

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN 231300Z APR 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 282 OF 23 APRIL

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW WASHINGTON PARIS SALALAH (FOR PRIME MINISTER)

PRIORITY UKDEL NATO ROME

MIPT

CALL BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ON SECRETARY OF STATE

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT OF MESSAGE: BEGINS

THE SOVIET SIDE NOTES WITH SATISFACTION THE READINESS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP POLITICAL DIALOGUE ON VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. THE OPINION OF THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT THE WAYS TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS IS CONTAINED IN THE SPECIFIC FOREIGN POLICY PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD IN THE REPORT OF L. I. BREZHNEV AT THE XXVI CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND OUTLINED BY HIM IN THE MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER M. THATCHER. THE MAIN ESSENCE OF THE NEW SOVIET INITIATIVES IS TO ELIMINATE THE DANGER OF WAR, TO OPEN THE WAY TO STOP THE ARMS RACE, TO STRENGTHEN DETENTE.

THE ARMS RACE UNLEASHED WITH AN AIM TO GAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES DOES NOT GIVE AN ANSWER TO THE CRUCIAL PROBLEMS FACING THE MANKIND. THE ARMS RACE ONLY AGGRAVATES THESE PROBLEMS, AND AT THAT - IN AN IMMEASURABLY GREATER DEGREE THAN BEFORE. THE INTERESTS OF THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE DEMAND MAXIMUM RESTRAINT, SOBER AND FARSIGHTED APPROACH TO THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, THE PREVENTION OF HAVING DISAGREEMENTS TO COME OUT OF THE LIMITS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES AND TO TRANSFORM INTO MILITARY-CONFLICT SITUATIONS. IN OUR VIEW A COMPLICATED AND SOMETIMES CONFLICTING CHARACTER OF THE REALITIES OF THE PRESENT WORLD EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESPONSIBLE INTER-STATE DIALOGUE WITH AN AIM TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.



UNDER THE REALISTIC APPROACH TO SOLVING THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS THERE IS NO PLACE FOR THE SO CALLED CONCEPT OF QUOTE LINKAGE UNQUOTE OF THE REALLY URGENT ISSUES WITH THE INVENTED ONES. THE ATTEMPTS TO PRACTICE SUCH A CONCEPT IN FACT LEAD US AWAY FROM THE CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS AND BUSINESSLIKE COOPERATION.

THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO CONDUCT AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE WITH OTHER STATES, USING FOR THIS AIM ALL EXISTING OPPORTUNITIES UP TO THE CONVOCATION OF A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE TOP LEADERS OF ITS MEMBER-STATES, TO DISCUSS URGENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, EXISTING IN EUROPE AND BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, TO LOOK FOR KEYS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD.

HAVING COME OUT WITH THE NEW FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT THINK THAT IT SORT OF PRESCRIBES THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY TO TURNING FOR THE BETTER IN THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. L.I. BREZHNEV NOTED IN HIS SPEECH IN PRAGUE ON THE 7TH APRIL THAT QUOTE IF SOMEBODY HAS OTHER REASONABLE PROPOSALS, WE ARE READY TO CONSIDER THEM AS WELL UNQUOTE.

ALL SOVIET PROPOSALS ON THE LIMITATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND STRENGTHENING THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY REMAIN IN FORCE. IT RELATES FULLY TO THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS DISCUSSED SOME TIME AGO BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES AND ABOVE ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

2. IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE ELEVATION OF THE NUCLEAR MISSILE CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE TO A NEW MORE DANGEROUS LEVEL THE SOVIET UNION PROPOSED THAT A MORATORIUM SHOULD BE SET UP ON THE DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE OF THE NEW MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR-MISSILE WEAPONS OF THE NATO STATES AND THE USSR, I.E. TO FREEZE THE EXISTING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE LEVEL OF THESE WEAPONS, INCLUDING THE US FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIS REGION.

THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED EVEN NOW WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE RELEVANT NEGOTIATIONS TO HALT THE CARRYING OUT OF ITS CURRENT PLANS OF MODERNISATION OF THE MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. THIS SUPPLEMENTS OUR PROPOSAL ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF LIMITING THESE ARMS AS A RESULT OF TALKS, AND THE SCOPE OF SUCH LIMITATIONS COULD EVEN BE QUITE CONSIDERABLE, IF OUR PARTNERS ARE READY FOR THAT. THE MORATORIUM WOULD ENTER INTO FORCE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE START OF THE TALKS ON THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE AND WOULD BE EFFECTIVE DURING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF THE TENURE OF TALKS. THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES IN CONNECTION WITH THE MORATORIUM COULD BE AGREED UPON EVEN BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE OFFICIAL TALKS.

