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SUBJECT: Paper A-4, U.S. Opening Statement

Delegation is authorized to use following paper.

SALT Negotiating Paper (A-4)

U.S. OPENING STATEMENT

At the initial private meeting with the Soviet Delegation, the U.S. Delegation should make the opening statement set forth in the following paragraphs:

\* \* \*

I wish to express my country's profound interest in the talks which are now commencing on the limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons systems,

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|   |                           |                              |   |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| DRAFTED BY<br>ACDA/ST: <i>RCreedy</i><br><i>RSK</i> | DRAFTING DATE<br>11-13-69 | TEL EXT.<br><del>28652</del> | APPROVED BY:<br>ACDA - Philip J. Farley |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------------|---|

CLEARANCES:

ACDA - Mr. Keeny *Smk* JCS - ~~Gen. Demler~~ *met*  
 State - ~~Mr. Spindler~~ *Spindler* WH - Mr. Hyland *met* Sonnenfeldt *met*  
 DOD/OSD - Mr. Tucker *CLT* CIA - Mr. Clarke *met*  
 S/S - Mr. Brown *met*

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U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY  
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both offensive and defensive.

purpose of the in developing  
The/United States /has developed strategic nuclear arms  
has been  
/to make it totally unproductive for any country to

initiate hostilities against the United States and its  
allies. While the U.S. proposes to continue to maintain  
a sufficient nuclear deterrent posture ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XX~~ for so long  
as it may be required, and recognizes that the Soviet  
Union may have similar attitudes on such matters, we  
think the present relationship to be susceptible of  
improvement, to the benefit of both sides, and to the  
detriment of neither.

The problems before us are, of course, complex and will  
not be easy to resolve. However, we believe ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
could result in an agreement that  
our efforts/would enhance the security of both sides. ]

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and would contribute to world stability overall. It would also constitute a most important step in fulfillment of the obligations contained in Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. <sup>Meaningful agreement</sup> ~~agreement~~ between our two countries would increase the prospects for the widest possible adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

It is my government's view that one of the features of the past relationship which has caused each of us to expand strategic armaments to such substantial levels has been uncertainty as to the future potential capabilities of the other. When there have been doubts as to what those capabilities might be, a conservative judgment has been deemed necessary. We recognize that some of our deployments made to insure against uncertainties may have

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constituted an element in decisions made by your government. We believe that an effective strategic arms limitation agreement/~~which~~ should reduce uncertainties on both sides.

It is to the interest of the United States that the Soviet Union have sufficient confidence in its understanding of our actions that it can with assurance limit its strategic nuclear armaments. Similarly, we hope that the Soviet Union considers it to be in its interest that we have reason for sufficient confidence in our understanding of Soviet actions to be able to limit U.S. strategic armaments.

It is my government's view that we should endeavor on both sides to avoid the development and deployment of

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strategic weapons systems that might increase the likelihood of resort to nuclear war in a crisis situation. We believe that limitations that contribute to this important <sup>objective</sup> ~~subject~~ merit serious attention.

We believe that it is important, and should be possible, to reach agreement on measures curbing the strategic arms competition, without resolving all of the difficult problems involved in a general disarmament program.

We believe that a first step <sup>could</sup> ~~could~~ be to achieve meaningful limitations on offensive and defensive strategic missile forces. Such a step <sup>could be</sup> ~~could be~~ of value in avoiding a further costly and possibly dangerous ~~expansion~~ <sup>could</sup> ~~expansion~~ missile deployments, and <sup>could</sup> ~~could~~ help prepare the way for subsequent reduction of strategic arms.

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We recognize that achieving strategic arms limitations which meet our separately perceived requirements of national security is a complex task, given the nature of existing strategic offensive and defensive missile systems and the many factors affecting military capabilities. Our two nations have differing levels and kinds of strategic weapons systems and we may not share evaluations regarding the utility of these systems. However, we believe that equitable and mutually beneficial strategic arms limitations can be attained. We believe that a discussion of the considerations I have mentioned will help us achieve this goal.

There is a wide range of methods by which the strategic armaments of both sides can be limited. We have considered a number of approaches. We are willing to give

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consideration to suggestions which your government may wish to make. We will be prepared to discuss limitations on all strategic offensive and defensive weapon systems.

We believe that in our discussion of methods by which limitations can be achieved we should view any agreement we reach not as a fixed or final goal, but as part of a process of meaningful discussion and resolution of issues arising from our strategic relationship. Such a continuing process will not only be necessary in our efforts to achieve further agreements but, by providing a means for solving problems that arise, will also make more viable those initial arrangements we may agree upon. Any agreement, of course, must rest upon adequate arrangements to assure mutual confidence regarding compliance with its terms.

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a greater share of  
dedicate/our energies and resources to more constructive  
purposes.

We will approach this task in a spirit of cooperation  
and with a desire to advance our common interest.

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