



5. MUCH THE SAME ARGUMENTS APPLY IN OUR MIND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF LESS-THAN-PERFECT OR, AT THE LOWEST LEVEL, POINT/LIMITED AREA DEFENCES. THE ARGUMENT THAT OFFENSIVE FORCES AND OTHER COUNTER-MEASURES WILL PROLIFERATE IS EVEN MORE VALID, AND WE NOTE THE TERRIBLE RESULTS THAT WOULD OCCUR FROM EVEN A SMALL LEAK IN DEFENCES. POINT DEFENCE WILL BE SIMPLER AND CHEAPER THAN FULL-SCALE BMD BUT PROVIDE NO PROTECTION TO CIVILIAN POPULATIONS, NOR AGAINST NON-BALLISTIC MISSILES. IT WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT EFFECT UPON THE ABM TREATY. THE PROTECTION IT DOES OFFER CAN BE ACHIEVED IN OTHER WAYS SUCH AS MOBILITY, AND MAY PROVE THEREFORE TO BE BOTH EXPENSIVE AND REDUNDANT.

6. THERE ARE EVIDENT LINKAGES BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE FORCES. UNCONSTRAINED BMD DEVELOPMENT COULD WELL LEAD TO THE PROLIFERATION OF OFFENSIVE FORCES TO OVERWHELM SUBSEQUENT GENERATIONS OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS. CONVERSELY, LIMITS ON OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR ANY BMD, ESPECIALLY IN A LIMITED FORM, TO BE EFFECTIVE. THE RUSSIANS NOW SEEM TO HAVE ACCEPTED THESE INTRINSIC LINKAGES BETWEEN OFFENSIVE FORCES AND FUTURE DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS. IN ADDITION, THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS IN OUTER SPACE PROVIDE IMPORTANT LEVERAGE FOR ELICITING FROM THEM CONCESSIONS OVER THE REDUCTION OF OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS. AS A RECENT STATEMENT FROM THE WHITE HOUSE PUT IT, BMD RESEARCH SHOULD CONTINUE TO COMPLEMENT ARMS REDUCTION EFFORTS.

7. IF I MAY ADD A WORD ON ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS, WE RECOGNISE THE NEED FOR YOU TO BALANCE THE CURRENT SOVIET CAPABILITY. WE ARE ALSO IMPRESSED BY THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF SOME DEGREE OF CONSTRAINTS ON FURTHER ASAT DEVELOPMENT. WE FIND PARTICULAR FORCE IN THE RELATIVELY GREATER DEPENDENCE BY THE WEST ON SATELLITE ASSETS FOR OUR OWN SECURITY, IN THE POTENTIAL INSTABILITY ACROSS THE STRATEGIC SPECTRUM WHICH THE THREAT OF UNCONSTRAINED ASAT DEVELOPMENT WOULD PRESENT, AND IN THE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE DIVERTED TO THIS AREA FROM OTHER, POTENTIALLY MORE USEFUL FIELDS.

8. IN CONCLUSION, THE PRIME MINISTER AND I TAKE THE VIEW THAT A FRUDENT HEDGE AGAINST SOVIET BMD RESEARCH IS SENSIBLE. BUT IT SEEMS DESIRABLE THAT YOU SHOULD ENGAGE THE RUSSIANS IN EXPLORING POSSIBLE CONSTRAINTS ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENT, IN ORDER TO AVOID A COSTLY AND IN THE END INEFFECTIVE SPIRAL IN THE ARMS RACE, TO HELP SECURE REDUCTIONS IN OFFENSIVE FORCES, AND TO AVOID NEW DANGERS OF INSTABILITY AND THREATS TO ALLIANCE COHESION. THE ABM TREATY WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN SUCH AN EXPLORATION. IT IS ALSO CLEAR TO US THAT YOU SHOULD BALANCE THE CURRENT SOVIET ASAT CAPABILITY. BUT WESTERN INTERESTS WOULD BE SERVED BY SOME MEASURE OF CONTROLS, SUCH AS RESTRICTIONS ON LOW-ORBIT ASATS AND A BAN ON REL SYSTEMS, INCLUDING HIGH-ORBIT ASATS: CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES COULD SUPPLEMENT THIS REGIME.

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