

SUBJECT

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T198/83

cc master
Opr

S

LUK 7⁴³/25

FDW F 43/25

CONFIDENTIAL

~~Prime Minister.~~

I will discuss a draft
reply with the F.I.C.O. on
Monday. A.F.C. 27/11

DD 260300Z DELHI
OO ROME
OO MOSCOW
GRS 299
D E D I P

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 260300Z - DELHI

FM FCO 252005Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 914 OF 25 NOVEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR/MINISTER) WASHINGTON

BONN ROME MOSCOW PARIS

1. TEXT OF ANDROPOV'S LETTER OF 24 NOVEMBER TO THE PRIME
MINISTER IS AS FOLLOWS:

'MRS PRIME MINISTER,

I AM ADDRESSING YOU IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECISION TAKEN IN GREAT BRITAIN TO START THE DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES ON THE TERRITORY OF YOUR COUNTRY.

OUR POLITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THIS STEP AS WELL AS THE ENUMERATION OF COUNTER-MEASURES WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN FORCED TO TAKE ARE CONTAINED IN THE ENCLOSED TEXT OF THE STATEMENT.

WE HAVE ONLY TO REGRET THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A CHOICE IN FAVOUR OF THE FURTHER SHARPENING OF THE SITUATION AND IT HAS BEEN DONE DELIBERATELY WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH THE DECISION TAKEN IN LONDON WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO.

THE CONCLUSION FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT JUST LIKE THE US GOVERNMENT PREFERRED THE ROAD QUITE OPPOSITE TO THE ACCORD ON THE REDUCTION OF THE LEVEL OF NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE, THE ROAD LEADING TO THE INCREASE OF THIS LEVEL AND THUS LEADING TO THE GROWTH OF THE MILITARY DANGER.

WE ALSO CANNOT HELP COMING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT DOES NOT VALUE THE MAINTAINING OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION BASED ON CONFIDENCE. IT IS CLEAR THAT WE HAVE TO TAKE IT INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR POLICY.

HOWEVER WE WOULD NOT LIKE TO REGARD THE SITUATION ARISEN AS IRREVERSIBLE. IF ANOTHER, REALISTIC APPROACH TOWARDS THE SECURITY MATTERS PREVAIL IN THE WEST, AND IF THE NATO COUNTRIES SHOW THEIR READINESS TO RETURN TO THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN MISSILES IN EUROPE, YOU CAN BE SURE THAT IT WOULD FIND THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FROM OUR SIDE.

YOURS RESPECTFULLY,
Y ANDROPOV'

HOWE

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242035Z NOV 83
FROM COMMCEN HSP
TO MODUK

UNCLASSIFIED/
SIC

IMMEDIATE

GR850
UNCLASSIFIED
DESKBY FCO 250900Z
DESKBY DELHI 250300Z
FM MOSCOW 242035Z NOV 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1354 OF 24 NOV 83
INFO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI (FOR CHOGM DELEGATION), MODUK (DS17),
UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, BONN,
INFO PRIORITY PARIS, ROME,
INFO ROUTINE OTHER NATO POSTS, SOFIA, BELGRADE, BUCHAREST,
BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN, WARSAW, PRAGUE, UKMIS NEW YORK,
UKDIS GENEVA IN NEW YORK, TOKYO.
INFO SAVING PEKING AND ULAN BATOR

INF: ANDROPOV STATEMENT.

SUMMARY.

1. A LENGTHY STATEMENT IN ANDROPOV'S NAME WAS ISSUED THIS EVENING (24 NOVEMBER). THIS CRITICISED THE UK, FRG AND ITALY AS WELL AS THE US FOR DECIDING TO PROCEED WITH INF DEPLOYMENT. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAD DECIDED THAT PARTICIPATION IN THE INF TALKS WAS IMPOSSIBLE: THE MORATORIUM ON DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR WAS ABROGATED: PREPARATORY WORK TO DEPLOY MISSILES IN THE GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD BE ACCELERATED: AND IN RESPONSE TO THE NEW AMERICAN THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION CORRESPONDING SOVIET SYSTEMS WOULD BE DEPLOYED AT SEA. IF THE US AND NATO DISPLAYED READINESS TO RETURN TO THE SITUATION BEFORE DEPLOYMENT SOVIET PROPOSALS ON NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL IN EUROPE AND SOVIET UNILATERAL OBLIGATIONS WOULD AGAIN BE VALID.

