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FM MOSCOW

TO DESKBY 071230Z F C O

TELNO 169

OF 071130Z FEBRUARY 86

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO

**ANGLO/SOVIET RELATIONS : ARMS CONTROL**

1. I WAS SUMMONED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER RYZHOV THIS MORNING 7 FEBRUARY. READING FROM A PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH HE DID NOT HAND OVER HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAD NOT FAILED TO NOTICE THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE ABM TREATY AND OUR VIEW THAT OBSERVANCE WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION PROCESS. HOWEVER, BRITISH DEEDS DID NOT MATCH BRITISH WORDS IN TWO AREAS: SDI PARTICIPATION AND THE FYLINGDALES RADAR STATION.

2. ON FYLINGDALES, HE RECALLED THE STATEMENTS OF THE BRITISH SIDE, DURING HIS TALKS IN LONDON, THAT FYLINGDALES WAS AN EARLY WARNING STATION WHICH HAD EXISTED BEFORE THE ABM TREATY AND WHICH WAS NOW BEING MODERNISED AS THE TREATY PERMITTED. HOWEVER, THE FACTS SHOWED OTHERWISE. THE "PAV-PAWS" STATION (AND HE REPEATED SUBSEQUENTLY THAT IN THE SOVIET VIEW THE NEW FYLINGDALES WOULD BE AN ENTIRELY NEW INSTALLATION) WITH A POWER OF 3 MILLION WATTS PER SQUARE METRE CLEARLY CONTRADICTED THE STATEMENT OF 26 MAY 1972 DEFINING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PHASED ARRAY WAS PERMITTED. IN ADDITION ARTICLE VII(B) OF THE ABM TREATY CONTAINED A SPECIFIC PROVISION ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF RADARS FOR DETECTION OF STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACK ONLY ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE TERRITORY CONCERNED AND ORIENTED OUTWARD. IMPLEMENTATION OF PLANS TO CONSTRUCT THE NEW RADAR STATION AT FYLINGDALES WHICH WAS CLEARLY NOT ON U.S. TERRITORY WAS THEREFORE A DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE ABM TREATY. WESTERN EXPERTS (UN-NAMED) SHARED THIS VIEW. RYZHOV HOPED THESE POINTS WOULD BE CONSIDERED WITH ALL SERIOUSNESS BY HMG AND THAT WE WOULD "DRAW THE NECESSARY CONCLUSIONS".

3. I UNDERTOOK TO REPORT RYZHOV'S STATEMENT AND MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(i) HE HAD NOT DEVELOPED HIS OPENING REMARK ABOUT SDI. OUR POSITION ON THIS WAS WELL KNOWN AND HAD NOT CHANGED. I REFERRED HIM AGAIN TO THE CAMP DAVID FOUR POINTS.

(ii) ON FYLINGDALES OUR FIRM VIEW REMAINED THAT IT WAS AN EARLY WARNING STATION ALREADY IN EXISTENCE AT THE TIME OF THE ABM TREATY AND THATS ITS MODERNISATION DID NOT VIOLATE THE TREATY.

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(III) HMG REMAINED Firmly Committed TO THE ABM TREATY. I HOPED THAT NO-ONE WOULD BELIEVE THAT HMG'S ATTITUDE TO THE ABM TREATY WAS SUCH AS WOULD ALLOW IT ON THE ONE HAND TO SUPPORT IT PUBLICLY, AND YET EQUALLY PUBLICLY TO PERMIT OR ITSELF CARRY OUT ACTIVITIES IN THE U.K. WHICH WERE IN CLEAR BREACH. WE WERE TOTALLY CONFIDENT THAT THE MODERNIZATION BEING CARRIED OUT WAS FULLY PERMITTED.

(IV) I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY OF SAYING THAT THIS AND OTHER QUESTIONS COULD AND SHOULD BE COVERED WHEN THE BILATERAL ARMS CONTROL TALKS TOOK PLACE. WE WANTED THESE TO BE WIDE RANGING AND COVER ALL ASPECTS, AS NECESSARY BOTH WITH KARPOV AND PETROVSKY. THESE TALKS WOULD BE A USEFUL PREPARATION FOR YOUR TALKS WITH SHEVARDNADZE IN THE SPRING.

4. RYZHOV SAID THAT NO AMOUNT OF CONSULTATIONS WOULD CHANGE THE FYLINGDALES FACTS. HOWEVER HE ADDED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WANTED FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS WHICH SHOULD NOT TAKE THE FORM OF OPPOSING MONOLOGUES, BUT SEEK CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS. THE SOVIET SIDE DID NOT LIKE CONSULTATIONS WHICH BROUGHT NO RESULTS. PREPARATIONS FOR TALKS AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL HAD STARTED. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT BRITAIN WHICH BEFORE THE SUMMIT HAD SUPPORTED US/SOVIET EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENTS WHICH WOULD REDUCE TENSION, SHOULD NOW METICULOUSLY REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT HINDER PROGRESS.

#### COMMENT

THE MINISTRY REFUSED TO GIVE ADVANCE NOTICE OF THE TOPIC. NO SOVIET ARMS CONTROL OFFICIALS WERE PRESENT. RYZHOV DID NOT ASK FOR A REPLY, MERELY FOR US TO DRAW THE RIGHT CONCLUSIONS. THERE WAS NO APPARENT URGENCY REQUIRING THIS APPROACH DURING THE TWO WORKING DAYS OF THE AMBASSADOR'S ABSENCE FROM MOSCOW. THE RUSSIANS HAVE CRITICIZED FYLINGDALES BEFORE. I CONCLUDE THAT THIS WAS A PRO-FORMA EXERCISE.

HEMANS

#### EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

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DEFENCE D  
R D  
PLANNING STAFF  
EED  
NAD  
WED  
  
GRD  
FED  
NED  
PUSD

PS  
PS/LADY YOUNG  
  
PS/MR RENTON  
PS/MR EGGAR  
PS/PUS  
MR DEREK THOMAS  
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