

D. R.

PRIME MINISTER

*ms*

The Russians have announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing from 5 August until 1 January. (Surprise, surprise, they themselves have just conducted an abnormally large number of tests).

I attach the Americans' first reaction which notes the absence of any proposals on compliance and verification.

I think that we should avoid rubbishing the proposal too promptly. We might point out that we have long supported a comprehensive

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test ban; but note that the Soviet proposal seems to have nothing to offer on verification.

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We shall look at it carefully.

In fact, I think it is the beginning of the propaganda offensive of which you spoke. C.D.P.

WE REGRET THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT BEEN WILLING TO ENTER INTO CONCRETE AND DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE SUCH REDUCTIONS.

WE BELIEVE THAT VERIFIABLE LIMITATIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING CAN PLAY A USEFUL, THOUGH MORE MODEST ROLE. LIMITS ON TESTING DO NOT ABOLISH THE HUGE STOCKPILES OF EXISTING WEAPONS BUT THEY CAN HELP TO LIMIT THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF NEW WEAPONS, IF SUCH LIMITS ARE VERIFIABLE.

FOR THAT REASON, THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS TESTING VERIFICATION PROPOSAL OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1984. THE PRESIDENT SAW THIS INITIATIVE AS A WAY TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE IN VERIFIABLE LIMITS ON TESTING. HOWEVER, AS WE HAVE NOTED, THE SOVIET UNION TO DATE HAS REFUSED TO AGREE TO THIS FAIR AND PRACTICAL APPROACH.

THE TYPE OF MORATORIUM PROPOSAL WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED TO MAKE IS OF COURSE NOT NEW. SUCH A MORATORIUM WAS IN EFFECT FROM 1958 TO 1961.

WHILE WE WILL EXAMINE THE SOVIET DECISION CAREFULLY, WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF AN UNINSPECTED TESTING MORATORIUM, AND THE VERIFIABILITY OF RESTRAINTS ON NUCLEAR TESTS, UNLESS THERE ARE SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED VERIFICATION PROVISIONS.

AN UNINSPECTED MORATORIUM WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY ADDRESS OUR VERY REAL COMPLIANCE AND VERIFICATION

CONCERNS. WE RECALL THAT IT WAS THE SOVIETS WHO FIRST RESUMED TESTING AFTER SUCH A DECLARED MORATORIUM IN 1961 WITH THE LARGEST SERIES OF HIGH-YIELD NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN HISTORY. PRESIDENT KENNEDY NOTED THEN: "WE KNOW ENOUGH NOW...NEVER AGAIN TO OFFER AN UNINSPECTED MORATORIUM."

WE HAVE NOTED IN RECENT WEEKS A SUBSTANTIAL ACCELERATION IN THE NUMBER OF SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS -- IN THE PAST WEEK ALONE WE HAVE DETECTED THREE SUCH TESTS. OBVIOUSLY THIS WAS DESIGNED TO PUT THE SOVIET UNION IN A POSITION NOT TO NEED TO TEST OVER THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS.

WE WOULD WELCOME SOVIET INTEREST IN PUTTING INTO PLACE VERIFIABLE AND DURABLE LIMITS ON WEAPONS TESTING. WE BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT'S NEW INITIATIVE IS THE MOST PRACTICAL APPROACH TO BEGIN ADDRESSING THIS SERIOUS PROBLEM. SINCE THERE ARE NO CONDITIONS IN THIS OFFER, WE LOOK FORWARD TO A POSITIVE SOVIET RESPONSE.

WE ARE SURE THAT YOU SHARE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT ANY UNVERIFIABLE MORATORIUM SUCH AS THE SOVIETS HAVE DECIDED UPON. WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS ACTUALLY MADE, WE THUS URGE YOU TO EXPRESS THOSE CONCERNS TO THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS PUBLICLY. SHULTZ

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*to invite the Soviet Union to join in an exchange of experts to measure the yields of nuclear weapon tests*