

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5750
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BERN 671

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM OX
SUBJ: US-USSR INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL TALKS: US
OPENING STATEMENT, PLENARY SESSION, FEB 9

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S PREPARED REMARKS
FOR THURSDAY, FEB 9 PLENARY SESSION. MINOR CHANGES WERE MADE
IN PRESENTATION. REPORTING TELEGRAM (SEPTTEL) WILL NOTE
MENDELEVICH'S STATEMENTS AND EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY
AMB WARNKE.

2. BEGIN TEX

PREPARED COMMENTS FOR 9 FEB 1978

- TODAY I WANT TO COVER THREE AREAS WHICH I BELIEVE TO BE
IMPORTANT NOT ONLY TO THE COURSE OF THIS ROUND BUT ALSO TO
OUR FUTURE TALKS;

- FIRST, IN RESPONSE TO YOUR PREVIOUS REQUEST, I WILL
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ELABORATE ON MY EARLIER DESCRIPTION OF SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS.

- SECOND, I WANT TO EXPRESS MY VIEWS ON THE SUBJECTS THAT THE
DRAFTING AND EXPERTS GROUPS SHOULD ADDRESS.

- THIRDLY, IN MY VIEW WE MUST DISCUSS THE MILITARY ACTIVITY
OF BOTH SIDES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN DURING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

- WE RECOGNIZE THAT BOTH SIDES MUST HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT STABILIZATION MEANS IN PRACTICE. THE SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS WOULD DESCRIBE THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES TO BE LIMITED UNDER ARTICLE I OF THE AGREEMENT. THESE DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENTS WHICH IS NOT PERMITTED UNDER THE STABILIZATION AGREEMENT. ADDITIONALLY, I WOULD SUBMIT THAT THE NAVIES OF BOTH POWERS BELIEVE THAT SOME FLEXIBILITY IS INHERENT IN THE CONDUCT OF SUCH OPERATIONS. THE PRACTICE IN RECENT YEARS WOULD BE THE PATTERN FOR THE DURATION OF THE STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

- WE NEED TO BEGIN BY DEFINING WHAT WE MEAN BY THE LEVELS AT WHICH FORCES HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED IN RECENT YEARS AND WHICH WE SHOULD NOT EXCEED. I WILL MAKE SEVERAL POINTS IN THIS REGARD.

-. FIRST, WE COULD, I IMAGINE, ARRIVE AT PRECISE DESCRIPTIONS OF EACH SIDE'S MILITARY FORCES AND PRECISE CRITERIA FOR THEIR LIMITATIONS, BUT OUR PRESENCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE NOT EASILY SUSCEPTIBLE TO SIMPLE NUMERICAL DEFINITIONS. WE WOULD INEVITABLY BE FORCED TO SPEND WEEKS ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE EXACT LEVELS, STRUCTURE, COMPOSITION, ETC OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF MILITARY FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE DEPLOYS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND EQUALLY DIFFICULT TIMES ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN SUCH PRECISENESS IN FUTURE DEPLOYMENTS, OR EXPLAIN DEVIATIONS.

SECONDLY, WE HAVE IN MIND THAT THESE SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS
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WOULD DESCRIBE MILITARY ACTIVITIES SIMILAR TO THOSE MADE BY THE US AND THE SOVIET DELEGATIONS IN OUR ORAL STATEMENTS IN ROUND II IN WASHINGTON.

- AT THAT TIME, WE DID NOT APPEAR TO HAVE ANY MAJOR DISAGREEMENT OVER THE ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED IN THOSE STATEMENTS.

- SPECIFICALLY, THESE STATEMENTS WOULD INCLUDE DESCRIPTIONS ABOUT EACH SIDE'S NAVAL DEPLOYMENTS, INCLUDING RECENT LEVELS, STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION.

- IN ADDITION, THERE WOULD BE STATEMENTS ABOUT EACH SIDE'S SUPPORT FACILITIES FOR SUBMARINES, EITHER ASHORE OR AFLOAT.

- THERE WOULD ALSO BE STATEMENTS ABOUT EACH SIDE'S USE OF PORT FACILITIES, DESCRIBING HOW FACILITIES ARE CURRENTLY USED BY EACH SIDE AND ANY CURRENT CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS.