DETAIL.

2. ANDROPOV SAID THAT THE APPEARANCE OF PERSHING AND CRUISE IN EUROPE WAS BECOMING AN ESTABLISHED FACT. DEPLOYMENT WOULD INCREASE NOT EUROPEAN SECURITY BUT THE REAL DANGER THAT THE US WOULD BRING CATASTROPHE UPON THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE. THERE WAS ROUGH PARITY IN MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. IF ANYTHING IT WAS THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WHICH WERE BEING THREATENED. BY GOING AHEAD WITH DEPLOYMENT A NUMBER OF NATO GOVERNMENTS SEEMED TO WANT TO CREATE A CONCRETE NUCLEAR MISSILE FOUNDATION FOR THE "CRUSADE AGAINST SOCIALISM". THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES COULD NOT IGNORE THIS DANGER.

3. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FRG, BRITAIN AND ITALY COULD NOT BUT KNOW THAT THE US FROM THE OUTSET HAD NOT WANTED A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT, AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WOULD DEFINITELY TAKE MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD THEIR SECURITY. "THE DECISIONS ADOPTED DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FRG, BRITAIN AND ITALY UNEQUIVOCALLY SHOW THAT CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF THEIR OWN PEOPLES: CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE SECURITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES AND CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF EUROPEAN AND UNIVERSAL PEACE THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AMERICAN MISSILES. THEREBY THEY HAVE ASSUMED TOGETHER WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MYOPIC POLICY ABOUT WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAD WARNED IN ADVANCE".

4. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAD TAKEN THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS:
(1) FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS ON LIMITING NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE WAS IMPOSSIBLE. THE US BY ITS ACTIONS HAD TORPEDOED THE POSSIBILITY OF A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT. CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS WOULD ONLY SERVE AS A COVER FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE US AND A NUMBER OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES AIMED AT UNDERMINING EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

(2) SOVIET UNILATERAL OBLIGATIONS DESIGNED TO CREATE MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE TALKS WERE CANCELLED. THE MORATORIUM ON DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR WAS ABROGATED.

(3) BY AGREEMENT WITH THE GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE PREPARATORY WORK TO DEPLOY IN THOSE COUNTRIES "OPERATIONAL-TACTICAL MISSILES OF INCREASED RANGE" WOULD BE ACCELERATED.

(4) TAKING DUE ACCOUNT OF THE INCREASED US NUCLEAR THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION FROM DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE, CORRESPONDING SOVIET SYSTEMS WOULD BE DEPLOYED "IN OCEAN AREAS AND IN SEAS".

5. OTHER MEASURES WOULD ALSO BE TAKEN. SOVIET REPLY MEASURES WOULD BE KEPT STRICTLY WITHIN THE LIMITS DICTATED BY NATO ACTIONS. THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT STRIVE FOR MILITARY SUPERIORITY IT ONLY DID WHAT WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO PREVENT DISRUPTION OF THE MILITARY BALANCE.

"SHOULD THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER NATO COUNTRIES DISPLAY READINESS TO RETURN TO THE SITUATION THAT EXISTED BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE: THE SOVIET UNION WILL ALSO BE PREPARED TO DO THIS. IN THAT EVENT OUR EARLIER PROPOSALS ON QUESTIONS OF LIMITING AND REDUCING NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE WOULD BECOME VALID AGAIN..... THE USSR'S UNILATERAL OBLIGATIONS IN THIS FIELD WOULD ALSO BECOME EFFECTIVE AGAIN".

6. THE SOVIET UNION REMAINED AN ADHERENT OF ENDING THE ARMS RACE. IT REPEATED ITS PROPOSAL TO RID EUROPE OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP CALLED ON THE LEADERS OF THE US AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO WEIGH ONCE AGAIN ALL THE CONSEQUENCES OF FULLFILLING DEPLOYMENT PLANS.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING PEKING AND ULAN BATOR.

SUTHERLAND
BT

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Only copy

LUK 513/27

CONFIDENTIAL

OO FCO

OO WASHINGTON

OO BONN

OO ROME

OO MOSCOW

OO PARIS

GRS 30

*ML 27
" "*

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CONFIDENTIAL

FM NEW DELHI 271140Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NUMBER 966 OF NOVEMBER 27

RPTD FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, ROME,
MOSCOW AND PARIS.

