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Office of the Secretary of Defense  
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS

Date: 06 SEP 2013 Authority: EO 13526+ S.O.C. 8552

Declassify: X Deny in Full: \_\_\_\_\_

Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

MDR: 15-M-1457

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AWACS TALKING POINTS FOR USE IN EXECUTIVE SESSION  
APPEARANCE BEFORE THE  
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
OCTOBER 1, 1981

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STUD 1 ARABIA

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE MURPHY MISSION

-- MR. CHAIRMAN, I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAR  
BEFORE THE COMMITTEE TODAY TO REVIEW OUR UNDERSTANDINGS WITH  
THE SAUDIS GOVERNING THE SALE AND OPERATION OF THE AWACS.  
THIS IS PARTICULARLY SO BECAUSE AS YOU MAY KNOW, IRANIAN JETS  
THIS MORNING ONCE AGAIN STRUCK AT TARGETS ACROSS THE PERSIAN  
GULF. THIS TIME THEY ATTACKED KUWAIT. I BELIEVE THIS  
EPISODE STANDS AS AMPLE AND ELOQUENT TESTIMONY OF WHY I AM  
HERE THIS MORNING.

-- I APPRECIATE YOUR COOPERATION IN CONVENING THE COM-  
MITTEE IN EXECUTIVE SESSION SO THAT I CAN DESCRIBE FULLY  
AND CANDIDLY WHERE WE STAND. AS I KNOW YOU ARE AWARE, PUBLIC  
DISCLOSURE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAUDIS COULD SERIOUSLY  
DAMAGE OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM.

-- I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT, THROUGHOUT THIS PROCESS  
WE HAVE WORKED TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ISSUES RAISED  
IN THE CONGRESS.

-- I CAN NOW SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT WE HAVE CREATED  
A JOINT SYSTEM OF SAFEGUARDS FOR THE SAUDI AWACS WHICH IS  
RESPONSIVE TO CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS.

1 OCT 81

330-83-0164, b7c, 1 (cont)

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-- I BELIEVE THAT AFTER YOU HAVE HEARD WHAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MEET THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED ABOUT THE SALE ON THE HILL.

THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED WILL GUARANTEE A CRITICAL US ROLE IN THE OPERATION OF THE SAUDI AWACS INTO THE 1990s AND BEYOND, AND WILL GIVE US A WELL FOUNDED CONFIDENCE IN:

- HOW THE SAUDI AWACS ARE USED;
- THEIR PHYSICAL SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF THE AWACS TECHNOLOGY;
- SHARING DATA FROM THE SAUDI AWACS; AND
- THE CONTINUING PARTICIPATION OF AMERICANS ON BOARD THE SAUDI AWACS, AND IN AWACS GROUND FACILITIES IN SAUDI ARABIA.

THE MECHANISM FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAUDIS, WE HAVE AGREED ON A STRUCTURE FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN AWACS OPERATIONS AND SECURITY WHICH I BELIEVE WILL ALLOW US TO ACHIEVE AN IMPORTANT DEGREE OF DEFACTO CONTROL OVER THE SYSTEM. THROUGHOUT THESE NEGOTIATIONS THE SAUDIS HAVE EMPHASIZED THE VALUE THEY PLACE ON CLOSE U.S.- SAUDI COOPERATION IN A JOINT EFFORT TO DEVELOP AND TO BENEFIT

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MUTUALLY FROM THE SAUDI AWACS SYSTEM. IN AGREEING TO ESTABLISH AN EFFECTIVE JOINT MECHANISM TO ACHIEVE COOPERATION, THE SAUDIS HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE LONGSTANDING ROLE OF THE U.S. MILITARY TRAINING MISSION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAUDI DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

WE HAVE AGREED TO EXPAND THE ROLE OF THE MISSION TO PROVIDE A DAY-TO-DAY MECHANISM THROUGH WHICH THE U.S. WILL PARTICIPATE IN CRITICAL WAYS IN AWACS OPERATIONS, MAINTENANCE, AND SECURITY. THE MISSION WILL MONITOR THE USE AND PROTECTION OF THE SYSTEM, AND WILL, IN EFFECT, RETAIN A CRITICAL CONTROLLING ROLE IN THE SAUDI AWACS SYSTEM. WE ARE CONFIDENT THIS APPROACH WILL PROVIDE A STRUCTURED SYSTEM OF SAFEGUARDS AND AN EXCELLENT MECHANISM FOR ADVANCING OUR SECURITY INTERESTS IN SAUDI ARABIA.

