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TELEGRAM NUMBER 356 OF 1 FEBRUARY

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SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS

SUMMARY

1. NEW COMPLIANCE REPORT TO CONGRESS REAFFIRMS EARLIER CONCLUSIONS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS VIOLATED OR PROBABLY VIOLATED ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS IN THE SEVEN RESPECTS EXAMINED IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S REPORT OF JANUARY 1984. FINDINGS OF SOVIET NON-COMPLIANCE OR PROBABLE NON-COMPLIANCE ON FOUR OUT OF SIX NEW ISSUES STUDIED. UNLIKELY THAT THE REPORT WILL UPSET PREPARATIONS FOR GENEVA.

DETAIL

2. AS REQUIRED BY THE FY85 DEFENCE AUTHORISATIONS ACT, THE PRESIDENT TODAY FORWARDED TO CONGRESS A NEW UNCLASSIFIED REPORT ON SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. A CLASSIFIED VERSION OF THE REPORT WILL FOLLOW, PROBABLY NEXT WEEK, THE REPORT RE-EXAMINS THE SEVEN PROBLEM AREAS COVERED IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S EARLIER REPORT OF JANUARY 1984. IT ALSO EXAMINES SIX NEW ISSUES.

3. ON THE SEVEN ISSUES COVERED IN THE JANUARY 1984 REPORT, THE NEW REPORT CONFIRMS EARLIER CONCLUSIONS THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT OBSERVED THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN RESPECT OF THE NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES; HAVE VIOLATED THE GENEVA PROTOCOL ON CW AND THE BIOLOGICAL AND TOXIN WEAPONS CONVENTION BY MAINTAINING A BW CAPABILITY AND BEING INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCTION, TRANSFER AND USE OF MYCOTOXINS; AND HAVE VIOLATED TWO PROVISIONS OF THE SALT II AGREEMENT CONCERNING TELEMTRY ENCRYPTION AND THE TESTING OF ONLY ONE NEW TYPE OF ICBM. THE REPORT ALSO REAFFIRMS EARLIER CONCLUSIONS THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE PROBABLY VIOLATED THE PROVISION OF SALT II WHICH PROHIBITS SS16 DEPLOYMENT AND IS LIKELY TO HAVE VIOLATED THE NUCLEAR TESTING YIELD LIMIT OF THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY.

4. OF THE SIX NEW COMPLIANCE ISSUES EXAMINED, THE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT VIOLATED TWO: THE PROVISIONS OF SALT I DEALING WITH THE REUSE OF DISMANTLED ICBM SITES AND THOSE DEALING WITH THE RECONFIGURATION OF DISMANTLED BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINES. ON THE FOUR REMAINING ISSUES, THE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS VIOLATED THE PTBT BY VENTING RADIOACTIVE DEBRIS OUTSIDE ITS TERRITORIAL LIMITS, AND HAS PROBABLY VIOLATED THE ABM TREATY'S RESTRICTION ON THE CONCURRENT TESTING OF SAM AND ABM COMPONENTS. EVIDENCE CONCERNING SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE ABM TREATY ON COMPONENT MOBILITY IS JUDGED AMBIGUOUS AND A QUOTE POTENTIAL VIOLATION UNQUOTE OF THE TREATY. SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR A TERRITORIAL ABM DEFENCE IS JUDGED TO BE A POSSIBLE VIOLATION OF THE ABM TREATY.

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5. THE REPORT SAYS THAT ADDITIONAL SOVIET COMPLIANCE ISSUES OVER AND BEYOND THOSE COVERED IN THE REPORT ARE UNDER EXAMINATION BY THE ADMINISTRATION. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE CLASSIFIED VERSION OF THE REPORT FORWARDED TO CONGRESS NEXT WEEK WILL COVER SOME OF THESE.

6. THE PRESIDENT'S COVERING LETTER EMPHASISES THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW THE COMPLIANCE ISSUE. THE LETTER SAYS THAT QUOTE IN ORDER FOR ARMS CONTROL TO HAVE MEANING AND CREDIBLY CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO GLOBAL OR REGIONAL STABILITY, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ALL PARTIES TO AGREEMENTS FULLY COMPLY WITH THEM. STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH ALL PROVISIONS OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS IS FUNDAMENTAL, AND THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS. TO DO SO WOULD UNDERMINE THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS AND DAMAGE THE CHANCES FOR ESTABLISHING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. UNQUOTE.

7. THE PRESIDENT ALSO SAYS THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT SO FAR PROVIDED SATISFACTORY EXPLANATIONS OF DOUBTFUL BEHAVIOUR, OR TAKEN CORRECTIVE ACTION WHICH MIGHT ALLEVIATE THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERNS. THE ADMINISTRATION WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO PRESS THE RUSSIANS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES INVOLVED, WHILE CONTINUING TO CARRY OUT ITS OWN OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS UNDER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS.

COMMENT

8. THERE IS NOTHING SUBSTANTIVELY NEW IN THE REPORT'S FINDINGS ON THE SEVEN ISSUES COVERED IN THE JANUARY 1984 REPORT. OF THE SIX NEW ISSUES, ONLY ONE (NUCLEAR TEST VENTING) IS JUDGED A DEFINITE VIOLATION, AND THE SOVIET UNION IS GIVEN A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH ON TWO ISSUES. IT THEREFORE SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE FORWARDING OF THIS NEW REPORT WILL HAVE MAJOR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS HERE IN THE SHORT TERM OR PROVIDE MUCH NEW AMMUNITION FOR THOSE WHO WOULD ARGUE THAT THE SOVIET COMPLIANCE RECORD IS A REASON FOR NOT UNDERTAKING A SERIOUS SEARCH IN GENEVA FOR NEW ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. IN ORDER TO PRE-EMPT SUCH ARGUMENTS, HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL ARGUE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA OFFER THEM AN ADDITIONAL FORUM IN WHICH TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS AND SEEK SOVIET CLARIFICATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS, AND NEW LEVERAGE ON THE SOVIET UNION ON COMPLIANCE ISSUES GENERALLY.

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