FROM PS/PM

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 913: ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT OF 24 NOVEMBER.

1. WHAT YOUR PROPOSE IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 4 AND 5 IS AGREED.

WADE-GERY

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File No.

OUTWARD

Security Classification
CONFIDENTIAL

Department

Drafted by PUS
(Block Capitals)

TELEGRAM

Precedence

Tel. Extn.

DESKBY Z

FOR
COMMS. DEPT.
USE

Despatched (Date)
(Time) Z

POSTBY Z

513

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PREAMBLE

(Time of Origin)..... Z(G.M.T.)

(Restrictive Prefix).....

(Security Class.)... CONFIDENTIAL

(Caveat/
Privacy marking).....

(Codeword)... CIPHER

(Deskby)..... Z

TO... IMMEDIATE FCO
(precedence) (post)

Tel. No. 966 of

AND TO (precedence/post).....

AND TO SAVING.....

INFO... IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, ROME, MOSCOW, PARIS

INFO SAVING.....

Distribution:—

[TEXT]

FROM PS/PM

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 913: ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT OF
24 NOVEMBER

1. What you propose in your paragraphs 4 and 5 is
agreed.

Copies to:—

LUK 744/25

FDW F 44/25

CONFIDENTIAL

*Si A. Andropov has been
action.
A.J.C. 27
11*

DD 260300Z DELHI

OO ROME

OO MOSCOW

GRS 286

DE DIP

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 260300Z - DELHI

FM FCO 252000Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 913 OF 25 NOVEMBER

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION IMMEDIATE (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR/
MINISTER) WASHINGTON, BONN, ROME, MOSCOW, PARIS.

FOLLOWING FOR PS/PM FROM PS/SECRETARY OF STATE

INF: ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT OF 24 NOVEMBER

1. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR CALLED ON WRIGHT ON 25 NOVEMBER
TO DELIVER A LETTER DATED 24 NOVEMBER FROM PRESIDENT ANDROPOV TO
THE PRIME MINISTER, ENCLOSING A COPY OF ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT
OF 24 NOVEMBER. TEXT IN MIFT.

2. POPOV DREW PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE PASSAGES IN
ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT REFERRING TO THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF FURTHER
PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NEED TO
REDUCE WEAPON LEVELS BECAUSE OF THE WASTE OF RESOURCES
RESULTING FROM THE ARMS RACE. HE ALSO UNDERLINED THE FACT
THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS NOT IRREVERSIBLE.

3. WRIGHT EMPHASISED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S REGRET AT
THE SOVIET WALK OUT, ESPECIALLY WHEN A REVISED UNITED STATES
OFFER LAY ON THE TABLE. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE SAID THAT HE
SHARED THE VIEW THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE IRREVERSIBLE. NATO HAD
MADE IT CLEAR FROM THE OUTSET THAT ITS PROGRAMME TO DEPLOY
MISSILES WAS REVERSIBLE. THE UNITED STATES STOOD READY TO
CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS AT ANY MOMENT.

4. PROVIDED PM SEES NO OBJECTION, WE SUGGEST THAT COPY
ADDRESSEE SHOULD BE GIVEN AUTHORITY TO SAY THAT THE PM HAS
RECEIVED A MESSAGE AND - IF IT EMERGES THAT SIMILAR MESSAGES
HAVE BEEN RECEIVED - TO COMPARE TEXTS ORALLY BUT NOT, REPEAT
NOT, TO HAND TEXT OVER.

5. IF THE RUSSIANS REVEAL PUBLICLY THAT A MESSAGE HAS BEEN
SENT, WE PROPOSE TO GO NO FURTHER THAN CONFIRMING THAT THIS
IS SO, AND SAYING THAT IT IS NOT OUR PRACTISE TO REVEAL THE
CONTENT OF CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGES. OTHER NATO POSTS WILL
BE GUIDED ACCORDINGLY.

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IMMEDIATE

CLASSIFIED

RECEIVED
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION
NEW DELHI
CHANGERY
25 NOV 1983
DUPLICATES
OF LETTERS
OF ENCLOSURES
LOCATION

V

LUK 674/24

OO NEW DELHI

GRS 336

RESTRICTED

FM FCO 241926Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1986 OF 24 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI (FOR CHOGM DELEGATION) MOSCOW, BONN, UKDEL NATO, PARIS, PRAGUE, EAST BERLIN, PRIORITY THE HAGUE, BRUSSELS, OSLO, COPENHAGEN, ROME, SOFIA, BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST, WARSAW, UKDEL VIENNA, HELSINKI, STOCKHOLM, TOKYO, MODUK (FOR DS17 AND DPS(N)).