WE CAN NOT AGREE WITH THE STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MORATORIUM WOULD PERPETUATE THE ALLEGEDLY EXISTING QUOTE SERIOUS IMBALANCE UNQUOTE IN FAVOUR OF THE USSR IN THE MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

FIRST. AT PRESENT AN APPROXIMATE PARITY EXISTS IN EUROPE IN THE RELEVANT TYPES OF WEAPONS. NATO HAS AT ITS DISPOSAL A POWERFUL GROUPING OF NUCLEAR MEANS, CAPABLE OF REACHING THE TERRITORY OF THE USSR.



NUCLEAR ARMS OF THE SOVIET UNION IN EUROPE DO NOT EXCEED THIS LEVEL. ANALYSING THE CORRELATION OF THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE SIDES ONE SHOULD NOT TAKE IN ISOLATION ONLY ONE TYPE OF MEANS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE GROUND-BASED MISSILES. NUCLEAR POTENTIALS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A COMPLEX, SINCE ONLY ON SUCH A BASIS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE EQUAL SECURITY OF SIDES COULD BE OBSERVED.

SECOND, WHILE REPLACING NEW WEAPONS FOR OLD THE SOVIET UNION, WITH A VIEW TO PRESERVE NUCLEAR PARITY, FAR FROM INCREASING BY A SINGLE UNIT THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS CARRIERS, EVEN DECREASED THIS NUMBER - WITH THE DEPLOYMENT OF EACH NEW MISSILE / QUOTE SS-20 UNQUOTE /, THE SOVIET UNION SIMULTANEOUSLY WITHDREW ONE OR TWO OLD MISSILES.

THIRD, ON THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR CHARGES OF MEDIUM-RANGE MEANS IN EUROPE THE ADVANTAGE AT PRESENT IS ON THE NATO SIDE APPROXIMATELY IN 1,5 TIMES. THE EFFECTED REPLACEMENT OF OLD MISSILES BY NEW MISSILES DID NOT LEAD TO THE ACQUISITION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF A SUPERIORITY IN THIS FIELD. THE AGGREGATE YIELD OF THE CHARGES OF SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES WAS NOT INCREASED BUT EVEN DIMINISHED.

CONSEQUENTLY THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MORATORIUM WOULD ONLY FIX THE ESTABLISHED APPROXIMATE PARITY AND WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO ESTABLISH SUCH A PARITY AT A LOWER LEVEL. AND VICE VERSA, IF NATO COUNTRIES DEPLOY ADDITIONALLY IN EUROPE, AS IT IS PLANNED, 572 MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, THEN A MORE THAN 1,5 SUPERIORITY IN THE MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS CARRIERS WILL BE CREATED ON THE NATO SIDE. BESIDES, WE CAN NOT BUT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION THIS US WEAPON IS OF A STRATEGIC NATURE. IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT HAVE ON THE TERRITORY OF ANY COUNTRIES SUCH WEAPONS CAPABLE OF REACHING TARGETS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THUS THE ADDITIONAL DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE WOULD DISRUPT THE STRATEGIC PARITY BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE US, WOULD MAKE THE SITUATION LESS STABLE. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD COMPEL THE SOVIET UNION TO TAKE NECESSARY COUNTER-MEASURES IN ORDER NOT TO ALLOW THE WORSENING OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION AND TO RESTORE BALANCE, BUT AT A HIGHER LEVEL.

DRAWING THE ATTENTION TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE MORATORIUM THE SOVIET SIDE EXPRESSES HOPE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD CAREFULLY ANALYSE ONCE AGAIN ALL ITS ASPECTS.

AS TO THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS ON THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE THE FIRST ROUND OF WHICH TOOK PLACE IN LAST OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, THE SOVIET SIDE IS PREPARED TO RESUME THEM AT ANY TIME, SO IT IS ALL UP TO THE AMERICAN SIDE.

3. THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THE RESULTATIVE CONCLUSION OF MADRID MEETING AND IS FOR REACHING OF UNDERSTANDINGS ON ALL PARTS OF THE FINAL ACT. WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON CONVENING THE CONFERENCE ON MILITARY DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE AND ARE READY FOR REASONABLE COMPROMISES. WE ACCEPT SUCH AN OPTION WHEN ONE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD - CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE FIRST STAGE AND THE QUESTIONS OF DISARMAMENT ITSELF - AT THE SECOND ONE. BUT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO HOLD TWO CONFERENCES HAVING IN MIND THAT THE FIRST CONFERENCE SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND THE SECOND ONE - TO THE PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT.



THE SOVIET UNION EXPRESSED ITS AGREEMENT TO EXPAND CONSIDERABLY THE ZONE OF APPLICATION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, TO APPLY THEM TO THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR PROVIDED THE WESTERN STATES, TOO, EXTEND THE CONFIDENCE ZONE ACCORDINGLY. THE CONCRETE SCOPES OF THE ZONE OF THE APPLICATION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES COULD BE DEFINED AT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF.

