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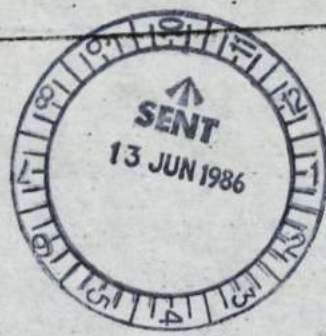
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MODUK (FOR (DUS(P) AND DACU)

MY TELNO 1516: GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS: NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS

SUMMARY

1. THE RUSSIANS COMPLETE THE PRESENTATION OF THEIR NEW LINKED OFFENSIVE/DEFENSIVE OFFER, BY SPELLING OUT A NEW OFFENSIVE REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL. DESCRIBED AS INTERIM, IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS OF LESS THAN 50 PER CENT ON EACH SIDE. THE EXCLUSION OF US LRMNF IN EUROPE, AND FORWARD-BASED AND CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT, FROM THE DEFINITION OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE ON PREVIOUS SOVIET GENEVA POSITIONS. STATE TAKING THE PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY, AND HOPING TO AVOID EARLY ADMINISTRATION PUBLIC COMMENT.

DETAILS

2. STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS HAVE GIVEN US A PRELIMINARY BRIEFING, IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, ON THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, TABLED BY KARPOV IN GENEVA, IN FORMAL PLENARY SESSION, ON 11 JUNE. NO OTHER EMBASSY IS BEING SIMILARLY BRIEFED HERE, AND THERE WILL BE NO IMMEDIATE NATO BRIEFING. PLEASE THEREFORE PROTECT CAREFULLY.

3. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL CONSTITUTES THE THIRD AND FINAL SECTION

3. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL CONSTITUTES THE THIRD AND FINAL SECTION OF A COMPREHENSIVE NEW POSITION ON SPACE/DEFENCE AND OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS. A FIRST BROAD OUTLINE WAS GIVEN ON 29 MAY (OUR TELNO 1477); THE DETAIL ON ABMT STRENGTHENING/ASATS BAN/BAN ON OFFENSIVE USES OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS WAS PROVIDED ON 3 JUNE (OUR TELNO 1516); THE 11 JUNE TEXT PROVIDES SIMILAR DETAIL ON THE PROPOSED REDUCTIONS IN OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS WITH WHICH THE 3 JUNE ELEMENTS ARE LINKED. THE RUSSIANS MADE CLEAR, AS THEY HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY DONE, THAT THEIR ASKING PRICE FOR 50 PER CENT REDUCTIONS IN OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS WOULD BE ALL REPEAT ALL THE SPACE/DEFENCE ELEMENTS MENTIONED ON 3 JUNE. BUT THEY ALSO INDICATED THAT, IN EXCHANGE FOR US AGREEMENT TO AN EXTENSION OF THE ABMT WITHDRAWAL PERIOD TO 15 OR 20 YEARS, BUT NOT THE OTHER 3 JUNE ELEMENTS, THEY WOULD BE PREPARED, AS AN QUOTE INTERIM STEP UNQUOTE TO AGREE TO REDUCTIONS OF LESS THAN 50 PER CENT (PHASED OVER 5 OR 6 YEARS). AND THE MEAT OF THE 11 JUNE PROPOSAL SPELLS OUT THE CONDITIONS AND DEFINITIONS FOR SUCH AN INTERIM STEP, WIZ:-

- Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicles*
- (A) SNDVS ON EACH SIDE SHOULD BE LIMITED TO 1600, AND SHOULD BE DEFINED AS ICBMS, SLBMS, HEAVY BOMBERS, AND SLCMS.
  - (B) NUCLEAR CHARGES SHOULD BE LIMITED TO 8,000 ON EACH SIDE.
  - (C) NO MORE THAN 60 PER CENT OF THESE 8,000 NUCLEAR CHARGES SHOULD BE PERMITTED ON ANY ONE TYPE OF DELIVERY VEHICLE.
  - (D) A BAN (OR CONCEIVABLY LIMITS) ON TYPES OF DELIVERY VEHICLES NOT TESTED BEFORE THE DATE OF THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL.
  - (E) THERE SHOULD ALSO BE A BAN ON CRUISE MISSILES ON SURFACE SHIPS, AND A LIMIT ON NUMBERS OF CLASSES OF SLCM-EQUIPPED SUBMARINES.