INF: ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT ON 24 NOVEMBER.

OUR INITIAL REACTION TO THE FIRST REPORTS OF A STATEMENT TONIGHT, 24 NOVEMBER, BY ANDROPOV, ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION NOT CONTINUING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS AND SOVIET SO-CALLED COUNTER MEASURES, IS THAT IT CONTAINS NO SURPRISES. THE MEDIA MAY FOCUS ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PREPARATIONS FOR NEW MISSILES IN THE GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL BE SPEEDED UP. NEWS DEPARTMENT ARE TAKING THE FOLLOWING LINE (WHICH IS UPDATED VERSION OF THAT IN FCO TELNO 1765 TO WASHINGTON OF 24 OCTOBER, REPEATED TO ALL EXCEPT TOKYO AND NEW DELHI):

" A. THESE WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST SOVIET NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EASTERN EUROPE. LAUNCHERS FOR THE SHORT RANGE FROG MISSILES HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED IN EASTERN EUROPE SINCE THE EARLY 1960S, AS HAVE LAUNCHERS FOR THE SLIGHTLY LONGER RANGE SCUD MISSILES. THERE ARE CURRENTLY ABOUT 250 LAUNCHERS FOR FROG MISSILES AND 280 LAUNCHERS FOR SCUD MISSILES IN EASTERN EUROPE. IN ADDITION THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEGUN TO REPLACE THE FROG LAUNCHERS IN EAST GERMANY WITH SS21 LAUNCHERS.

B. IF THE RUSSIANS ARE NOW PREPARING TO INTRODUCE THEIR OTHER NEW MISSILES INTO EASTERN EUROPE THIS COMES AS NO SUPRISE. THESE MISSILES, THE SS23 WHICH WILL REPLACE THE SCUD AND THE SS22 WHICH UP TO NOW HAS BEEN DEPLOYED ONLY IN THE SOVIET UNION, HAVE BEEN READY FOR DEPLOYMENT FOR SOME TIME. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PROBABLY HAVE WANTED TO DEPLOY THEM IN EASTERN EUROPE IN ANY CASE.

C. WE CANNOT SEE THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW SOVIET MISSILES IN EUROPE WOULD SERVE ANY SECURITY REQUIREMENT WHICH THE RUSSIANS MIGHT BELIEVE THEY HAVE: THEY WOULD ONLY DUPLICATE THE ROLES OF EXISTING MISSILES INCLUDING THE VAST NUMBER OF SS20S ALREADY FACING US."

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INF.

PRESS LINE PUT OUT BY BOTH NO 10 AND FOREIGN OFFICE

It is a matter of profound regret that the Soviet Union has discontinued with no date for resumption the Geneva INF talks

The first priority for the NATO Alliance since 1979 has been to seek a balanced and verifiable agreement to limit and if possible eliminate the deployment of intermediate range nuclear missiles.

The West has proposed a number of ideas to achieve this and we have done all in our power to continue with these crucial negotiations. Only last week the US put forward a new and constructive proposal which remains on the table.

During this period, since 1979, when we first gave the Soviet Union formal notice of our concern about the SS20, they have almost tripled the number of these missiles deployed.

Since 1981 when the first negotiations began, they have increased the numbers deployed by over 100 which is an increase of more than 40 per cent over their 1981 position.

Throughout this build up of Soviet SS20s, the West has remained at the conference table. We have made it clear that we wish the negotiations to continue. This remains our firm position. Our first priority is a negotiated agreement.

Today, not a single weapon of this sort is operationally deployed in Europe on the Western side. The Soviet Union has 243 SS20s targeted on Western Europe.

There could be no justification therefore for a breakdown in the negotiations and we sincerely hope that these will be resumed as early as possible in the New Year.

Four years ago we made it clear to the Soviet Union that whilst our first priority was to conclude a satisfactory agreement, in the absence of such an agreement we would have to go ahead with the modernisation of our own intermediate range weapons systems by the end of 1983.

Final preparations for deployment have begun. In the interest of Alliance security we will not be deflected from our intention to achieve operational deployment by the end of this year. But it is important to stress that we remain prepared to halt or reverse any deployment that takes place if we are able to achieve an acceptable agreement with the Soviet Union and we will spare no effort to achieve this.