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### SECURITY ASSURANCES

WE HAVE SAUDI APPROVAL OF A RANGE OF AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE RESPONSIVE TO THE CONCERNS WHICH WE AND THE CONGRESS SHARE. IF ANY OF THESE AGREEMENTS ARE BREACHED, WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO CANCEL THE SALE BEFORE ANY US EQUIPMENT IS DELIVERED. LET ME DETAIL THEM FOR YOU:

-- FIRST, THE SAUDIS HAVE AGREED TO A SET OF COMPREHENSIVE AND STRINGENT SECURITY MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD THE EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY WE ARE PROVIDING. CAP WILL BE DISCUSSING THESE ARRANGEMENTS WITH YOU IN MORE DETAIL.

-- I BELIEVE THAT THESE MEASURES ARE REMARKABLE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE THE SAUDI TRACK-RECORD IN PROTECTING CLASSIFIED MATERIAL IS IMPECCABLE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF HOW FAR THE SAUDIS HAVE AGREED TO GO IN ACCEPTING MEASURES WHICH ALLOW FOR SUBSTANTIAL US PARTICIPATION IN SAUDI INTERNAL SECURITY PROCEDURES.

-- LET ME GIVE YOU SOME EXAMPLES OF THESE SECURITY MEASURES:

- US INSPECTION TEAMS WILL BE ABLE TO MONITOR THE USE OF ALL THE EQUIPMENT ASSOCIATED WITH THE AWACS SALE;

- ONLY US AND SAUDI PERSONNEL WILL BE USED TO PERFORM ANY OPERATIONS OR MAINTENANCE FUNCTIONS;

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- NO THIRD-COUNTRY PERSONNEL WILL BE PERMITTED TO MAKE ANY MODIFICATIONS TO THE AWACS AIRCRAFT OR RELATED GROUND EQUIPMENT WITHOUT US CONSENT; AND

- SPECIAL FACILITIES WILL BE CONSTRUCTED TO PROVIDE AROUND-THE-CLOCK SECURITY AND MAXIMUM PROTECTION AGAINST UNAUTHORIZED ENTRY.

THESE MEASURES TO PROTECT THE SECURITY OF THE AWACS WILL HAVE TO BE APPROVED BY THE US AT LEAST ONE YEAR BEFORE ANY SAUDI AWACS ARE DELIVERED. /MS.

-- THESE ARRANGEMENTS DO MORE THAN PROVIDE EXTRA-ORDINARILY TIGHT PHYSICAL SECURITY FOR THE AWACS.

- SINCE SKILLED SAUDI AIRCREWS WILL REMAIN IN SHORT SUPPLY INDEFINITELY, THE US-SAUDI AGREEMENT THAT THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS CANNOT OPERATE OR MAINTAIN THE SAUDI

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AWACS WILL HAVE THE PRACTICAL RESULT OF EXTENDING THE PRESENCE OF AMERICANS ON BOARD THE AIRCRAFT WELL INTO THE 1990s.

- LIKEWISE, ANY ARMS SUPPLIER WHICH MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO CHALLENGE THE PREDOMINANT US ROLE IN THE SAUDI AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM WOULD FACE THE VIRTUALLY INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES CREATED BY THE US-SAUDI AGREEMENT TO PROHIBIT ANY THIRD-COUNTRY MODIFICATIONS TO THE AWACS AIRCRAFT AND GROUND ENVIRONMENT.

-- SECOND, THE SAUDIS HAVE AGREED TO SHARE COMPLETELY THEIR AWACS DATA WITH US ON A REAL-TIME BASIS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THEY HAVE AGREED THAT THE US WILL BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN AN INDEPENDENT AMERICAN CAPABILITY INSIDE THE COUNTRY TO RECEIVE AND PROCESS SAUDI AWACS RADAR INFORMATION FOR OUR OWN USE. US NAVY SHIPS AND OTHER US FACILITIES IN THE REGION ALSO WILL BE ABLE TO RECEIVE DATA FROM THE SAUDI AWACS.

-- THIRD, THE US HAS A COMPLETE VETO OVER WHO THE SAUDIS ARE ABLE TO SHARE AWACS DATA WITH. THIS ARRANGEMENT, OF COURSE, PRECLUDES ANY POSSIBILITY THAT SAUDI AWACS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO A COORDINATED ARAB ATTACK AGAINST ISRAEL.

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-- FOURTH, THE SAUDIS HAVE AGREED THAT THEY WOULD NOT OPERATE THEIR AWACS OUTSIDE SAUDI AIRSPACE. WE ARE ASSURED THAT THEY WILL FOLLOW STANDARD USAF DOCTRINE CONCERNING AWACS OPERATION. USAF DOCTRINE REQUIRES THAT AWACS BE OPERATED A "SAFE DISTANCE" BACK FROM POTENTIALLY HOSTILE BORDERS. A "SAFE DISTANCE" TRANSLATES INTO 100 TO 150 MILES, A DISTANCE AT WHICH THE ABILITY OF A SAUDI AWACS TO SEE INTO ISRAEL WOULD BE SEVERELY DEGRADED.

