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EZ1:

<> S E C R E T <><>MANILA<><> 08515 COMBINED SECTION

EZ2:

E. O. 12065: RDS-1,3 4/5/92 (ARMACOST, MICHAEL H.) OR-M
TAGS: MARR, MASS, RP, US

<> SUBJECT: SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><>'S VISIT TO MANILA,
APRIL 1-2, 1982

REF: MANILA 08282, MANILA 08283

1. (S- ENTIRE TEXT).

<> 2. SUMMARY. SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><>'S APRIL 1-2 VISIT
TO THE PHILIPPINES, FIRST BY A U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
IN MANY YEARS, WAS SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING SEVERAL MAJOR
OBJECTIVES. VISIT WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED BY FILIPINOS
AS EVIDENCE OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S RENEWED
COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHENING ITS TIES WITH A LONG-STANDING
ALLY AND ITS DETERMINATION TO BE A RELIABLE AND STEADFAST
PARTNER. SECDEF'S THEME OF THE NEED TO PRESERVE PEACE
WITH FREEDOM THROUGH STRENGTH FOUND READY ECHO WITH
PRESIDENT MARCOS, DEFENSE MINISTER ENRILE, AND OTHER

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PHILIPPINE OFFICIALS AND IN MEDIA. SECDEF WAS ABLE TO INFORM GOP OF FAVORABLE JSG DECISIONS ON A NUMBER OF PENDING ISSUES IN THE SECURITY FIELD, THUS IMPROVING THE ATMOSPHERE AS WE APPROACH THE 1983-84 REVIEW OF THE BASES AGREEMENT. VISIT ALSO SERVED AS A VERY USEFUL PRELUDE TO THE MARCOS STATE VISIT LATER THIS YEAR, SETTING THE TONE AND ELUCIDATING GOP THINKING ON SECURITY ISSUES WHICH ARE LIKELY TO COME UP BOTH DURING THAT VISIT AND THE SUBSEQUENT MBA REVIEW. END SUMMARY.

<> 3. ATMOSPHERICS. THE GOP ACCORDED SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><> A TYPICALLY WARM RECEPTION. DEFENSE MINISTER ENRILE WAS FLATTERED BY THE FIRST VISIT BY AN AMERICAN SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DURING HIS TENURE (SINCE 1970) AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE. PRESIDENT MARCOS WELCOMED THE SECRETARY AS A "BALIKBAYAN" -- AN AFFECTIONATE TAGALOG TERM FOR A RETURNING SON. HEAVY PRESS AND MEDIA TREATMENT HAS BEEN UPBEAT, AND STRESSED A REAWAKENING OF U.S. INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S RESOLVE TO BOLSTER ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND COMBAT SOVIET POWER IN THE PACIFIC, THE IMPORTANCE OF PHILIPPINE BASES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A WIDER U.S. SECURITY SYSTEM, AND THE PROSPECTIVE MARCOS VISIT TO THE U.S. ON APRIL 4, THE LOCAL PAPERS CARRIED FAVORABLE MARCOS COMMENT ON U.S. EFFORTS TO PERSUADE JAPAN TO UNDERTAKE MORE SUBSTANTIAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ITS AIR AND MARITIME DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. SOME REPORTING, TO BE SURE, EXHIBITED CONFUSION ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE MBA REVIEW, WITH SOME HEADLINES SUGGESTING NEGOTIATIONS COMMENCING THIS YEAR. THIS IS MANAGEABLE, HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF OUR OWN INTENT TO COMMENCE CIQ DISCUSSIONS PROMPTLY, AND TO COMPLETE THE OVERALL REVIEW IN 1983 IN ANY CASE. MEDIA COMMENT PRIOR TO SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><>'S ARRIVAL CONCERNING THE "INEQUITIES" AND "IRRITANTS" IN THE BASE AGREEMENT HAS DISSIPATED. WHETHER THEY REVIVE WILL DEPEND UPON THE GOP RESPONSE TO OUR CIQ PROPOSALS AS WELL AS THE OCCURENCE OF OTHER INCIDENTS AT THE BASES. ALL IN ALL, THE VISIT HAS BEEN A MAJOR PLUS IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS TERMS. ONLY MINOR DISCORDANT NOTE WAS STRUCK BY TWO BRIEF, SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE EMBASSY, ONE LED BY LEFTIST YOUTH FOR NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY, THE OTHER BY A WOMEN'S ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP. BOTH DEMOS WERE NON-VIOLENT AND DISPERSED WITHIN AN HOUR, AND WERE SCARCELY DISCERNIBLE HERE.

