CONFIDENTIAL

Rive hinster

The substance is not of PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

WHITEHALL. LONDON SWIA 2AT

Repath Saviet positions - 22 July 1986

Its the technique which is

So different the provide tond, drawing in

Dear Charles different hinsters Holling etc.

CON 23/1.

Somewhat to our surprise, the Soviet Ambassador asked to see the Lord President today to deliver what he called a personal oral message from Mr Gorbachev. The Lord President promised he would pass on the message, the text of which I enclose, to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

Mr Zamyatin, who was accompanied by Mr Kursov from the Soviet Embassy, said that Mr Gorbachev had wanted to send a message to the Lord President and HM Government following the discussions they had had when the Lord President was in Moscow. Mr Gorbachev was, Mr Zamyatin said, keen to continue and develop the dialogue with HMG and other European Governments in the light of the discussions which had recently taken place in a variety of capitals including Washington. The message was a purely private one and Mr Zamyatin said that he did not intend to publicise it.

Mr Zamyatin also reported that the Politburo had considered the report of Mr Shevardnadze's visit. Their consideration, which lasted one and a half hours, had covered the substance of the talks Mr Shevardnadze had had with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. The general opinion of the Politburo was that the whole range of talks Mr Shevardnaze had, and the various Anglo-Soviet agreements signed, during the visit were very satisfactory and represented a major step forward in our bilateral relations.

The Lord President confirmed that HMG too thought Mr Shevardnaze's visit had been very successful. He thanked Mr Zamyatin for delivering the message from Mr Gorbachev and asked him to convey his thanks and good wishes to him.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Tony Galsworthy.

JOAN MACNAUGHTON
Private Secretary

Yours sinkerely Nucholas Gulbons

C Powell Esq Private Secretary 10 Downing Street I would like to share with you some considerations on a number of urgent issues of the present world politics. The decision to make this direct approach is prompted by realising the responsibility for the passing moment, for the urgent need to bring about a radical turn for the better in the world events, to start a genuine movement towards a secure and stable peace. We proceed from the conviction, that words and declarations alone in favour of this are no longer sufficient. Time has come for concrete actions, determined efforts by all states in order to halt material preparations for nuclear war, to start forming a universal system of international security, first of all through the disarmament. This is precisely the essence of our Statement of 15 January, of the mandate given to the Soviet foreign policy by the XXVII Congress of the CPSU.

We are not naive people and never expected that the realisation of such radical tasks would go smoothly. But we are determined to translate the energy accumulated in the ideas into the language of practical actions both in nuclear and "conventional" spheres.

First of all we have decided to clear the path towards attaining mutually acceptable agreements at the negotiations with the USA in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons. As you know, contrary to the desire jointly expressed by President Reagan and myself to accelerate these negotiations, they never the less have not moved forward, which is in no way acceptable to us. Therefore recently we have put forward interim compromise proposals, that go to a major extent towards the USA position. Their essence is not to break out of the ABM treaty of 1972 at least for 15 years, by drawing the line of permited activity in the field of ABM at the level of laboratory research. In these conditions we propose to make a major interim step towards putting into effect a proposal for the 50 per cent reduction of the nuclear armaments of the sides: to reduce substantially on a nutual basis the levels of strategic offensive armaments (ICBM, SLBM, and heavy bombers), without insisting at the same time on the inclusion into the account of medium range nuclear means, capable of reaching the

territory of the other side. If there is a genuine willingness in Washington to reach an accord, these proposals should present no difficulties for the American side, can lead to a speedy progress at the negotiations, which is so much needed not only for the USSR and the USA, but also for the nations of Europe, and the whole world.

Now about the conventional weapons.

As other Europeans we are worried by their ever increasing might. Together with our allies in the Warsaw Treaty we have submitted a realistic and concrete way of releaving this shared anxiety - a detailed plan of reductions of military forces and conventional armaments on the all-european scale. Being a substantial supplement to our programme of stage by stage nuclear disarmament, this plan is at the same time of independent character. Its realisation would have significantly reduced military threat on the continent.

Another question ripe for solution, to which Europeans have traditionally expressed interest - the ban on chemical weapons. We have submitted a whole complex of new proposals, that create all the necessary prerequisits for the conclusion in the very nearest future of an international convention on the complete liquidation of this barbaric weapon of mass destruction as well as of the industrial base of its production.

I would like to stress particularly that all measures that we propose can be reliably and effectively verified. We stand for using all possible forms of control - both national technical means and international procedures up to on-site inspections. Our detailed proposals to this effect completely remove the problem of control, naturally, if one is genuinly interested in the preparation of the relevant agreements.

This is particularly evident in the case of the question of cessation of nuclear tests. Now no one can be in doubt, that the matter is not in the so-called difficulties of verification, as was claimed for years. Now is the moment of truth, when it is necessary to choose - either further development of nuclear weapons, including for the "star wars", or curbing the nuclear race. We have made our choice. Testimony to this is yet another prolongation of our moratorium, which, however, as you understand,

cannot indefinitely remain unilateral. We would wish to hope that the voice of reason in favour of halting and banning nuclear tests, that has come from West European capitals not on one occasion, will be raised ever more loudly and that it will be heard at last in Washington.