-- IN SUMMARY, THIS SYSTEM OF JOINT SAFEGUARDS -- IN COMBINATION WITH SAUDI AGREEMENT TO OPERATE AWACS AT "SAFE DISTANCES" FROM HOSTILE BORDERS -- WILL HAVE THE PRACTICAL RESULT OF:

- MINIMIZING THE THEORETICAL THREAT WHICH AWACS COULD POSE TO ISRAELI SECURITY;
- ENSURING FULL, REAL-TIME US ACCESS TO THE VALUABLE INFORMATION COLLECTED BY THE SAUDI AWACS; AND
- GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF SENSITIVE EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY.

-- I THINK YOU CAN SEE WHY I REGARD THIS PACKAGE OF SAFEGUARDS, WHICH WE ARE ASSURED WE WILL BE ABLE TO MONITOR CAREFULLY THROUGH THE EXPANDING TRAINING MISSION MECHANISM, AS SUBSTANTIAL, BOTH FOR THEIR COMPREHENSIVENESS AND FOR WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT SAUDI WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE OUR CONCERNS AND TO WORK WITH US.

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THE BOTTOM LINE

-- LET ME TELL YOU, WITH THE BARK OFF THE TREE, WHERE I THINK WE ARE, WHAT THE PRACTICAL CHOICES ARE, AND WHAT IS AT STAKE.

-- THE SAUDIS HAVE ACCEPTED THE REALITY OF A WIDESPREAD US PRESENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN THEIR MILITARY STRUCTURE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT OUR ALREADY EXTENSIVE INVOLVEMENT HAS "INSTITUTIONALIZED" US CONTROL OVER CRITICAL ELEMENTS OF THEIR MILITARY FORCES. NOW, THESE NEW SAFEGUARDS EXTEND THIS INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE US ROLE TO THEIR AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM, INCLUDING AWACS.

-- WHATEVER THE FORMALITIES, THIS IS THE REALITY INTO THE 1990s.

-- AS THE SAUDIS THEMSELVES PUT IT, WE WILL BE IN A PERIOD OF DE FACTO JOINT US-SAUDI COMMAND AND CONTROL AT LEAST UNTIL 1990, SIMPLY BY VIRTUE OF THE FACT THAT US CREWS WILL BE REQUIRED TO OPERATE THE SAUDI AWACS SINCE THE SAUDIS WILL NOT HAVE ENOUGH TRAINED PERSONNEL. THIS GUARANTEES AN AMERICAN PRESENCE IN THE PLANES AND ON THE GROUND.

-- AFTER 1990, THIS JOINT ARRANGEMENT WILL CONTINUE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF MECHANISM FOR DE FACTO JOINT CONTROL AND THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF CLOSER US-SAUDI COOPERATION, BUT -- AS I HAVE SAID -- BECAUSE THE SAUDIS WILL BE UNABLE TO ROUTINELY MAN THEIR FIVE AWACS WITH THEIR LIMITED AIRCREW RESOURCES.

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-- THE SAUDIS HAVE RUN HEAVY RISKS IN BEING AS RESPONSIVE AS THEY HAVE. LET ME EMPHASIZE THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF NATIONAL PRIDE ON THEIR PART. IT IS A MATTER OF SUSTAINING CREDIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE SAUDI LEADERSHIP AS A MODERATING INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD OF ARAB POLITICS, AND THE SOMETIMES DEADLY WORLD OF ARAB RADICALISM.

-- WE HAVE HAD EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAUDIS. THE RESULT IS AN EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENT WHICH, I THINK YOU WOULD HAVE TO AGREE, DEMONSTRATES THAT WE HAVE HEARD CONGRESS' CONCERNS AND WE HAVE RESPONDED TO THEM.

-- IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WE FACE A SIMPLE, BUT FUNDAMENTAL CHOICE. WE CAN ASK THE SAUDIS TO GO STILL FURTHER, AND INSIST THAT THEY AGREE TO FORMALIZE AND PUBLICIZE A NETWORK OF AGREEMENTS WE ALREADY HAVE IN HAND. BUT OUR EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT IF WE PRESS THEM FOR STILL MORE, THEY WILL NOT YIELD. ALL WE WILL HAVE ACCOMPLISHED WOULD BE TO JEOPARDIZE SAUDI COOPERATION ON CRITICAL ISSUES LIKE LEBANON AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO RISK THE OVERALL US-SAUDI RELATIONSHIP.

-- ALTERNATIVELY, WE CAN BUILD ON THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED: A LARGE AND CONTINUING US ROLE IN THE SAUDI AWACS, A STRENGTHENED, FRIENDLY SAUDI ARABIA WITH EXTENSIVE AND GROWING INFLUENCE WITH THE ARAB AND ISLAMIC WORLD, AND A CONFIDENT SAUDI ARABIA WHICH CAN WORK WITH US IN PROTECTING AND PROMOTING OUR SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE VITAL PERSIAN GULF REGION.

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