4. THIS CLEARLY REPRESENTS AN ADVANCE ON THE SOVIET 1 OCTOBER PROPOSAL (MY TELNO 2757). IN PARTICULAR, ON (A), THE RUSSIANS WERE THEN SUGGESTING 50 PER CENT CUTS IN SNDV NUMBERS WHICH THEY GAVE AS 2504 ON THEIR SIDE, AND 3360 ON THE US SIDE, BECAUSE THEY COUNTED IN SOME 500 FORWARD-BASED AIRCRAFT, SOME 500 CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT, AND SOME 209 US LRINF. US FBS ARE NOT NOW COUNTED IN. AS EXPECTED, BUT PERHAPS RATHER EARLIER THAN FORESEEN, THE RUSSIANS ARE THEREFORE IMPLICITLY REVERTING TO THE TRADITIONAL SALT DEFINITION OF AN OFFENSIVE SYSTEM.

5. THE SUGGESTED NUCLEAR CHARGE LIMIT (B), AT 8,000 IS UP FROM 6,000 IN THE 1 OCTOBER PROPOSAL. THE EFFECT OF THE 60 PER CENT RULE (C), IDENTICAL IN THE TWO PROPOSALS, WOULD THEREFORE BE LESS STRINGENT. THE BAN ON NEW TYPES (D) SEEMS DESIGNED TO CATCH MIDGETMAN AND MX, WHILE COMPARABLE SOVIET SYSTEMS ESCAPE, AND THE WORDING SEEMS SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF 1 OCTOBER. THE LIMITATION (E) ON CLASSES OF SLCM-CARRYING SUBMARINES, WHICH IS NEW,

LIMITATION (E) ON CLASSES OF SLCM-CARRYING SUBMARINES, WHICH IS NEW, MAY BE A RESPONSE TO TALK HERE, IN THE SALT CONSTRAINTS CONTEXT, OF CONVERTING POSEIDON SUBMARINES TO CARRY SLCMS.

6. THOUGH STATE HAVE YET TO SEE HIS TEXT, AND ARE THEREFORE NOT SURE OF THE EXACT TERMS, KARPOV APPARENTLY INDICATED THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ASSUMED A SUCCESSFUL AND SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON QUOTE LAND-BASED INF AS THEY PERTAIN TO EUROPE. UNQUOTE. STATE'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT THIS WAS NOT A CONDITION (THE A NEW LINK TO THE THIRD INF BASKET), BUT RATHER A DISCREET WAY OF COVERING THE CLIMB DOWN ON FBS. ON THE OTHER HAND, KARPOV ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS PREDICATED ON A FREEZE ON INF SYSTEMS, AND STATE'S INITIAL ASSUMPTION IS THAT THE RUSSIANS ENVISAGE THIS COVERING THIRD COUNTRY SYSTEMS. WE SHALL PURSUE THESE POINTS AGAIN WHEN OUR CONTACTS HAVE SEEN THE TEXT, AND KAMPELMAN'S FULL REPORT.

7. KAMPELMAN MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE ON 11 JUNE, BUT STATE HOPE THAT HE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE FIRST US REACTIONS ON 18 JUNE. THEIR INITIAL VIEW IS THAT, WHILE THE PROPOSAL IS NOT ACCEPTABLE IN ITS PRESENT FORM, IT REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE ON 1 OCTOBER, AND A NOT UNREASONABLE RESPONSE TO THE US NOVEMBER PROPOSAL. THEY CLEARLY ARE RELIEVED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT CHOSEN TO MAKE AN ISSUE IN GENEVA OF THE US SALT CONSTRAINTS ANNOUNCEMENT (ON WHICH THEY WERE BRIEFED SHORTLY BEFORE 27 MAY), BUT HAVE INSTEAD PRODUCED, AND PROCEEDED TO FLESH OUT, THEIR THREE-PART PROPOSAL. (BUT THIS IS NOT A POINT WHICH THERE AS YET MAKING PUBLICLY, AND THEREFORE NOT ONE WHICH THEY WOULD NOW WISH TO SEE MADE IN LONDON.)

8. THE WIRE SERVICES ON 11 JUNE WERE QUICKLY ON TO THE FACT, THOUGH NOT THE DETAILS, OF A NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL ON 11 JUNE, AND THE PRESIDENT WAS ASKED ABOUT IT AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE (MY TELNO 1568). HIS FULL ANSWER WAS QUOTE I CANNOT COMMENT ON IT BECAUSE OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE SITUATION THERE IN GENEVA. BUT YES, AS OF TODAY WE HAVE RECEIVED A PROPOSAL AND NOW WE'RE GOING TO STUDY IT. UNQUOTE. A WHITE HOUSE ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TO STOP ANY OSD PLANS FOR RUBBISHING (CF WEINBERGER ON 1 JUNE ON THE 29 MAY PROPOSAL).

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