

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 NEA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 OES-07 NASA-01
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O R 141730Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5777
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BERN 742

ACDA FOR MR CLINARD

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, XO
SUBJ: US-USSR INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL TALKS: PLENARY
SESSION FEB 14, 1978

THIRD PLENARY SESSION WAS HELD ON TUESDAY, FEB 14, WITH
AMB WARNKE CHAIRING. AMB WARNKE'S PREPARED REMARKS SENT SEPTTEL.

SUMMARY

DURING FEB 14 PLENARY SESSION, WARNKE MADE
STRONG STATEMENT CRITICIZING SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN
CURRENT LEVEL AND PATTERN OF SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN
THE INDIAN OCEAN AS COMPARED TO BEGINNING OF TALKS.
WARNKE STATED THAT SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE HORN OF
AFRICA WERE NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE
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TALKS AND WERE A SERIOUS IMPEDIMENT TO PROGRESS. HE
STATED SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND
THE RELATED BUILDUP OF SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE
ARE NOT CONDUCTIVE TO INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND EFFORTS
TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
THE SOVIET UNION. US ALSO NOTED CONTINUING MAJOR
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON SEVERAL BASIC

ISSUES. SOVIETS RESPONDED BY REPEATING PREVIOUS PROPOSAL FOR A MORATORIUM ON DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE AREA WHICH COULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE LIMITS ON OTHER FORCES. THEY NOTED THAT EVENTS IN LITTORAL STATES WERE OF CONCERN TO BOTH SIDES AND THAT US AND SOVIET UNION WERE IN CONTACT THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS CONCERNING HORN OF AFRICA. SOVIETS BELIEVE THAT EXTERNAL ISSUES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO COMPLICATE TALKS, AND, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD NOT RAISED RHODESIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE. SOVIETS PROVIDED NUMERICAL INFO ON THEIR PAST AND CURRENT LEVEL OF FORCES IN EFFORT TO RELIEVE US CONCERN THAT SOVIET FORCES WERE INCREASING.

OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED INCLUDED REACTIONS OF LITTORAL STATES TO THE TALKS AND QUESTIONS BEING DISCUSSED BY WORKING GROUPS. SOVIETS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO USE DEFINITION OF AUXILIARIES ORIGINALLY PROPOSED IN JUNE, BUT SUGGESTED ALL AUXILIARIES BE EXCLUDED FROM LIMITATIONS. THEY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE ON ISSUE OF TIME PERIOD FOR TRANSITS AND ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF HOW UTILIZATION OF PORTS CAN BE REFLECTED IN AGREEMENT.
END SUMMARY

1. WARNKE OPENED MEETING BY READING STRONG STATE-
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MENT (SEPTTEL) TO EFFECT THAT CURRENT SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY IN AND AROUND THE HORN IS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF AND PREVIOUS SOVIET DESCRIPTION OF THE PAST LEVEL AND PATTERN OF MILITARY PRESENCE. HE STRESSED IN ADDITION THAT SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN HORN ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THESE ACTIVITIES ARE A SERIOUS IMPEDIMENT TO EARLY AGREEMENT ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATION. OTHER REMARKS ON TAKING INTO ACCOUNT VIEWS OF LITTORAL STATES AND ON THE MAJOR UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN EXPERTS GROUPS DESCRIBED SEPTTEL.

2. IN RESPONSE, MENDELEVICH NOTED THAT SINCE WE DO NOT YET HAVE ANY AGREEMENT, IT IS NOT FAIR TO JUDGE WHETHER OR NOT REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS ARE CONSISTENT WITH ANY AGREEMENT, BUT THAT HE AGREED IT WAS DESIRABLE FOR BOTH SIDES TO ENCOURAGE PROPER ATMOSPHERE DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE REPEATED HIS SEPT PROPOSAL THAT BOTH SIDES AGREE TO A MORATORIUM ON DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC FORCES TO THE INDIAN OCEAN AND REPEATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO ENLARGE THIS PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE OTHER THAN STRATEGIC FORCES. HE COMMENTED

THAT SINCE NO AGREEMENT EXISTED, THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT OBLIGATED TO DEFEND ITS CURRENT FORCE LEVELS. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT IN A SERIOUS EFFORT TO FURTHER THE GOOD SPIRIT WHICH WAS PART OF THESE TALKS, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PROVIDE INFO CONCERNING ITS MILITARY PRESENCE. HE BEGAN BY REPEATING THE DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET FORCE LEVELS PROVIDED IN SEPT AND ADDED THAT UNDER A STABILIZATION THEY WOULD NOT BE BEYOND THIS LEVEL. HOWEVER, IF REACHING AGREEMENT WERE DELAYED FOR SEVERAL YEARS, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHAT LEVEL OF FORCES WOULD EXIST. HE OFFERED THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF THE PREVIOUS SOVIET FORCE LEVELS AS EXAMPLES OF THE VARIATION WHICH HAD OCCURRED IN PREVIOUS YEARS:

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FM AMEMBASSY BERN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5778

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 BERN 742

ACDA FOR MR CLINARD

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

-- IN 1972 THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF COMBATANTS
PRESENT SIMULTANEOUSLY WAS 10.