NOW THE CLARITY IN PRINCIPLED APPROACH IS REQUIRED. THE FIRST IS MUTUALITY OF OBLIGATIONS. SECOND IS THEIR BALANCE, THE IMPERMISSIBILITY OF A DAMAGE TO THE INTERESTS OF SECURITY OF PARTICIPATING SIDES.

THE EQUALITY OF STATES - PARTICIPANTS OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE MUST BE OBSERVED IN THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AS WELL AS IN EUROPEAN PROCESS AS A WHOLE. NOBODY MUST HAVE ANY PRIVILEGES IN COMPARISON WITH OTHERS. THE UNILATERAL EXTENTION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF THE ZONE OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ON THE WHOLE EUROPEAN PART OF ITS TERRITORY WITHOUT RECIPROCAL STEPS FROM THE WEST WOULD NOT CORRESPOND WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF ALL STATES - PARTICIPANTS OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE.

IN THE DECISION ABOUT THE CONVOCATION OF THE CONFERENCE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ENVISAGE ALONG SIDE WITH THE EXTENTION OF THE ZONE OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, THE INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF THESE MEASURES (THE NOTIFICATION OF NOT ONLY LARGE MILITARY EXERCISES OF GROUND TROOPS BUT ALSO OF LARGE NAVAL AND AIR EXERCISES AS WELL AS OF LARGE MOVEMENTS OF TROOPS AND THE RENUNCIATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES WITH MORE THAN 40-50,000 PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THEM). THIS WOULD GIVE TO THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES A MORE IMPORTANT, MORE MILITARY SIGNIFICANT CHARACTER IN COMPARISON WITH THE MEASURES APPLIED AT THE MOMENT. APART FROM THATS THE POSSIBILITY WOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED OF ACCEPTING BY THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF SOME OF THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND THE ESTABLISHING UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS OF SUCH VERIFICATION FORMS WITH THE USE OF NATIONAL MEANS, WHICH WOULD MEET THE NATURE OF SPECIFIC CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND COULD BE AGREED BETWEEN SIDES.

NOW, WHEN THE MADRID MEETING IS IN RECESS, IT IS REQUIRED TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE CURRENT SITUATION HAVING IN MIND THE NECESSITY OF A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN PROCESS IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND DETENTE. IN OUR VIEW THE DRAFT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT PUT FORWARD BY NEUTRAL AND NON-ALLIED COUNTRIES ASSISTS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT THE REACHING OF THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECISIONS. IN MOSCOW THEY HOPE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE EFFORTS IN FAVOUR OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSION OF THE MADRID MEETING.



4. THE SOVIET SIDE IS CONVINCED THAT EVEN THE MOST ACUTE PROBLEMS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS COULD BE SOLVED GIVEN THE OBSERVANCE OF LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE SIDES. THIS CAN ALSO BE SAID ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, ON WHICH IN OUR VIEW THERE ARE AND COULD BE FOUND NEW POINTS OF COINCIDENCE BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BRITAIN, AND ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SITUATION AROUND AFGHANISTAN, ON WHICH SERIOUS DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. THE OBJECT OF REAL SOLUTIONS COULD ALSO BE THE MATTERS OF ENSURING PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE PERSIAN GULF, IF ALL THE INTERESTED SIDES SHOW DESIRE TO SEARCH FOR SUCH SOLUTIONS AND REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS, ESPECIALLY OF MILITARY NATURE, WHICH COULD ONLY COMPLICATE THE SITUATION IN THIS REGION. SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON THIS SCORE WERE MADE BY L.I. BREZHNEV AND ALSO IN HIS RECENT MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER M. THATCHER.

5. IN MOSCOW THEY WERE SATISFIED BY THE STATEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ABOUT ITS READINESS TO ADHERE TO A CONSTRUCTIVE LINE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO COOPERATE WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE BASIS OF JOINT EFFORTS IN SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO BUILD-UP CONFIDENCE, TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND TO DEVELOP MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

SUCH AN APPROACH IS MET WITH UNDERSTANDING BY THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF PUTTING TO GOOD USE THE CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL OF COOPERATION, CREATED OVER THE YEARS IN ORDER TO LOOK FOR SOLUTIONS OF URGENT PROBLEMS OF CURBING THE ARMS RACE, STRENGTHENING DETENTE, TO REALISE THE EXISTING OPPORTUNITIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS OF BILATERAL SOVIET-BRITISH RELATIONS, TO DEVELOP THEM FULLY AND TO TRANSLATE THEM INTO REAL DEEDS. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF GIVING TO THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES SUCH A LEVEL AND CONTENTS WHICH WOULD BE IN KEEPING WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE AGGRAVATED INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

ENDS.

TAYLOR

NNNN

S