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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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HOPE THE SOVIETS WILL BE PREPARED TO EXPLAIN THE
ANDROPOV STATEMENT ON AIRCRAFT.

ALL NATO CAPITALS NIACT IMMEDIATE
USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO EUROPEAN POLADS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 0000
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000
AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 0000
AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE 0000

-- HOWEVER, THE SOVIET POSITION OUTLINED BY
ANDROPOV CONTAINS A NUMBER OF CRITICAL SHORTCOMINGS.

-- IT INVOLVES NO CHANGE WHATSOEVER FROM THE SOVIET
POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO U.S. DEPLOYMENTS AND
THAT THE SOVIETS MUST BE COMPENSATED FOR BRITISH AND
FRENCH FORCES. THE SOVIET CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION IS AN
EXCUSE DESIGNED TO BLOCK U.S. DEPLOYMENTS WHILE
PRESERVING A LARGE AND THREATENING MONOPOLY OF LRINF
MISSILES FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 306583 TOSEC 120010

-- THE SOVIET OFFER TO REDUCE TO ABOUT 140 MISSILES
IN EUROPE SUGGESTS SOVIET RECOGNITION THAT A BALANCE
DOES NOT NOW EXIST, AND SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH
SOVIET REDUCTIONS. THE SOVIET UNION STILL SEEKS,
HOWEVER, A MONOPOLY ON INF MISSILES WHICH WOULD LEAVE
IT WITH SOME 750 WARHEADS ON LAUNCHERS, WHILE THE U.S.
HAD NONE.

GENEVA FOR USINF/USSTART, OTTAWA ALSO FOR SECDEF PARTY

60 12350 DECL. DADR

TAGS: PARM, NATO, INF

SUBJECT: INF: RESPONSE TO ANDROPOV INTERVIEW

-- IT SEEMS TO LEGITIMIZE THE BUILD-UP OF SS-20S IN
THE FAR EAST. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION WHATEVER FOR
THE SOVIET SS-20 BUILD-UP IN ASIA. THE OFFER OF A
FREEZE ADDITIONALLY CONTAIN A NUMBER OF LOOPHOLES AND
AMBIGUITIES, WHICH MAKE IT UNCLEAR THAT SOVIET

1. ~~(G)~~ EMBASSIES SHOULD HAVE SEEN BY NOW FBIS REPORT OF
OCTOBER 26 PRAVDA "QUESTION AND ANSWER" INTERVIEW WITH
ANDROPOV REGARDING THE INF NEGOTIATIONS. TRANSMITTED
BELOW IS GUIDANCE ON WHICH USG SPOKESMEN WILL DRAW ON
THE ANDROPOV INTERVIEW. IMMEDIATELY ON OPENING OF
BUSINESS, ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD PROVIDE THE PRESS
GUIDANCE TO SCG REPS OR OTHER APPROPRIATE HOST
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, NOTING OUR HOPE THAT THEY WILL
FORMULATE THEIR OWN NATIONAL STATEMENTS ON THE ANDROPOV
INTERVIEW ALONG THE SAME LINES.

DEPLOYMENTS WOULD ACTUALLY BE AFFECTED.

3. ~~(G)~~ BEGIN TEXT OF GUIDANCE:

-- ON THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT A MORATORIUM REMAINS IN
EFFECT, WE NOTE THAT THE SOVIET BUILD-UP HAS CONTINUED
EVER SINCE THE MORATORIUM WAS FIRST DECLARED IN MARCH
1982. WITHIN A YEAR AFTER THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, THE
SOVIETS HAD DEPLOYED AN ADDITIONAL 54 SS-20 MISSILES IN
OR WITHIN RANGE OF EUROPE. MOREOVER, THEY HAVE
CONTINUED TO BUILD UP THEIR SS-20 FORCES IN THE ASIAN
USSR, INCLUDING CONSTRUCTION OF NEW BASE COMPLEXES.
ONE OF THESE BASES RECENTLY WAS COMPLETED, BRINGING THE
TOTAL OF DEPLOYED SS-20S TO 360 -- 62 MORE THAN WHEN
THE MORATORIUM WAS FIRST DECLARED

-- THE ANDROPOV INTERVIEW CONTAINS SEVERAL
ELEMENTS.

-- IT CONTAINS CERTAIN PROPOSALS REGARDING THE INF
NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT WHICH WE WILL SEEK ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION AND CLARIFICATION WHEN THEY ARE PRESENTED
IN GENEVA.

-- ON THE OFFER FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS OF INF
MISSILES IF THE U.S. AND ALLIES ACCEPTED A DELAY IN
THEIR OWN DEPLOYMENT SCHEDULE, THE SOVIET OFFER WOULD
APPLY ONLY TO OBSOLESCENT SS-4 MISSILES, WHICH ARE IN
ANY CASE BEING REMOVED, NOT TO SS-20S. GIVEN THE
APPARENT SOVIET CONCEPT OF A MORATORIUM, THE SOVIETS
WOULD BE FREE TO CONTINUE DEPLOYING SS-20S WITHIN RANGE
OF EUROPE.

-- THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF THESE PROPOSALS
BEFORE THEY WERE PRESENTED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN
GENEVA SHOWS THAT THE SOVIET INTENTION IS TO TRY TO
SPLIT THE ALLIES AND THEIR PUBLICS.

-- IN OTHER RESPECTS, THE INTERVIEW APPEARS TO HAVE
LITTLE NEW AND CONTINUES TO MISREPRESENT THE FACTS AND
TO ATTACH UNACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS FOR ANY AGREEMENT.

-- FINALLY, THE SOVIET THREAT TO END THE NEGOTIATIONS
WITH THE APPEARANCE OF U.S. MISSILES IN EUROPE IS
TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED. THE U.S. HAS NEGOTIATED FOR TWO
YEARS WHILE SS-20 LEVELS HAVE RISEN DRAMATICALLY. THE
U.S., WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF ITS ALLIES, HAS MADE
CLEAR THAT IT IS READY TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS FOR AS
LONG AS NECESSARY TO REACH AN EQUITABLE AND VERIFIABLE
AGREEMENT. WE BELIEVE THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD
UNEQUIVOCALLY MAKE THE SAME COMMITMENT.

REGARDING THE SPECIFICS IN THE ANDROPOV STATEMENT:

END TEXT OF GUIDANCE.

-- THE OFFER FOR A FREEZE ON SOVIET SS-20 LEVELS IN
THE ASIAN USSR SEEMS TO ENTAIL SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF OUR
LONGSTANDING VIEW THAT LRINF MISSILES MUST BE TREA,ED
ON A GLOBAL BASIS.

-- THE PROPOSAL REGARDING AIRCRAFT IS TOO VAGUE TO
EVALUATE AT THIS POINT AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN
SEPTEMBER. WE ARE PREPARED TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE
LIMITATIONS ON INF AIRCRAFT AND TO HEAR SOVIET VIEWS ON
HOW SUCH LIMITATIONS COULD BE FORMULATED WITHIN THE
FRAMEWORK OF OUR CRITERIA FOR AN AGREEMENT. THUS, WE

4. FOR TOKYO. THE FIRST POINT (BEGINNING "THE OFFER
FOR A FREEZE...") UNDER THE HEADING "REGARDING THE
SPECIFICS IN THE ANDROPOV STATEMENT" HAS BEEN USED IN
WASHINGTON. IN VIEW OF JAPANESE SENSITIVITIES ON THIS
ISSUE AND TO ENSURE THE GOJ DOES NOT MISCONSTRUE OUR
POLICY, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION AND
ANSWER:

ACTION (U, B, 8)
INFO NIDS(1) J3:NMCC(1) J5(2) SECDEF:(1)
SECDEF(9) USDP(15) ASD:MRAL(2) DI-5(1) NMIC(1)
DC-4A(1) DIO(1) VP-A2 FRD(1) DE(1) DB-2B(1) DB-3B(2)
DB-4F(2) DB-4G(1) DB-4E3(1) DB-5D3(1) DIA(1)
AT-A(1) DT-5(1)
+PTC WASH DC
+MATS PENT WASHINGTON DC
+DMA WASHINGTON DC//DOST/MATA/OACP//
+DIRAFMIC FT DETRICK MD//IS//
+USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

QUESTION: DOES THIS MEAN THAT A SIMPLE FREEZE OF
SOVIET MISSILES IN ASIA WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR
GLOBAL APPROACH?

ANSWER: WHAT WE ARE SAYING IS THAT ANDROPOV'S POSITION:

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
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Chief, Records & Class Div, OASD
Date: JAN 2 2016

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TOR=83300/03172

TAD=83300/0318Z

CDSN=MAK214

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ACKNOWLEDGES THAT LRINF MISSILES IN ASIA MUST BE

COVERED BY ANY AGREEMENT. OUR APPROACH IS TO SEEK THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL ON A GLOBAL BASIS. OUR INTERIM PROPOSAL CALLS FOR A GLOBAL LIMIT ON SOVIET AND U.S. LRINF MISSILES AT LEVELS SUBSTANTIALLY BELOW THE CURRENTLY PLANNED U.S. DEPLOYMENT. THIS REMAINS OUR POSITION. IT WOULD RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN THE SOVIET LRINF MISSILE FORCES, APPLICABLE GLOBALLY, NOT JUST IN EUROPE. WE SHARE OUR ASIAN ALLIES' CONCERN ABOUT THE INCREASING THREAT POSED BY SOVIET SS-20 MISSILES DEPLOYED IN THE EASTERN USSR. ACCORDINGLY, WE CONTINUE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH OUR ASIAN ALLIES TO ENSURE THAT THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS WILL BE PROTECTED IN ANY POTENTIAL AGREEMENT.
DAM BT

Office of the Secretary of Defense **5 U.S.C. 552**
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 22 Jan 2016 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 16 -M-0955

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