We must hope that an early Soviet return to the negotiating table will make this possible.

*dictated to CHOAM fastly
28/11/83.*

GRS 50

UNCLASSIFIED
FM PARIS 251638Z NOV 83
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1087 OF 25TH NOVEMBER
INFO PRIORITY BONN, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW.

MY TELNO 1085 : INF : ANDROPOV STATEMENT.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID THAT ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT
WAS NO SURPRISE. FRANCE MAINTAINED A POSITION OF FIRMFNESS IN THE
FACE OF THE NUCLEAR DISEQUILIBRIUM IN EUROPE.

FRETWELL

**THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED**

LIMITED
DEFENCE DEPT
ACDD
EED
SOV DEPT
NAD
WED
NEWS D

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
MR JENKINS
MR CARTLEDGE

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
START

COPIES TO:
MR COLES NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR EDES, CDE DEFENCE DEPT
(Room 116C DS(W))

Pa
20/4
28/4

STATEMENT
BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR YURI ANDROPOV

The leadership of the Soviet Union has already brought its assessments of the militaristic course of the present American administration to the notice of Soviet people and other peoples, and warned the governments of the United States and Western countries coming out at one with it about the dangerous consequences of this course.

But Washington, Bonn, London and Rome did not heed the voice of reason - the deployment of American medium-range missiles is beginning on the territory of the FRG, Britain and Italy. Thereby the appearance of American "Pershings" and cruise missiles in the European continent is becoming an accomplished fact.

For almost forty years - longer than ever before in modern history-Europe is living in the conditions of peace. This has become possible owing to the consistent peace-loving policy of the countries of the Socialist community, the efforts of the continent's peace-loving forces and also the realistic position of sober-minded politicians in the West. The approximate balance of military forces, including nuclear ones, between the states of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Treaty states, that has formed in Europe, objectively served the cause of European security and stability.

Now the United States and NATO as a whole are taking the step directed at tipping the scales in their favour. The nuclear missiles that are being deployed near the borders of the Soviet Union and its allies are not at all intended for the defence of Western Europe - no one is threatening it. What will grow with the deployment of American missiles on European soil is not the security of Europe but the real danger that the United States will bring catastrophe upon the peoples of Europe.

During the two World Wars the flames of destruction spared the territory of the United States of America. Now, too, the people in Washington would like to think that by deploying their medium-range missiles in Europe and thus creating an additional nuclear threat to the socialist countries they would be able to divert the return strike from their house. As to the security of the West European allies of the United States, it appears that it interests the American leaders only to the extent to which the West Europeans will be able by their lives, by their cities to lessen the retribution for the United States, should Washington give in to the temptation to unleash nuclear war in the illusory hope of winning it.

The deployment of the American nuclear missiles in Western Europe is by no means a step prompted by a reaction to some supposedly existing concern in the West about the present alignment of forces of the sides in Europe. Many times, using concrete figures, it was proved - and this is accepted by many politicians and specialists in the West - that at present a rough parity continues to exist in Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty as regards medium-range nuclear weapons, while NATO has a considerable edge in terms of nuclear warheads. So if anybody has cause to be concerned it is the Warsaw Treaty countries which are being threatened by the military machines of the NATO states.

Neither can the Soviet Union and other countries of the Socialist community, when evaluating all this, turn a blind eye to the fact that Washington has also declared a "crusade" against socialism as a social system and that those who have now issued the orders for the deployment of new nuclear arms on the threshold of our house are basing their practical policy on this reckless premise. It appears that by deploying the "Pershing-2"s and cruise missiles in Europe the governments of a number of NATO countries would want to create a concrete nuclear-missile foundation for this adventuristic premise.

Can the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries ignore this danger? No, they cannot. That is why the highest party and state leaders of seven Socialist countries declared at their meeting in Moscow on June 28, 1983 that under no circumstances will they permit a military superiority of the NATO bloc over the countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

When confirming their consent to the deployment of American missiles in their countries the governments of the FRG, Britain and Italy could not but know that the United States did not want from the outset the attainment of a mutually acceptable accord on nuclear arms in Europe and did everything at the talks in Geneva and outside them to prevent such an accord. Likewise they could not but know that the Soviet Union and its allies would definitely take the necessary measures to safeguard their security, to prevent the United States and NATO as a whole from upsetting the existing rough balance of forces in Europe.