4. MORALE-BOOSTING. THE SECRETARY'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE TIME AVAILABLE TO MEET WITH THE TROOPS ON BOARD THE USS ROANOKE AT SUBIC, AT THE CLARK NCO MESS, AND ON THE FLIGHT LINE WERE DEEPLY APPRECIATED. SO WAS HIS MESSAGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO CONTINUE STRIVING TO SECURE FROM CONGRESS TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF U.S. APPRECIATION FOR THE ROLE OUR SERVICEMEN PLAY OVERSEAS.

5. SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS. THE GOP CAN BE COUNTED UPON TO PROBE EACH SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING THE

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SCOPE OF THE U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENT, THE EXTENT OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR PHILIPPINE DEFENSE MODERNIZATION, AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE PHILIPPINE SENSITIVITIES WITH RESPECT TO ARRANGEMENTS AT THE BASES WHICH INVITE DOMESTIC CRITICISM. THE SECRETARY'S VISIT PROVIDED THE OCCASION FOR SUCH PROBING. IT WAS MILD IN CHARACTER, BUT THE DISCUSSIONS FURNISHED A FAIR INDICATION OF THE GOP AGENDA FOR NEXT YEAR'S MBA REVIEW.

A. KALAYAAN ISLANDS. THIS IS NOT A NEW ISSUE. BILL SULLIVAN'S EARLIER COMMENTS WHICH TO PHILIPPINE EARS EFFECTIVELY PLACED THE ISLANDS OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF OUR TREATY COMMITMENTS STRUCK A NERVE. TO PRESIDENT MARCOS, THEY EVIDENTLY REPRESENT THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE MORE AUTHORITATIVELY THAN SUBSEQUENT CLARIFICATIONS EMBODIED IN THE VANCE-ROMULO LETTER OF JANUARY 1979. THE LAWYERS WILL HAVE TO LOOK CLOSELY AT THIS ONE. BUT THE GOP WILL BE REVIEWING OPLAN 81 WITH A PARTICULARLY CAREFUL EYE ON THE WAY THIS ISSUE IS HANDLED THERE. WASHINGTON WILL HAVE TO EVALUATE THIS ISSUE IN THE LIGHT OF OTHER INTERESTS INCLUDING LAW OF THE SEA AND OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER CLAIMANTS TO THE ISLANDS. ON THE FACE OF IT, MARCOS' REQUEST IS NOT UNREASONABLE. HE WANTS TO UNDERSTAND WITH SOME PRECISION THE NATURE OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT IN ORDER THAT THE GOP CAN MAKE ITS OWN DEFENSE PLANS ACCORDINGLY. IN THE PAST WE HAVE RESPONDED WITH CALCULATED AMBIGUITY, AND WE MAY WISH TO RESORT TO THIS AGAIN.

B. CRIMINAL JURISDICTION. THE GOP WAS NEVER FULLY SATISFIED WITH THE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION PROCEDURES. MARCOS ACCEPTED THEM IN 1979 ONLY WHEN HE BECAME CONVINCED THAT ARRANGEMENTS HERE ARE COMPARABLE WITH THOSE THE U.S. HAS WITH NATO, JAPAN, AND OTHER ALLIES. THEY WILL TEST TO SEE WHETHER WE HAVE ANY FURTHER LATITUDE, BUT BARRING MAJOR INCIDENTS, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO PRESERVE THE EXISTING STATUS QUO. A RECENT REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF LEGAL HOLD CASES ALSO PROVIDES ENCOURAGING EVIDENCE THAT COOPERATION ON LEGAL ISSUES HAS BEEN IMPROVING.