-. THERE WOULD ALSO BE A DESCRIPTION OF AIRCRAFT DEPLOYMENTS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 BERN 671

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

- IN GENERAL, WE BELIEVE THESE STATEMENTS WILL SHOW WHAT
EACH SIDE HAS DONE IN RECENT YEARS.

- UNDER OUR CONCEPT OF A STABILIZATION AGREEMENT, IF A PARTY
HAS NOT CONDUCTED A PARTUCLAR ACTIVITY IN RECENT YEARS, THEN
THAT ACTIVITY WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED IN THE FUTURE.
THIRD, ON TUESDAY, MR AMBASSADOR, WE UNDERSTAND YOU TO SAY THAT
SOVIET FORCE LEVELS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN DO NOT REFLECT THOSE OF
PAST YEARS. I WILL RETURN TO THIS POINT LATER, BUT THE POINT I
WANT TO MAKE IS THAT WE WERE BOTH QUITE CAPABLE OF RECOGNIZING
A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE WITHOUT USING PRECISE SHIP-DAY OR TON-DAY
FIGURES.

- FINALLY, WE ENVISAGE THAT THESE STATEMENTS OF EACH SIDE'S
MILITARY ACTIVITY WOULD BE AGREED BY BOTH PARTIES. THUS, IN THE
GIVE AND TAKE OF WORKING OUT THE AGREED LANGUAGE OF THESE
DOCUMENTS, THEY WOULD BE GIVEN SUFFICIENT PRECISION AND CLARIFY
SO THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF LATER MISINTERPREATIONS WOULD BE
MINIMIZED.

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- WE ENVISAGE THAT THE STATEMENTS WOULD BE INTEGRAL TO THE
BASIC STABILIZATION AGREEMENT, AND WOULD HAVE THE SAME LEGAL

STATUS. ARTICLE VI OF OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT ENSURES THIS.

I. DRAFTING AND EXPERTS GROUPS

- AS BOTH OF US NOTED DURING THE OPENING PLENARY SESSION, A MAJOR TASK DURING THIS ROUND WILL BE THE PREPARATION OF A JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

- THERE APPEARS TO BE CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON SEVERAL POINTS AND A DIVERGENCE ON OTHERS. THIS AFTERNOON, THE FIRST DRAFTING GROUP SESSION WILL TAKE PLACE AND, I BELIEVE, OUR DRAFTING GROUP SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE LANGUAGE THAT EXPRESSES THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT.

- AFTER ASSESSING OUR MEETINGS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS, I THINK WE HAVE SOME MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF TOPICS:

- EXCEPTIONS FOR FORCE MAJEURE;
- THERE SHOULD BE EXCEPTIONS FOR VESSELS IN TRANSIT;
- THREE SIDES OF THE AREA TO BE CONSIDERED IN OUR AGREEMENT;
- THE NEED TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ABOUT THE FORCES AND ACTIVITIES TO BE STABILIZED;
- THE REQUIREMENT FOR PERIODIC REVIEW;
- THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THIS PHASE AND A SECOND PHASE TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE MUTUAL REDUCTIONS; AND
- ENTRY INTO FORCE.

- THESE ARE SUBJECTS WHICH THE DRAFTING GROUP CAN FRUITFULLY CONSIDER.

- AS FOR THE EXPERTS GROUPS, THEY SHOULD DEVOTE THEIR ATTENTION
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TO THOSE AREAS WHERE THERE IS A DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS.

-- THOSE BEGIN WITH THE ELEMENTS OF THE SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS WHICH INDICATE THE LEVELS AND PATTERNS OF MILITARY ACTIVITY TO BE STABILIZED;

-- THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ROUTINE PORT CALLS AND UTILIZATION OF A PORT;

-- THE TYPES OF AIRCRAFT TO BE LIMITED BY AN AGREEMENT AND THE TYPES OF AIRCRAFT TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE RESTRICTIONS; FOR EXAMPLE,

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 BERN 671

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

IT WAS OUR INTENT TO TREAT ALL TRANSITING
AIRCRAFT IN THE SAME MANNER AS TRANSITING
SHIPS;

-- TIME LIMITS FOR TRANSIT; AND

-- DEFINITION OF AN AUXILIARY VESSEL.

-- IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE OUR DELIBERATIONS, I WOULD
PROPOSE THAT IN ADDITION TO THIS AFTERNOON'S SESSION, THE
DRAFTING GROUP MEET AGAIN ON MONDAY AND OUR TWO EXPERTS
GROUPS SHOULD MEET AGAIN TOMORROW - THE DEFINITIONS GROUP
IN THE MORNING AND THE NAVAL ACTIVITIES GROUP IN THE
AFTERNOON.

-- PRIO TO THE MEETINGS I HAVE SUGGESTED, THERE ARE
SEVERAL POINTS I WOULD LIKE YOU TO CLARIFY SO THAT WE CAN
MAKE APPROPRIATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE MEETINGS.

- MY QUESTIONS ARE:
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1. AUXILIARIES

AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IN YESTERDAY'S EXPERTS MEETING, THE SOVIET REPS ATTEMPTED TO JUSTIFY THE EXCLUSION OF MOST NAVAL AUXILIARY SHIPS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE USED ONLY TO SUPPORT COMBAT SHIPS. I SUBMIT THAT PORTS THAT EITHER SIDE UTILIZES SERVE THE SAME PURPOSE, TO SUPPORT NAVAL SHIPS INCLUDING COMBATANTS. I BELIEVE WE ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT UTILIZATION OF PORTS SHOULD BE STABILIZED. WHY THEN SHOULD WE LIMIT ONE TYPE OF SUPPORT ACTIVITY, BECAUSE IT IS ON LAND, AND EXCLUDE ANOTHER BECAUSE IT IS AFLOAT?

2. TRANSIT TIME

AS I NOTED DURING THE LAST ROUND, SHIPS IN TRANSIT CONTRIBUTE TO MILITARY PRESENCE. WE ARE WILLING TO EXCLUDE TRANSITS PROVIDED THIS EXCLUSION IS NOT ABUSED AND PROVIDED SHIPS MOVE PROMPTLY TO COMPLETE THEIR TRANSIT. THE PURPOSE OF TRANSIT IS TO GET FROM ONE OCEAN TO THE OTHER, NOT TO CONTRIBUTE TO PRESENCE AND NOT TO PROVIDE SAILORS WITH A TOUR OF INDIAN OCEAN PORTS. THUS, I FIND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT ALL TRANSITING SHIPS SHOULD BE PERMITTED 90 DAYS TO BE GROSSLY EXCESSIVE.

3. AT THE EXPERTS MEETING, YOUR DELEGATES SEEMED SURPRISED THAT EXCEPTIONS FOR TRANSITS APPLY TO AIRCRAFT AS WELL AS SHIPS. WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY YOU ARE SURPRISED. WE HAVE BOTH AGREED THAT LIMITATIONS WILL APPLY TO BOTH NAVAL AND AIR FORCES.

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THEREFORE, WE OUGHT TO AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE EXCEPTIONS FOR TRANSITS FOR BOTH TYPES OF FORCES.

MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

- MY FINAL POINT, MR AMBASSADOR, HAS TO DO WITH OUR RESPECTIVE LEVELS OF MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

- WHEN WE BEGAN THE NEGOTIATIONG PROCESS, WE DID SO WITH A VIEW TOWARD STABILIZING THE STRUCTURE, COMPOSITION, AND LEVELS OF FORCES IN THE AREA. SINCE THEN WE HAVE DONE NOTHING TO CHANGE OUR FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

- OUR POSITION ON DIEGO GARCIA CONSTRUCTION IS CONSISTENT WITH THIS POLICY. WE TOLD YOU IN SEPT ABOUT OUR PLANS IN SOME DETAIL. OUR PROGRAMMED CONSTRUCTION DIEGO GARCIA WILL RESULT IN AN AUSTERE FACILITY TO PROVIDE ACCESS TO LIMITED

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND IN ITSELF NWILL NOT CHANGE THE LEVEL
OR COMPOSITION OF US FORCES. FURTHER CONSTRUCTION WOULD
BE LIMITED BY OUR STATEMENT AND THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF AN
AGREEMENT.

-. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS OUR
VIEW THAT NEITHER SIDE SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY
ALTER THE LEVEL OR PATTERN OF ITS ACTIVITIES.
THE STULTIFYING IMPACT WOULD BE EVIDENT TO BOTH SIDES. I WILL
RETURN TO THIS ISSUE ON TUESDAY.

END TEXT

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