

February 23, 1979

TO: Paul and Chris C.

FR: Mark

AGENDA FOR SECOND MEETING OF ADVISORY PANEL ON SALT

The agenda is designed to focus on Soviet and American capabilities before and after a SALT II agreement, but there will be some inevitable overlapping with matters pertaining to the intentions of both sides.

Some items were mulled over at the first SALT Advisory panel meeting, but the Senator would like to explore these areas more fully - hence their reappearance.

A. SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN SALT

*A.J. Aron Object: SALT*

1. SALT I
2. SALT II

B. The comparative strategic strength of the Soviet Union and the U.S. now.

C. How will the various projected ceilings on weapons' systems constrain the U.S.? And the Soviet Union?

1. The 2400/2250 limit on Strategic Delivery Vehicles.
2. The 1320 sublimit on MIRV'ed and ICBM/SCBM and heavy bombers with ALCMs.
3. The 1200 and 820 sublimits.

D. Minuteman Vulnerability

1. How serious is the problem?
  - a) Surprise attack?
  - b) Erodes faith in U.S. nuclear umbrella? Diplomatic consequences
  - c) Administration view
  - d) Relative to Russian ICBM vulnerability
2. U.S. policy options to counter ICBM vulnerability, and how are they influenced by SALT II.
  - a) Protect Minuteman III (MAP system). Pros and Cons
  - b) MX missile. Pros and Cons (cost and Soviet reaction, etc.)
  - c) Trident II missile

E. Verification

1. Does the Soviet Union comply with treaties it signs, particularly with regard to SALT I.
2. What is meant by 'adequate verification'?
3. How satisfactory are the National Technical means likely to be in verifying a SALT II agreement?
4. Problem of telemetry encryption
5. 'Loss' of Iran

F. Protocol matters

1. What kind of threat posed by Backfire bomber?
2. Role of cruise missile for the U.S.
3. How damaging are the restraints on cruise missiles?

G. Relationship between SALT and the military balance in Europe.

1. Assessment of balance as it stands now
2. Assessment of balance after SALT II
3. SS 20, NATO forward based systems.
4. The future of MBFR talks

H. Linkage

1. How much importance should be given to Soviet 'adventurism' in the ratification debate?