MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION. IN EITHER CASE, WE
MIGHT WANT MORE CONTROL OVER THE DELEGATION BY
INCLUDING EITHER LODAL'S MAN, HUBERMAN, OR SONNENFELDT'S
MAN, TERRELL, ON THE DELEGATION. BOTH ARE SOLID PEOPLE.

AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER FORMALLY
RESPONDED TO OUR OFFER OF MAY 29 AS A STARTING DATE FOR
THE TALKS. IF YOU CONCUR IN THIS APPROACH, PERHAPS I SHOULD
CONTACT DOBRYNIN TO FIRM UP THE DATE AND NATURE OF THE
TALKS, EMPHASIZING TO HIM THAT THEY MUST REMAIN ON TECH-
NICAL ISSUES AND THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATES MUST GIVE THE
US DELEGATION NO INDICATION WHATSOEVER THAT WE ARE
AGREED ON ANY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES. ANY RELATING TO WHAT
MAY BE AGREED AT THE SUMMIT WOULD BE RESTRICTED SOLELY TO

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YOUR CHANNEL WITH DOBRYNIN.

IN SUMMARY, WE NEED YOUR APPROVAL OR ANY COMMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING:

1. DEVELOPING GUIDANCE FOR THE DELEGATES.
 2. TELLING IKLE THAT WE WANT THE TALKS KEPT TO TECHNICAL ISSUES.
 3. PUTTING STOESSEL IN CHARGE OF THE DELEGATION, OR LEAVING IT TO THE TECHNICIANS.
 4. HAVING ME WORK OUT THE TIME AND CONTENT OF THE TALKS WITH DOBRYNIN.
- WARM REGARDS.

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