It was also clearly stated by us that the appearance of new American missiles in Western Europe would make impossible a continuation of the talks that were being conducted in Geneva on nuclear arms in Europe.

The decisions taken during the past few days by the governments of the FRG, Britain and Italy unequivocally show that contrary to the will of their own peoples, contrary to the interests of the security of their countries and contrary to the interests of European and universal peace these governments have given the green light to the deployment of American missiles. Thereby they have assumed together with the government of the United States the entire responsibility for the consequences of the myopic policy about which the Soviet Union had warned in advance.

Having thoroughly weighed all the aspects of the obtaining situation the Soviet leadership adopted the following decisions:

First. Since by its actions the United States has torpedoed the possibility of reaching a mutually acceptable accord at the talks on questions of limiting nuclear arms in Europe and their continuation in these conditions would only serve as a cover for the actions of the United States and a number of other NATO countries directed at undermining European and international security, the Soviet Union considers its further participation in these talks impossible.

Second. Being cancelled are the Soviet Union's unilateral obligations which had for their purpose the creation of more favourable conditions for success at the talks. Thereby the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR is abrogated.

Third. On agreement with the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia the announced preparatory work to deploy on the territory of these countries operational-tactical missiles of increased range, that was started some time ago, will be accelerated.

Fourth. Since by deploying its missiles in Europe the United States increases the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union, the corresponding Soviet systems will be deployed with due account for this circumstance in ocean areas and in seas. By their characteristics these systems of ours will be adequate to the threat which American missiles that are being deployed in Europe create to us and our allies.

It goes without saying that other measures, too, will be taken to ensure the security of the USSR and other countries of the Socialist community.

As we commence the fulfilment of the decisions adopted by us we state that the counter-measures from the Soviet side will be kept strictly within the limits that will be dictated by the actions of the NATO countries. The Soviet Union, and

we stress this again, does not strive for military superiority, and we will do only what is absolutely necessary to prevent the military balance from being disrupted.

Should the United States and other NATO countries display readiness to return to the situation that existed before the commencement of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will also be prepared to do this. In that event our earlier proposals on questions of limiting and reducing nuclear arms in Europe would become valid again. In that case, that is on condition of the restoration of the former situation, the USSR's unilateral obligations in this field would also become effective again.

The Soviet Union declares with all firmness and in no uncertain terms that it remains committed to the principled course of ending the arms race, first off all the nuclear arms race, of lessening and ultimately totally removing the threat of nuclear war. It will further exert every effort for the attainment of these lofty aims.

The Soviet Union continues to come out for the most radical solution of the question of nuclear arms in Europe. It repeats its proposal to make Europe free of nuclear weapons altogether, both medium-range and tactical.

The Soviet leadership calls on the leaders of the United States and the West European countries to weigh once again all the consequences with which their own peoples and the whole of mankind are being threatened by the fulfilment of the plans to deploy new American missiles in Europe.

As it is we are living in too brittle a world. That is why responsible statesmen must evaluate the developments and adopt a rational decision. It is human reason alone that can and must save mankind from the grave danger. We call on those who are pushing the world along the road of the ever more dangerous arms race to give up their vain hopes of thus achieving military superiority in order to dictate their will to other peoples and states.

The Soviet Union is convinced that peace can be strengthened and the security of peoples guaranteed not by way of building up

and inventing ever new types of armaments but, on the contrary, by way of reducing the existing armaments to immeasurably lower levels. Mankind has too many tasks which are not being solved only because colossal material, intellectual and other resources are being diverted. And from this viewpoint, too, the attainment of accords on a radical reduction of nuclear and other arms would be a boon for all peoples.

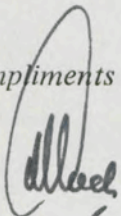
The Soviet leadership declares that in fulfilment of the Soviet people's will it will further do everything to ward off the danger of war and to preserve peace for the present and coming generations.



DUTY OFFICER NO. 10

I attach a copy of the
statement referred to in
FCO Telno 914 to
25 November to New
Delhi.

With the compliments of

 C.R.S. Dorso

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

LONDON, SW1A 2AH

ASST. RESIDENT
CLERK.