-- IN 1976 THE MAXIMUM NUMBER WAS 7.

-- IN 1977 THE MAXIMUM NUMBER WAS 10.

-- THE OVERALL TOTAL NUMBER OF COMBATANTS PRESENT
IN A YEARS WAS SIMILARLY VARIED.
IN 1977 IT WAS 23; IN 1973 IT WAS 18; IN 1974 IT WAS 26.

-- THE NUMBER OF AUXILIARY SHIPS ALSO VARIED, BUT WAS AT A LEVEL
CONSISTENT WITH THE NEED TO SUPPORT COMBATANTS. BECAUSE OF THIS
VARIATION, THE SOVIET UNION SUGGESTED A FIVE-YEAR AVERAGE.

-- CURRENT LEVELS ARE ANOT GREATER THAN BEFORE. BOTH IN
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JULY 1977 AND CURRENTLY, THERE WERE 10 COMBATANTS. WHILE THERE
WAS SOME CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THIS FORCE, THE OVERALL
CAPABILITY OF THE SHIPS IS SOMEWHAT LESS THAN PREVIOUSLY. HE
REPEATED THAT HE PROVIDED THIS INFO IN THE SPIRIT OF GOODWILL AND
DID NOT SEEK RECIPROCAL INFO FROM THE US.

3. CONCERNING US STATEMENT THAT IT WAS NOT ATTEMPTING
TO ALTER ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION DURING
THE COURSE OF THE TALKS, HE NOTED THAT CONSTRUCTION
AT DIEGO GARCIA CONTINUES AND THIS WAS OF SOME CONCERN.

4. WITH REGARD TO POLITICAL EVENTS IN THE HORN OF
AFRICA, HE STATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS A PEACE-
FUL SOLUTION OF THIS CONFLICT AND THAT THE SPECIFIC
CONTENT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS CANNOT BE A SUBJECT
MATTER FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS. HE NOTED THAT CONTACTS
BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE TAKING PLACE
THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS. HE COMMENTED THAT OTHER
EVENTS IN LITTORAL STATES WERE ALSO OF CONCERN TO THE
SOVIET UNION AND COULD ALSO BE RAISED; FOR EXAMPLE,
RHODESIAN AGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE AND US-UK
INVOLVEMENT IN THE RHODESIAN QUESTION. HE NOTED SOVIETS
HAD NOT RAISED THESE ISSUES PREVIOUSLY AND DID NOT
INTEND TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE.

5. CONCERNING THE VIEWS OF THE LITTORAL STATES, HE DENIED
ANY INTENTION TO SPEAK FOR LITTORAL STATES, BUT SIMPLY
NOTED SIMILARITY OF VIEWS EVIDENT DURING CONSULTATIONS.
HE FAVORS CONTINUING THE PAST PROCEDURES OF BRIEFING
UN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON INDIAN OCEAN AND OF PRIVATE
BILATERAL TALKS WITH OTHER INTERESTED STATES.

6. WITH REGARD TO ISSUED UNDER DISCUSSION BY
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EXPERTS GROUPS HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- ON AUXILIARY VESSELS HE AGREED TO DROP
SUBDIVISION OF AUXILIARIES INTO THOSE HAVING
STATIONARY ARMAMENTS AND THOSE WITHOUT, BUT SUGGESTED
THAT ALL AUXILIARIES BE EXCLUDED FROM LIMITATIONS
UNDER AN AGREEMENT. HE PRESENTED THIS AS A STEP
FORWARD TO MEET US POSITION.

-- ON TRANSIT HE SAID SOVIETS PREPARED TO
SUGGEST LESSER PERIOD OF TIME THAN 90 DAYS AND
HOPE US WOULD ALSO MAKE EFFORT TOWARDS COMPROMISE.
HE SAID QUESTION OF TRANSIT SHIPS MAKING OFFICIAL
VISITS IS A PRACTICAL QUESTION WHICH SHOULD BE
DISCUSSED BY EXPERTS.

-- IN AIRCRAFT TRANSIT QUESTION SOVIETS
WISHED TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THIS
PROVISION, INCLUDING TYPE OF AIRCRAFT WHICH
MIGHT TRANSIT AND ROUTES THEY MIGHT TAKE.
SOVIETS DO NOT REJECT THIS APPROACH IN PRIN-
CIPLE.

-- CONCERNING AFLOAT AND ASHORE SUPPORT
FACILITIES, HE SAID SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO
STUDY THIS QUESTION. HE DID NOT RULE OUT
DESIRABILITY OF A DEFINITION OF A ROUTINE PORT
CALL BUT FELT THERE WAS ALSO A NEED FOR A DEFINI-
TION OF UTILIZATION OF A PORT, NOTHING THAT THE
SOVIET UNION PRIMARILY USED PORTS FOR ANCHORAGE
AND DID NOT MAKE USE OF OTHER FACILITIES LOCATED
THERE.

