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TO: SECSTATE, WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: U.S. SUBMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

SECRET

SUBJECT: SEMENOV STATEMENT ON JULY 23, 1971

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSLATION OF THE STATEMENT PRESENTED BY MINISTER SEMENOV'S FREDAY, JULY 23, 1971:


AN EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT ON LIMITING ABM SYSTEMS AND ALL IT WOULD SEEM THAT THERE CAN BE NO DIVERGENT VIEWS ON THIS: SCORPION MUST BLOCK THE WAY TO EXPANSION OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ABM AGREEMENT IS IN DECISIVE MEASURE DETERMINED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT RELIABLY PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM.

COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF CREATING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM CONVINCINGLY SHOWS THE DANGER IT POSES TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

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BY ANY COUNTRY OBVIOUSLY CANNOT BE VIEWED AS ANYTHING OTHER THAN AN INDICATION OF AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS OR DESIGNS. IN THE VERY CREATION OF AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM COULD: PRESUMABLY BE UNDERTAKEN WITH THE DESIGN OF TRYING AT SOME POINT TO EXECUTE AN ATTACK INVOLVING THE USE OF NUCLEAR MISSILES, WITH THE HOPE OF THEN PROTECTING ONESELF FROM A RETALIATORY STRIKE BY MEANS OF AN ABM ARENA DEFENSE SYSTEM.

OF COURSE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS, THERE CAN BE NO IMPUNITY FOR AN AGGRESSOR EVEN IF HE SHOULD DEPLOY AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM: ONE CANNOT, HOWEVER, EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT AN ILLUSION OF SAFETY MIGHT APPEAR AMONG ADVENTURIST CIRCLES, NO MATTER HOW UNREAL THIS ILLUSION MIGHT PROVE TO BE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ACTUAL REALITY.

THUS, AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM COULD HEIGHTEN THE AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS OF SUCH CIRCLES AND LEAD TO AN INCREASE IN THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR. IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO AN ACCELERATION OF THE ARMS RACE; THIS WOULD IN TURNO BE REFLECTED IN THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION.

AND IN THIS LIES THE DANGER OF DEPLOYING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM.

IT SEEMS TO US THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGES AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS THE TWO SIDES HAVE EXPRESSED SIMILAR VIEWS ON THIS SCORE.


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COMPETITION: EVEN UNDER AN AGREEMENT LIMITING NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS, ABM'S COULD STIMULATE INCREASES IN OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES PERMITTED BY THE AGREEMENT.


IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE COMMON INTEREST OF THE TWO SIDES IN AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD REALLY BLOCK DEPLOYMENT OF ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEMS IS WELL STATED IN THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY SUBMITTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION ON MARCH 19, 1971.

ARTICLE III OF THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY PROVIDES THAT THE SIDES UNDERTAKE NOT TO DEPLOY ABM COMPONENTS AT A DISTANCE EXCEEDING 200 KM. FROM THE CENTER OF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON WITHIN THIS ZONE: NO MORE THAN 100 ABM LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE DEPLOYED AND NO MORE THAN 100 INTERCEPTORS: DEPLOYED AT SITES IN OTHER WORDS; THE SOVIET DRAFT ENVISAGES QUITE PRECISE GEOGRAPHIC AND QUANTITATIVE LIMITATIONS: ON ABM COMPONENTS: THIS MAKES IT POSSIBLE EFFECTIVELY TO CONSTRAIN ABM SYSTEMS WITHIN PRECISELY THOSE LIMITS: THAT MEET THE OBJECTIVE OF PROTECTING NATIONAL CAPITALS FROM ACCIDENTAL AND UNAUTHORIZED LAUNCHES.


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THAT, NOT ESTABLISHING THEIR LEVELS IN SUCH A WAY AS WOULD LEAD TO CREATING CONDITIONS CONducive TO LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM; THE REPORT OF THE U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE TO THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE ON MARCH 15, 1971, CITES CERTAIN DATA CONCERNING THE CAPABILITIES OF ABM SYSTEMS, SHOULD THEY BE DEPLOYED AT VARIOUS BASES ON U.S. TERRITORY. THESE DATA PROVIDE SOME ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL WHICH SUPPORTS THE POINT OF VIEW WE HAVE PRESENTED IN THE REPORT. STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE ABM COMPLEX AT WArREN (AIR FORCE) BASE, IN ADDITION TO DEFENDING THE CORRESPONDING ICBM SITES, WILL PROTECT A NUMBER OF TARGETS LOCATED DEEP IN AMERICAN TERRITORY, SPECIFICALLY, COLORADO SPRINGS AND OMAHA. IN OTHER WORDS, JUST ONE ABM COMPLEX AT THE AFOREMENTIONED BASE COULD SPREAD ITS UMBRELLA OVER SEVERAL LARGE AMERICAN STATES.

ONE MAY CONCLUDE FROM THIS THAT IN A SIMILAR WAY ABM SYSTEMS SHOULD BE LOCATED AT OTHER ICBM SITES; AT THREE, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD OBVIOUSLY PROTECT THE TERRITORY OF OTHER STATES AS WELL. DOES THIS NOT CONCEAL THE NUCLEUS OF AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM?

TAking INTO ACCOUNT PAST DISCUSSIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT CLEARLY, BOTH SIDES SHOULD SEEK A SOLUTION ON ABM’S WHICH WOULD LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPLOYING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM IS PRECLUDED. THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF BARRING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM IS MET BY THE PROPOSAL TO LIMIT THE DEPLOYMENT OF ABM SYSTEMS TO THE PROTECTION ONLY OF NATIONAL CAPITALS.

THE USSR DELEGATION IS CONVINced THAT ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS, BASED ON MULTIPICITY OF TARGETS PROTECTED BY ABM SYSTEMS, AND CAPABLE OF LEADING IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO THE CREATION OF AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM, WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF MAY 20, 1972, AGREEMENT TO SUCH ALTERNATIVES COULD DIVERT THE NEGOTIATIONS FROM FINDING EFFECTIVE
MEASURES AIMED AT CURBING THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE.

THE THRUST OF THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY, WHICH COMPLETELY BARS THE CREATION OF ANY ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM, MEETS THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND MAKES THIS DRAFT THE BASIS FOR WORKING OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFUL SOLUTION FOR LIMITING ABM SYSTEMS.

OF COURSE, IN SPEAKING OF THE INADMISSIBILITY OF DEPLOYING ABM SYSTEMS THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY OF A COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING AN ABM AREA DEFENSE SYSTEM, THE USSR DELEGATION IS NOT REFERRING TO SYSTEMS INTENDED FOR DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING FOR ABM PURPOSES. IN THIS CONNECTION, I SHOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT ARTICLE IV OF THE SOVIET DRAFT TREATY PROVIDES THAT THE TOTAL NUMBERS OF SYSTEMS SUBJECT TO LIMITATION SHALL NOT INCLUDE ABM SYSTEMS INTENDED FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING UNDER THIS PROVISION, EACH SIDE COULD HAVE NO MORE THAN 15 FIXED ABM LAUNCHERS WITHIN EXISTING OR AGREED ADDITIONAL TEST RANGES. GP-3SMITH