

**Notes on Index Cards for Remarks 7-1-97  
Retirement Party from Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA]**

**Card 1**

When I came here in 1970 I planned to stay 3 years and now it has been 27. But I have loved every minute of it.

And the last years have been the best of all working with John Holum and everyone. There have been ups and downs, mostly ups. I do remember through John we were

**Card 2**

And be flexible.

In early 1992 in a large group headed by Ambassador Reg Bartholomew visiting the 2 week old newly independent states of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan we arrived in Almaty, Kazakhstan. We called up the French Ministry (after some left to meet with the President) and said we are here to discuss technical detail of NPT, START, CFE. Do you want FM or Dep FM – everyone else works on protocol.

**Card 3**

and when Juliet Sowicki and I were at the Vatican lobbying for the Vatican's vote for NPT indefinite extension, the Monseigneur we met with – Secretary of the Papal Counsel in Peace and Justice said, "well you have come to the right place; we take the long view here."

**Card 4**

Diplomacy and culture often come together

During the NPT extension effort in 1994 Nabil Fahmy, Aid to Egyptian Foreign Minister Moussa to Susan Burk and me

"Susan, what are you proposing for NPT is Catholic marriage."

"What's wrong with Catholic marriage?"

"... but this is a Muslim country."

**Card 5**

Gambling has its role in diplomacy.

Last year Kathy Crittenberger on the floor of the UNGA invited Ambassador Munir Akram to play bridge that night, "we could play for Pakistan's signature to CTBT," she said. He hesitated but declined – though an excellent bridge player.

**Card 6**

Language is important

CFE Treaty negotiations (1989) was in English and Treaty translated officially into 5 other languages after completed.

One date [there was] a big debate in the twice weekly meeting of NATO ambassadors, over whether the phrase, "treaty limited item" could include personnel.

After some time, French Ambassador Plaisant interrupts to say, "it is too bad this negotiation is not in French – in French there are no ambiguities."

**Card 7**

And have perspective

In the early 1980s I often had the honor to accompany Ambassador Paul Nitze on his frequent appearances on Capitol Hill. To and from in the taxi, I would get a great story. One of my favorites – Paul in the spring of 1953, 3 months into the Eisenhower administration, but still in government, called up Dean Acheson and invited [him] to lunch. Response, “thank you Paul, in the 3 months since I left as Secretary of State, you are the first to invite me anywhere sic transit gloria.

**Card 8**

Philosophical

During ABM interpretation discussions, I was being referred to negatively occasionally in statements by Senator Helms and news reports by the Washington Times.

David Sullivan, one of Senator Helms’ staff called and said, “Tom, we all have our role to play in life. Right now you symbolize something [the] Senator doesn’t like but he doesn’t dislike you – he likes you personally. So don’t take it too seriously.” Good advice if you can take it.

**Card 9**

And in diplomacy be cautious

In 1978 [Secretary of State Cyrus] Vance and [Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei] Gromyko grouped as usual around a table in the Kremlin with green felt and a large black button in the middle.

A break in the action while Vance and Gromyko went off to discuss Jewish emigration. Milling around, Ambassador Reg Bartholomew accidentally pushed button – sirens went off. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister [Georgii] Kornienko sadly looked across the table and said, “there goes Washington.”

**Card 10**

Sometimes have to fend off bureaucracy

EEO request to Director Warnke – 1978, “could you furnish us a list of your employees broken down by sex.” Response, “alcohol is more a problem with us.”

**Card 11**

And the bureaucracy has value (mixed company gambler?)

Senator Bumpers

RE and JG on SALT II – 1978

B – know how 1<sup>st</sup> interested. Bay Governor of Arkansas, up to see great man LBJ (Lyndon Baines Johnson). Boy – suitcase – inside – big red button pushed. Know what would happen? Not a darn thing.

Some general would call from the Pentagon, “Mr. President, have you lost your mind?”

**Card 12**

But you do learn about bureaucracy – how to work in it.

Dispute between Department of Defense and ACDA/State/NSC over treatment of Backfire bomber in SALT II draft treaty in 1975.

Verification Panel – MAK in chair (time scheduled to the minute) Department Secretary Clements rep OSD. 1 hour meeting, seated next to each other. 1 hour meeting – 59.30 speech in Houston, some in Dallas. Houston vs Dallas audiences. 30 seconds – well I guess all in agreement on Backfire

**Card 13**

But other things probably have not

1972 SALT I ratification hearings – TG/Ereskovsky covering hearings. Fulbright scholar Laird – DIA exaggerates Soviet, “only thing that saves us: for every mistake we make, the Soviets make a bigger one.”

Ereskovsky, “that will be difficult to report to my government.”

**Card 14**

And some things have changed since 1970

General Allison – Soviet ICBM fields locations – SALT I – 1970. Afterwards General Ogarkov, “Our civilians are not cleared for this information.”

**Card 15**

It is interesting – things never change in arms control. I have been at ACDA 27 years. The first week I was here, in 1970, I worked on the ratifications of protocol I of Treaty of Tlatelolco – Latin America Nuclear Weapon Free Zone. The last months I worked on a negotiation with ASEAN on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty.

**Card 16**

The recent National Academy of Sciences Report has it right. I agree with all of it. We must try our best to resolve the impasse in Moscow. Bring START II and START III into force and then proceed to negotiate towards 1,800 weapons. Thereafter to engage UK, France, and China along with Russia with the objective being a level of a few hundred (200-300) with appropriate verification.

But that is the work of the next 20 years. Good luck to us all.

**Card 17**

This calls for a completely different strategy. High levels of nuclear weapons are dangerous. Our principal line of defense today is the NPT regime – continued nuclear weapon reductions as pledged in 1995 are essential to keep it strong. The NPT regime cannot exist forever with some countries permitted to be significant nuclear powers and all others forswearing such weapons

**Card 18**

not a possibility, the thermonuclear confrontation is no more.

Rather the threat to U.S. security today – and it is a serious threat – is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons – into unfriendly hands, e.g., instable states, terrorist organizations, criminal conspiracies that might use them – the next bomb under the World Trade Center could be a nuclear device.

**Card 19**

Not always persuasive, such as when we said something positive about no first use in the context of a trip to Beijing. But much has been accomplished in the last four years – NPT extension, CTBT signing, START, and CWC entry into force. Of course there is much more to do.

But the world is much different than it was in 1970 when I came here. The Cold War is over, World War is ...