Summary

1. A lengthy statement in Andropov's name was issued this evening 24 November. This criticised the UK, FRG, and Italy as well as the US for deciding to proceed with INF deployment. The Soviet leadership had decided that participation in the INF talks was impossible: the moratorium on deployment of missiles in the ~~Europe~~ European part of the USSR was abrogated: preparatory work to deploy missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia would be accelerated and in response to the new American threat to the Soviet Union corresponding Soviet systems would be deployed at sea. If the US and NATO displayed readiness to return to the situation before deployment Soviet proposals on nuclear arms control in Europe and Soviet unilateral obligations would again be valid.

2. Detail

Andropov said that the appearance of Pershing and Cruise in Europe was becoming an established fact. Deployment would increase not European security but the real danger that the US would bring catastrophe upon the peoples of Europe. There was rough parity in medium range nuclear weapons in Europe. If anything it was the Warsaw Pact countries which were being threatened. By going ahead with deployment a number of NATO governments seemed to want to create a concrete nuclear missile foundation for the "crusade against socialism". The Soviet Union and other socialist countries could not ignore this danger.

3. The Governments of the FRG, Britain and Italy could not but know that the US from the outset had not wanted a mutually accepted agreement and that the Soviet Union and its allies would definitely take measures to safeguard their security. The decision adopted during the past few days by the governments of the FRG, Britain and Italy unequivocally show that contrary to the will of their own peoples: contrary to the interests of the security of their countries and contrary to the interests of European and universal peace these governments have given the green light to the deployment of the American missiles. Thereby they have

/ assumed

assumed together with the US the entire responsibility ~~and~~ for the consequences of the myopic policy about which the Soviet Union had warned in advance.

4. The Soviet leadership had taken the following decisions:

(i) further participation in the talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe was impossible. The US, by its actions, had torpedoed the possibility of a mutually acceptable agreement. Continuation of the talks would only serve as a cover for the actions of the US and a number of other NATO countries aimed at undermining European and international security.

(ii) Soviet unilateral obligations designed to create very favourable conditions for the talks were cancelled. The moratorium on deployment on medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR was abrogated.

(iii) By agreement with the GDR and Czechoslovakia the preparatory work to deploy in those countries "operational tactical missiles to increased range" would be accelerated.

(iv) Taking due account of the increased US nuclear threat to the Soviet Union from deployment in Europe corresponding Soviet systems would be deployed "in ocean ~~xxx~~ areas and in seas".

5. Other measures would also be taken. Soviet reply measures would be kept strictly within the limits dictated by NATO actions. The Soviet Union did not strive for military superiority, it only ~~was~~ did what was absolutely necessary to prevent disruption of the military balance. Should the US and the other NATO countries display readiness to return to the situation that existed before the commencement of the deployment of the American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will also be prepared to do this. In that event our earlier proposals on questions of limiting and reducing nuclear arms in Europe would become valid again. The USSR's unilateral obligations in this field would also become effective again.

6. The Soviet Union remained an adherent of ending the arms race. It repeated its proposal to rid Europe of all nuclear weapons. The Soviet leadership called on the leaders of the US and Western European countries to weigh once again all the consequences of ~~the~~ fulfilling deployment plans.

LUK 676/24

LLO NR 936/24

OO FCO DESKBY 250900Z

OO NEW DELHI DESKBY 250300Z

OO MODUK

OO UKDEL NATO

OO WASHINGTON

OO BONN

PP PARIS

PP ROME

RR ANKARA

RR ATHENS

RR BRUSSELS

RR COPENHAGEN

RR LISBON

RR LUXEMBOURG

RR MADRID

RR OSLO

RR OTTAWA

RR REYKJAVIK

RR THE HAGUE

RR UKDEL VIENNA

RR SOFIA

RR BELGRADE

RR BUCHAREST

RR BUDAPEST

RR EAST BERLIN

RR WARSAW

RR PRAGUE

RR UKMIS NEW YORK

RR UKDIS GENEVA IN NEW YORK

RR TOKYO

mt

RECEIVED
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION
NEW DELHI
CHAMPAGNE
25 NOV 1983
DUPLICATES
OF LETTERS
OF ENCLOSURES
LOCATION

INF

PS/Mr Luce

INF: POSSIBLE SOVIET ANNOUNCEMENT CONFIRMING NEW MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

1. I understand that the Soviet authorities are to make an important statement at 1800Z this evening. It is quite likely that this will be confirmation of the deployments of new Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe, specifically in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

the / 2. On 24 October the Soviet Defence Ministry announced that preparatory work was starting in the GDR and Czechoslovakia for the deployment of 'operational-tactical missile' complexes. 'Operational-tactical missiles' are, in Soviet terminology, shorter range INF missiles: SCUD/SS23 missiles and the SS12/SS22 missiles. Following/Soviet Defence Ministry announcement we prepared a line to take for News Department. I have slightly updated this and attach a copy of the text (which Mr Weston has agreed). This could be used freely if this evening's Soviet announcement is about new missiles in Eastern Europe.