C. PERIMETER SECURITY. COMMENTS WHICH PRESIDENT MARCOS AND DEFENSE MINISTER ENRILE MADE IN THE TALKS AND THEIR ECHOES IN THE PRESS SUGGEST THAT THE CURRENT PERIMETER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN THE GOP. SEVERAL COMMENTS SUGGEST A BELIEF THAT THE U.S. IS STILL PERFORMING SECURITY FUNCTIONS AT THE BASE PERIMETER. THAT, OF COURSE, IS NOT THE CASE. RECENT INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED WITHIN THE FACILITIES RATHER THAN AT THE PERIMETER. THERE IS STILL UNHAPPINESS WITHIN THE AFP AT HAVING TO ASSUME THE MANPOWER AND FINANCIAL COSTS OF THE PERIMETER SECURITY FUNCTION AS A RESULT OF THE 1979 AGREEMENT. NONETHELESS, GENERAL VER APPEARS SATISFIED WITH THESE ARRANGEMENTS. AN INFORMAL JOINT SECURITY PLAN HAS BEEN WORKED OUT TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE BASE COMMANDER AND FACILITY COMMANDERS, AND IS

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BEING IMPLEMENTED. THOSE ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE FORMALIZED IN AN AGREEMENT TO BE SIGNED BY ADMIRAL DUNLEAVY AND GENERAL VER.

D. WRM. I SUSPECT THERE IS SOME CONFUSION WITHIN THE GOP ON THIS ISSUE. WHILE ENRILE APPEARED SATISFIED TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES OF AN ARRANGEMENT LIKE THE ONE
 <> SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><> RECENTLY SIGNED WITH THE ROK, PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS HERE SUGGEST THAT PHILIPPINE INTERESTS ARE MORE IN PEACETIME USE OF U.S. STOCKS THAN IN AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD MAKE SUCH STOCKS AVAILABLE ONLY IN AN EMERGENCY. THAT IMPRESSION WAS REINFORCED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS' AVOWED INTEREST IN TRAINING IN THE USE OF SUCH EQUIPMENT, AND IN HIS REMARK THAT THE PHILIPPINES NEEDS TO OBTAIN SOME EXPERIENCE IN HANDLING SOPHISTICATED EQUIPMENT WHICH THEY CANNOT YET AFFORD TO PROCURE. WHILE AN AGREEMENT MODELED ON THE J.S.-ROK ACCORD MAY HAVE SOME DOMESTIC VALUE AS EVIDENCE OF OUR DESIRE TO ACCORD THE GOP TREATMENT EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF OTHER IMPORTANT ALLIES, IT WOULD NOT ADDRESS ANY SERIOUS CURRENT SECURITY REQUIREMENTS. THE PHILIPPINES FACE NO IMMINENT THREAT REQUIRING A RAPID TURNOVER OF EQUIPMENT. AND THEIR INTEREST MAY WANE SWIFTLY WHEN THEY LEARN THAT STOCKS WOULD NOT BE ON HAND FOR PEACETIME TRAINING USE. NONETHELESS, WASHINGTON SHOULD REVIEW IN DETAIL THE PROS AND CONS OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT. I WOULD ALSO RECOMMEND THAT WE LOOK FOR OTHER WAYS OF UPGRADING TRAINING ACTIVITIES HERE, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, USING ADDITIONAL MOBIL TRAINING TEAMS.

E. SECURITY ASSISTANCE. WHILE THIS SUBJECT DID NOT FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN THE TALKS, ENRILE PASSED A PAPER TO ME REFLECTING GOP HOPES FOR MORE GENEROUS REPAYMENT TERMS ON FMS CREDITS AND THEIR INTEREST IN CARGO SHARING WITH RESPECT TO EQUIPMENT DELIVERIES FROM THE U.S. THE PHILS WILL UNDERSTAND IF WE DO NOT SWEETEN FMS TERMS PRIOR TO THE MBA REVIEW ITSELF. AND WE HAVE ALREADY INDICATED THAT OUR RESPONSE TO THEIR CARGO SHARING PROPOSAL MUST AWAIT A REVIEW OF THE BROADER ISSUES OF CARGO SHARING RAISED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NO. 1229.

