MAXWELL S MCKNIGHT 520 N. ST. SW. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024





Ohn Elisabeth Ohann Borgese Box 4716 Santa Barbara CA 93103

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DEAR Mg. Millen -

ENCLOSED pen our conversation.

I HAVE SENT A COPY OF THE RICHARDSON In Muscript to Mas.

Rongest (GENEUR).

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Fon E.M. Longest

TESTIMONY OF ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON AMBASSADOR AT LARGE-DESIGNATE

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR LAW OF THE SEA - DESIGNATE
BEFORE THE

HOUSE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1977

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to appear before this Committee. I personally welcome your interest and the interest of your Committee in the Law of the Sea Conference. As you well know, the Conference involves issues of high importance to the United States.

In your letter to me of February II, Mr. Chairman,
You specifically requested me to concentrate on the
specific questions that are likely to come up in the intersessional meetings of the Law of the Sea Conference
beginning in Geneva February 28. While I expect that
those meetings will concentrate primarily on questions
involving the deep seabeds, that is to say the seabed
beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, it is
important to remember that the Law of the Sea Conference
involves important U.S. interests in addition to our
interests in the deep seabeds.

Remarks by Elliot L. Richardson, Ambasssador at Large and Special Representative of the President for Law of the Sea, at the Joint Meeting of the American Oceanic Organization and the Center for Oceans Law and Policy of the University of Viginia, February 17, 1977, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Thank you very much, Ambassador, or should I say, Professor John Norton Moore for those extremely generous words of introduction. Mr. MacCutcheon, Congressman Breaux, all of the members of this very distinguished assemblage, I am delighted to be here from many points of view, although I can think of a number of reasons why my appearance might be regarded as premature. I would, however, like to take advantage of this opportunity and of this podium to make one very important announcement. I pledge to you that I shall not in any manner seek to prolong the negotiations or to delay international agreement in order merely to prove that I can hold a job.

I am deeply grateful for the confidence reposed in me by President Carter particularly in the light of his own attestation to the importance of these negotiations. I can certainly assure you too that I share that sense of importance. I don't know what else really would have diverted me from the rather pleasant program I had outlined for myself between now and deciding what I was going to do for any substantial future period. I have found myself, even without confirmation* and for that matter not even on the payroll, working at least as hard as I ever have. And I found that hour by hour and day by day my perception both of the importance and the interest of the challenge of this assignment increased. All that is just as well considering that I also discovered in the same process how many are the difficulties and even potential discouragements of the effort. And yet I am one of those whom Henry L. Mencken referred as the optimists and chronic hopers of the world. And where this negotiation is concerned my hopes are indeed enlisted with my belief that it is not only in the fundamental interest of the United States that a treaty should be achieved, but that it is in the fundamental interest of the whole world.

This leads me to a couple of observations on the character of these negotiations as I now see them. Indeed, perhaps a point of departure is the observation that negotiations may not be quite the right characterization of what it is that the world is engaged in through this Conference and all of the sessions that have taken place heretofore. The word "negotiations" can be understood as standing for a process whereby individuals with defined interests are seeking to accommodate those interests with their common interests. But the word "negotiations" also carries with it a connotation that is not much different than that of the word "bargaining." But it seems to me that whatever the world is undertaking through the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, it is not simply a bargaining process. A haggling and a rug bazaar is difficult enough as between two participants; three or four or five become pretty complicated; through the 150-some, it is obviously impossible.

^{*}Ambassador Richardson's appointment was confirmed February 24, 1977.

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OPENING STATEMENT
THE HONORABLE JOHN M. MURPHY
BRIEFING BY AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON,
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE
BEFORE THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Wednesday, February 23, 1977 Room 1334 Longworth House Office Building 11:00 A.M.

OTHER COUNTRIES HAS BEEN CONDUCTED IN RELATIVE ISOLATION FROM THE INNER WORKINGS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. IT IS TRUE, OF COURSE, THAT THE CONGRESS CAN APPROPRIATE MONEY FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS, CAN DECLARE WAR, AND CAN RATIFY TREATIES. RESEARCH HAS SHOWN, HOWEVER, THAT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN ONE OF THOSE AREAS IMMUNE TO CLOSE CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY. BUT, THIS IS NO LONGER THE CASE AS THE 535 REPRESENTATIVES, ELECTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HAVE BEGUN TO TAKE A MUCH CLOSER LOOK AT THIS COUNTRY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THIS MODIFICATION OF THE TRADITIONAL WAY

OF DOING AMERICAN "FOREIGN" BUSINESS IS A DESIREABLE CHANGE.

WHATEVER THE GOOD INTENTIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE

DEPARTMENT, IT HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR THAT THE AMERICAN

NATIONAL INTEREST IS CONSTANTLY WELL-SERVED BY UNILATERAL EXECU
TIVE ACTION.

TODAY THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE MEETS TO BE BRIEFED ON A MATTER OF GREAT SIGNFICANCE TO OUR NATION AND ONE IN WHICH THE CONGRESS IS NOT LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO ABDICATE ITS RESPONSIBILITY SIMPLY BECAUSE IT'S A MATTER RELATED TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.