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Prime Minister

For Information
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INFO IMMEDIATE ROME, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS GENEVA
INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, UKMIS NEW YORK, MODUK

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MODUK FOR (DACU)

NUCLEAR TESTING: GORBACHEV STATEMENT ON SOVIET TELEVISION

SUMMARY

1. GORBACHEV STATES EXPLICITLY THAT SOVIET TESTING WILL RESUME IF THE US CONDUCTS ANOTHER TEST AFTER THE EXPIRY OF THE SOVIET MORATORIUM ON 31 MARCH SEMI-COLON HE REPEATS THE PROPOSAL TO HOLD BILATERAL, TRILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL TALKS ON A CTB SEMI-COLON AND OFFER TO MEET PRESIDENT REAGAN IN LONDON, ROME OR ANY OTHER EUROPEAN CAPITAL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON AN END TO TESTING.

DETAIL

2. IN A 20 MINUTE ADDRESS ON SOVIET TELEVISION GORBACHEV RESPONDED TO WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS PUBLIC REQUESTS FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S ASSESSMENT OF THE 'POINTED CHALLENGE' OF CONTINUED US TESTING. HE SAID THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE US AND OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS TO END TESTING COULD GET THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS OUT OF DEADLOCK. THE US POSITION WAS FOR THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT A GAP BETWEEN WORDS AND PRACTICAL POLICY HAD AGAIN APPEARED. REASSURING WORDS HAD EMERGED FROM THE GENEVA SUMMIT, AND THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN PROMPTED TO EXTEND ITS MORATORIUM ON TESTING UNTIL 31 MARCH. SIMILARLY THE 15 JANUARY NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME WAS MOTIVATED BY A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY NOT AN ATTEMPT TO SCORE PROPAGANDA POINTS.

3. THE SOVIET UNION HAD 'CONSENTED' TO THE FEBRUARY APPEAL ON TESTING FROM THE DELHI SIX. BUT THE US HAD NOT CONFIRMED IN DEEDS ITS STATEMENTS IN GENEVA: THE INTERESTS OF THE MILITARY - INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX WERE SHOWN TO BE PARAMOUNT, 'POINTEDLY, ARROGANTLY AND WITH DISREGARD FOR THE OPINION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THERE IS NEITHER A SENSE OF REALISM NOR OF RESPONSIBILITY'.

4. GORACHEV CONCLUDED WITH THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) 'AS TO OUR UNILATERAL MORATORIUM, I CAN SAY THAT IT IS, AS BEFORE, IN EFFECT TILL MARCH 31, 1986. BUT EVEN AFTER THAT DATE, AS IT WAS ANNOUNCED, WE WILL NOT CONDUCT NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, IF THE UNITED STATES ACTS LIKEWISE. WE ARE AGAIN GIVING THE US ADMINISTRATION A CHANCE TO TAKE A RESPONSIBLE DECISION - TO END NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. FAILING WHICH, THE SOVIET UNION WILL RESUME TESTING. THIS MUST BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. WE REGRET IT, BUT WE WILL BE FORCED TO DO SO, SINCE WE CANNOT FORGO OUR OWN SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES. I AM SAYING ALL THIS, SO THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO RETICENCE ON THAT ISSUE. AT THE SAME TIME I STRESS AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT OUR MAIN INTENTION IS TO STOP THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS RACE. THE SIMPLEST, MOST EXPLICIT AND EFFECTIVE STEP IN THAT DIRECTION WOULD BE TO PUT AN END TO NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS.

B) 'WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT TALKS BE STARTED WITHOUT DELAY ON A TOTAL BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING, INCLUDING VERIFICATION ISSUES. ALL VARIANTS ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION -- BILATERAL SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS, TRIPARTITE TALKS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF BRITAIN, AND MULTILATERAL ONES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.... THE SITUATION REQUIRES IMMEDIATE ACTION..... PUTTING AN END TO NUCLEAR TESTING BY ALL, FIRST BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US AS WELL AS BY THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS COULD BECOME SUCH A STEP SQUARE BRACKETS ON TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE' END SQUARE BRACKETS

C) 'I AM READY TO MEET PRESIDENT REAGAN ALREADY IN THE NEAREST FUTURE IN LONDON OR ROME, OR IN ANY OTHER EUROPEAN CAPITAL THAT WILL AGREE TO RECEIVE US, IN ORDER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION. AND I DO NOT SEE ANY INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES TO THIS - POLITICAL, TECHNICAL, OR ANY OTHER. WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE NECESSARY POLITICAL WILL AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. WE PROPOSE TO MEET, EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS CRUCIAL PROBLEM AND ISSUE INSTRUCTIONS TO DRAFT AN APPROPRIATE AGREEMENT. WE HOPE THAT THIS PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE DULY APPRAISED AND CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, OF THE WHOLE WORLD.'

COMMENT

5. WITHOUT SPECULATING NOW ON GORBACHEV'S MOTIVATIONS - BEYOND HIS GETTING ANOTHER SLICE OF SALAMI OUT OF THE MORATORIUM, AND PUTTING FURTHER PUBLIC PRESSURE ON REAGAN - IT IS AT LEAST WORTH NOTHING THE FOLLOWING POINTS. THE GENEVA SUMMIT IS STILL REFERRED TO AS AN EVENT OUT OF WHICH AT LEAST SOMETHING HOPEFUL HAD EMERGED, AND ITSELF IS NOT SCORNE. REAGAN IS NOT DIRECTLY ATTACKED: CRITICISM OF US ACTIONS IS PUT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 'MILITARY - INDUSTRIAL' INTERESTS. THERE IS NO SUGGESTION IN THE STATEMENT THAT A MEETING IN EUROPE TO DISCUSS TESTING SHOULD BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SUMMIT IN THE U.S.

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RESTRICTED
FM MOSCOW
TO DESKBY 292230Z F C O
TELNO 360
OF 292100Z MARCH 86
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For Informal
Matters
Duty

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