R.H.T. Gozney

R H T Gozney
Defence Department

24 November 1983

- cc: Mr Mayhew News Department
- PS ✓
- PS/Mr Rifkind
- PS/PUS
- Sir J Bullard
- Mr Wright
- Mr Cartledge
- ACDD
- ACDRU
- Soviet Department (Mr Gowan)
- EED (Mr Carter)
- DS 17 MOD (Mr Colston)
- DPS (N) MOD

NEW SOVIET MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

LINE TO TAKE

1. These would not be the first Soviet nuclear missiles in Eastern Europe. Launchers for the short range FROG missiles have been deployed in Eastern Europe since the early 1960s, as have launchers for the slightly longer range SCUD missiles. There are currently about 250 launchers for FROG missiles and 280 launchers for SCUD missiles in Eastern Europe. In addition the Soviet Union has begun to replace the FROG launchers in East Germany with SS21 launchers.

2. If the Russians are now preparing to introduce their other new missiles into Eastern Europe this comes as no surprise. These missiles, the SS23 which will replace the SCUD and the SS22 which up to now has been deployed only in the Soviet Union, have been ready for deployment for some time. The Soviet Union would probably have wanted to deploy them in Eastern Europe in any case.

3. We cannot see that the deployment of new Soviet missiles in Europe would serve any security requirement which the Russians might believe they have; they would only duplicate the roles of existing missiles including the vast number of SS20s already facing us.

NNNN

UK 02 EPF230

241809 :AM-NUCLEAR-SOVIET "" URGENT 2NDLD

ANDROPOV SAYS MISSILE TALKS ENDED AND CITES NEW RETALIATION:

BY CHARLES BREMNER

MOSCOW, NOV 24, REUTER - SOVIET PRESIDENT YURI ANDROPOV SAID TODAY THE SOVIET UNION WOULD TAKE NO FURTHER PART IN TALKS ON LIMITING MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES AND ANNOUNCED NEW RETALIATORY MEASURES.

MORE CJB/RLH

NNNN

UKP805 EPF232

241817 :AM-NUCLEAR-SOVIET 2NDLD =2 MOSCOW:

ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT, READ OUT ON TELEVISION, WAS THE FIRST AUTHORITY KREMLIN WORD ON YESTERDAY'S SOVIET WALK-OUT FROM THE GENEVA MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILE NEGOTIATIONS.

MORE CJB/RLH

NNNN

UKP812 EPF233

241832 :AM-NUCLEAR-SOVIET 2NDLD =3 MOSCOW:

ANDROPOV BLAMED THE UNITED STATES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE TWO-YEAR-OLD GENEVA TALKS AND SAID THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW CRUISE AND PERSHING-2 MISSILES RAISED A +REAL DANGER THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BRING CATASTROPHE UPON THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE. +

SINCE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS IN THESE CONDITIONS +WOULD ONLY SERVE AS A COVER FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND A NUMBER OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES ... THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS ITS FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN THESE TALKS IMPOSSIBLE, + HE SAID.

THE SOVIET UNION HAD ALSO DECIDED ON THREE OTHER MEASURES, ANDROPOV SAID. HE LISTED THEM AS:

- ABROGATION OF MOSCOW'S 1981 FREEZE ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF 55-20 MISSILES IN THE EUROPEAN USSR
- ACCELERATION OF PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE INSTALLATION OF NEW SOVIET MISSILES IN EAST GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.
- DEPLOYMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION OF MISSILE SYSTEMS +IN OCEAN AREAS AND SEAS+ THAT WILL DIRECTLY THREATEN THE UNITED STATES.

MORE CJB/RT/ADB

4

*Sig. increase in Europe - SS-20's
No new dep in Europe since talks for*

*Mark 8
anacran
May '82
clarified
formed out
kept putting
them into
existing and
sites that d
not have full
complement*