<> F. DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS. SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><>'S OFFER TO HOLD ANNUAL MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETINGS WITH THE PHILIPPINE DEFENSE MINISTER EVOKED A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM ENRILE. THIS SHOULD ENABLE US TO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO OUR DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS WITHOUT TINKERING WITH THE EXISTING MDB. I WILL NOT GET ANY FURTHER READOUT FROM ENRILE ON HIS REACTION TO THIS, HOWEVER, UNTIL AFTER HOLY WEEK.

6. MARCOS PERFORMANCE. I COULD NOT ESCAPE THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT MARCOS SEEMED A BIT DISTRACTED. HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PERIMETER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WAS INCOMPLETE; HE PUT FORWARD GOP INTEREST IN THE WRM MATTER WITH UNCHARACTERISTIC IMPRECISION; HE FAILED TO RAISE ALLEGED DEFICIENCIES IN THE MDB STRUCTURE WHICH HE HIT HARD IN HIS INITIAL CONVERSATION WITH ME AND IN HIS

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SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH THE WAR COLLEGE GROUP; AND HE HAD NOT RECALLED THE MOST RECENT U.S. STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE OF OUR DEFENSE COMMITMENT. I SUSPECT THIS REFLECTS HIS RECENT PREOCCUPATION WITH A VERY HEAVY DOMESTIC POLITICAL AGENDA MARKED BY THE BARANGAY ELECTIONS, A REVAMPING OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM, MILITARY PROMOTIONS AND RETIREMENTS, AND A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO MANAGE THE MNLF PROBLEM THROUGH HIS TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA.

7. NEXT STEPS. WE NEED TO MOVE AHEAD BRISKLY ON SEVERAL MATTERS. ADMIRAL DUNLEAVY TABLED OUR CIQ DRAFT WITH GENERAL VER THIS AFTERNOON. I FORESHADOWED OUR INTENTIONS IN GENERAL TERMS TO FOREIGN MINISTER ROMULO THIS MORNING, AND HE SEEMED SATISFIED TO LEAVE THIS IN MILITARY CHANNELS. ADMIRAL DUNLEAVY WILL ALSO BRIEF GENERAL VER ON THE EXISTING DIVISION OF LABOR WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY AT OUR BASES AND URGE THAT THAT BRIEFING BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD WORK TOWARD FORMALIZING THE JOINT SECURITY PLAN IN ORDER TO DISPEL ANY RESIDUAL CONFUSION AS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1979 AGREEMENT ON THIS SCORE. FOLLOWING HOLY WEEK I INTEND TO GET TOGETHER WITH ENRILE TO SEE WHETHER OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN ANNUAL MINISTERIAL MEETING CAN BE USED TO DISPOSE OF THE GOP PROPOSAL THAT THE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE MDB. I HOPE THAT WASHINGTON CAN ACCELERATE THE PACE FOR COMPLETING OPLAN 81. WHEN SECRETARY <><>WEINBERGER<><> HAS COMPLETED HIS REVIEW, WE WILL NEED TO SEE TO IT THAT THE PLAN IS BRIEFED HERE NOT ONLY TO THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT BUT TO ENRILE AND PRESIDENT MARCOS AS WELL. AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE WASHINGTON REVIEW MUST ADDRESS THE KALAAVAN ISLANDS ANGLE.

8. ALL IN ALL, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT MARKED A SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOP. MAJOR ISSUES WERE RAISED AND DISCUSSED REASONABLY, AN INITIAL DIALOGUE ON THE AGENDA AND SUBSTANCE OF THE FORTHCOMING MBA REVIEW WAS ESTABLISHED, AND A POSITIVE TONE WAS SET FOR MARCOS' FORTHCOMING STATE VISIT AND FOR THE MBA REVIEW WHICH THE VISIT WILL SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT. IN ADDITION, THE SECRETARY'S PUBLIC REMARKS HAVE REASSURED THE GOP ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S STAYING POWER IN THE REGION. ARMACOST

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