-- ONDEFINITION OF THE AREA, THE US STATED
THIS WAS A POLITICAL NOT A GEOGRAPHIC QUESTION.
YET THE US HAD NOT PROVIDED ANY POLITICAL ARGU-
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MENTS TO SUPPORT ITS POSITION. WITHOUT US
WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THIS HE DID NOT SEE HOW
THERE COULD BE PROGRESS.

CONCERNING SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS,

HE PROPOSED THAT BOTH SIDES EXCHANGE, IN WORK-
ING GROUPS, FORMATS FOR THEIR APPROACH TO THE
DRAFTING OF SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS. THESE
FORMATS WOULD NOT INCLUDE SPECIFIC NUMBERS.
HE FELT THIS WAS NECESSARY FOR A BETTER UNDER-
STANDING OF EACH SIDE'S POSITION. HE NOTED
THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT REJECT THE US
APPROACH ON SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5779

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JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 BERN 742

ACDA FOR MR CLINARD

DEPT PASS NSC FOR CDR SICK

7. WARNKE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN HIS
RESPONSE:

-- SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A MORATORIUM ON
INTRODUCTION OF STRATEGIC FORCES DID NOT DEAL WITH
THE PRIORITY TASK WHICH WAS TO DETERMINE A
METHOD TO DESCRIBE FORCE LEVELS WHICH WOULD BE
STABILIZED. AT THE PRESENT THERE WAS NOT EVEN
AN AGREED UNDERSTANDING ON WHAT WAS MEANT BY
STRATEGIC FORCES. OUR EFFORTS SHOULD PROCEED
FROM THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIA-
TIONS SHOULD NOT BE USED TO BRING ABOUT SIGNIFI-

CANT CHANGES IN MILITARY PRESENCE AND THAT THE SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL NEEDED TO BE REFLECTED IN PRACTICE IF WE WERE TO MAKE PROGRESS.

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-- HE APPRECIATED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO OFFER FIGURES ON ITS NAVAL PRESENCE BUT NOTED THAT IN ADDITION TO COLD STATISTICS WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF NAVAL PRESENCE. US BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE AUXILIARIES UNDER ANY LIMITATIONS AND HE AGREED THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE STUDIED IN THE EXPERTS GROUP. HE REPEATED THAT, IN OUR VIEW, THE CURRENT SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE SUBSTANTIALLY EXCEEDS THE SIZE, STRENGTH, NATURE, AND PURPOSE OF PREVIOUS PERIODS.

-- HE STATED THAT SINCE THERE WAS NO EXISTING AGREEMENT THE US WAS NOT CHARGING ANYONE WITH A VIOLATION, BUT IT WAS EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER ACTIVITIES THAT WERE DISRUPTIVE TO PROGRESS.

-- CONSTRUCTION AT DIEGO GARCIA WAS CONTINUING IN A WAY COMPATIBLE WITH US STATEMENT OF ITS POSITION SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS. HE AGREED THAT EXPERTS GROUPS SHOULD CONTINUE WORK ON DEFINITION OF AUXILIARIES, TRANSIT, AIRCRAFT TRANSIT, AND SUPPORT FACILITIES. HE PROPOSED DEFINITION OF AREA BE TAKEN UP AT THURSDAY'S RESTRICTED SESSION.

-- HE STATED US NOT PREPARED TO TABLE FORMAT OF ITS APPROACH TO SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT SINCE THERE WERE MANY QUESTIONS, INCLUDING SEVERAL DEFINITIONS, WHICH WOULD NEED TO BE RESOLVED. HE NOTED THAT TODAY'S DEBATE ON CURRENT SOVIET FORCE LEVELS COMPARED TO THOSE OF PREVIOUS PERIODS SHOWED THAT TWO SIDES ARE SECRET

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VERY, VERY FAR APART ON A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS MEANT BY STABILIZATION, AND THAT THIS GAP WOULD HAVE TO BE NARROWED BEFORE WE WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER USEFUL SUGGESTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUPPLE-

MENTAL STATEMENTS. HE AGAIN STRESSED NEED FOR BOTH SIDES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT SO THAT THAT WHICH IS STABILIZED IS WORTH STABILIZING.

-- WARNKE AGAIN REPEATED MAIN POLITICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE THEMES SET OUT IN OPENING STATEMENT TO ENSURE SOVIETS UNDERSTOOD THE CONTEXT AND RELATIONSHIP OF THESE TALKS TO OVERALL US-SOVIET RELATIONS.

9. IN A BRIEF REJOINDER MENDELEVICH EXPRESSED DESIRE TO DISCUSS FURTHER US BELIEF THAT NEGOTIATORS NEED TO BE AWARE OF "REALITIES" IN ADDITION TO STATISTICS. HE SUGGESTED THIS MIGHT INCLUDE LARGE RANGE OF POLITICAL ISSUES THAT COULD NOT BE COVERED IN AN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL IN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTINUE AND ASSURED THE US SIDE THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO INJECT OTHER ISSUES INTO THE TALKS. HE EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT AN INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT IS IN THE LONG TERM INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES.

10. THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT ADDITIONAL MEETINGS OF EXPERTS GROUPS AND THE DRAFTING GROUP WILL TAKE PLACE WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY.
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Message Attributes

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