

AIDE MEMOIRE

Meeting with Bob Mikulak  
10.00 - 10.45, 21 July

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Bob stated that progress in CW negotiations and, in fact, in all CD negotiations, was very lethargic. He attributed some of this to pure fatigue on the part of the participants since they have been continuously occupied in Geneva and the USA for many months.

In CW, negotiations at the bilateral USA/USSR level are proceeding steadily. Bob pointed out the level of detail worked out for the reciprocal underground testing experiment between the USA and the USSR—some 400 pages. This indicates the nature and level of the problem of verification across the board. The complaint is that the higher levels of political authority, say Assistant Secretary, are simply saturated in covering the four main areas in the following priority: START, underground testing, conventional forces reductions and CW. The technical staff required for each of these areas also constitutes a major problem for both the USA and the USSR.

The chances of early agreement and signature on a CW convention are very remote on both political and technical verification grounds. At present everything is halted in the USA until the election and will remain in suspense for at least several months afterwards until policies are clarified.


With regard to the Pugwash section on CW in Dagomys, neither Mangel nor Kyriakopolous (now uncontactable in Greece) will attend. When I queried what aspects of the CW problem could Pugwash act on most constructively, Bob suggested a technical cooperative effort on the technology of monitoring compliance. The situation remains that various countries are working on this problem but there is little or no coordination or action between them. For example, Canada, USA, USSR, the Netherlands, Finland, the UK. He suggested that Pugwash mount a study group effort to coordinate technical studies on monitoring and ask the Canadian group to take the lead. Ron Sutherland of Canada is in Geneva for CW discussions and I asked Bob to have Ron contact me to discuss the matter.

The second area where he felt that Pugwash could make an important contribution is to establish contacts with important countries and regions related to CW, for example: the Middle East, especially Iraq, China and India. Bob stated that the USSR would never sign a CW agreement unless China were included. I doubted this flat appraisal and suggested that the USSR would sign an agreement without China or many other countries. We discussed the idea of going ahead with an agreement even with a limited number of countries, say 40-60, even though such countries as China, India and the Middle East did not participate at the time.

In Geneva at present, a group of industrial representatives are meeting to take up the question of their role in a CW convention, which Pugwash supported some years ago. Unfortunately, Swiss industry is not attending this despite an invitation sent to the Chemical Industries' Federation. I told Bob I was sorry that he did not let us know about this some time ago, as perhaps we could have put some pressure on Bern to arrange their participation. This is a multilateral effort backed by both the USA and the USSR and could lead eventually to reciprocal visits in chemical industries. Thus, Pugwash need not and should not take independent action in this sphere, except perhaps for non-participating third world countries.

I pointed out that insistence on the fine level of detail being worked out for underground testing and the INF Treaty would no doubt markedly slow down progress in all arms control fields. Bob stated that the experience being gathered on verification will be applicable to other fields as well, including CW. It is clear that we have a long way to go before a CW agreement will be signed.

Bob is going to Sweden for a three week holiday (we have his telephone number) and will return to Geneva in September for the closing of the CW discussions which should occur about one week after the CD session in mid-September.



Martin M. Kaplan