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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NO 960 OF 21 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE MAASTRICHT PRIORITY EC POSTS

INFO SAVING UKMIS NEW YORK UKDEL NATO LISBON MADRID OTTAWA

ANKARA ALL MIDDLE EAST POSTS TEHRAN MOSCOW WARSAW PEKING TOKYO

PRETORIA LUANDA LUSAKA SALISBURY MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS

GABORONE ISLAMABAD NEW DELHI MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY BUENOS AIRES

HAVANA CANBERRA

US FOREIGN POLICY

SOME OF THE CONVICTIONS, PREJUDICES AND INTERESTS THAT WILL SHAPE US FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION ARE BEGINNING TO TRANSLATE THEMSELVES INTO SPECIFIC DECISIONS BUT, TWO MONTHS AFTER THE INAUGURATION, THERE ARE STILL LARGE UNCHARTED AREAS AND IT IS MUCH TOO EARLY TO BE ABLE TO DISCERN A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM. BUT YOU MAY LIKE TO HAVE SOME IMPRESSIONS BEFORE NEXT WEEK'S EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

2. THE FOLLOWING SEEM TO ME TO BE ESSENTIAL PARTS OF THE NEW FRAMEWORK:

A. ALTHOUGH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT FORECLOSED SUMMITRY, DIALOGUE OR ARMS CONTROL TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AT SOME STAGE, THEY ARE BENT FOR THE MOMENT UPON A CHALLENGE TO THE SOVIETS AND THEIR VASSALS. THE AIM WILL BE PRIMARILY (WITHOUT OF COURSE PERMITTING SOVIET ENCROACHMENT UPON THE NATO AREA) TO ARREST AND REVERSE SOVIET AND PROXY ADVANCES IN THE THIRD WORLD. HAIG SEES THESE AS THE MAIN THREAT TO WORLD PEACE, LARGELY AS THE RESULT OF PAST US MILITARY WEAKNESS AND POLICY VACILLATION. THE CUBANS ARE TO TAKE THE FIRST RAP, BOTH IN CENTRAL AMERICA (EG EL SALVADOR) AND IN AFRICA.

3. THE METHODS TO BE PURSUED, BACKED BY HARSH RHETORIC (QUOTE LIARS ... CHEATS ... AND PROMOTERS OF TERRORISM UNQUOTE) WILL BE: (I) GREATER US MILITARY STRENGTH (US DEFENCE SPENDING WILL TOTAL DOLLARS 1.5 TRILLION OVER FIVE YEARS, WHICH MEANS A YEARLY INCREASE EQUIVALENT TO THE WHOLE OF THE BRITISH DEFENCE BUDGET). (II) A DELIBERATE ATMOSPHERE OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW AND WHERE THE US WILL ACT. THE NEW US LEADERSHIP SETS STORE BY BUILDING UP MEASURES OF UNCONFIDENCE OUTSIDE NATO (THEY BELIEVE THAT FEAR OF WHAT WASHINGTON MIGHT DO MAY HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES ON INAUGURATION DAY AND HAVE HELPED DETER THE SOVIETS FROM INVADING POLAND.)

B. THE COROLLARY OF THIS WILL BE GREAT WEIGHT GIVEN TO AMERICA'S ALLIES AND CAREFUL ATTENTION TO CHINA.

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4. AS REGARDS THE LATTER, DESPITE THE LEGACY OF REPUBLICAN COMMITMENT TO THE TAIWAN LOBBY, THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE REASSURED PEKING THAT THE US WANTS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH CHINA.
5. THE ALLIES WILL BE OFFERED REASSURANCE ABOUT US READINESS TO CONSULT AND ABOUT THEIR INTEREST IN BETTER RELATIONS. PREPAREDNESS TO LOOK AT ARMS CONTROL IS CONSIDERED AT THE MOMENT MAINLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEED TO PLACATE ALLIES. OTHER COUNTRIES ARE TO BE JUDGED ACCORDING TO THEIR READINESS TO FALL IN WITH NEW AMERICAN VIEWS (EG EL SALVADOR) AND ON THE REALITY OF THEIR DEFENCE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE.
6. THE FRENCH HAVE ALREADY GAINED MUCH CREDIT HERE FROM A SENSE OF THEIR PRACTICAL READINESS TO ACT, EG SUBSTANTIAL NAVAL FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, COVERT HELP FOR THE SAUDIS, INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE ETC. I BELIEVE THAT HAIG THINKS THAT HE CAN HANDLE THE FRENCH: AND IT EVIDENTLY SUITS GISCARD AT THE MOMENT TO REPRESENT FRANCE AS BEING OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE USA.
7. YOU WILL KNOW THE MEASURE OF THE IMPORTANCE THE USA ATTACH TO THE UK CONNECTION, BASED ON INHERENT LOYALTY: I WOULD ONLY INTERJECT HERE THE EXTENT TO WHICH, IN THE FUTURE, PRACTICAL SUPPORT OUTSIDE THE NATO AREA (SUCH AS THE FRENCH ARE SEEN TO PROVIDE) WILL COUNT IN THE EQUATION.
8. THERE IS NOTHING PARTICULARLY NEW TO ADD ABOUT THE FRG, BECAUSE IT LOOKS AS THOUGH EACH PARTY IS WATCHING THE OTHER AND IS FOR THE MOMENT RESERVING JUDGEMENT.
9. POLICY TOWARDS JAPAN WILL SEEK TO FORTIFY THE DEFENCE RELATIONSHIP INSIST UPON A GREATER JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION, AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE HEAVY PRESSURE FROM US INDUSTRY REGARDING JAPANESE IMPORTS.
10. THE QUESTION ARISES HOW FAR THE AMERICANS HAVE GONE WITH THE PROCESS OF REACHING DECISIONS ON MATTERS THAT AFFECT THEIR ALLIES AND TO WHAT EXTENT THERE WILL BE FURTHER CONSULTATIONS. THIS IS OF COURSE CRUCIAL TO US. THE DIFFICULTY ARISES PARTLY FROM THE INCHOATE NATURE OF THE US DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN WASHINGTON AT THE PRESENT TIME. MUCH HAS BEEN MADE OF THE THOUGHT THAT THE PREVIOUS HYDRA-HEADED MONSTER THAT RAN US FOREIGN POLICY HAS NOW BEEN REPLACED BY A CLEAR CUT AUTHORITY RESIDING IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHERE FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS WILL UNIQUELY LIE. BUT IT IS REASONABLE TO HAVE INCREASING DOUBTS ABOUT THIS AND TO BELIEVE THAT OTHER INSTITUTIONS WILL EXERT THEMSELVES, NOT LEAST THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. ANOTHER COMPLICATION ARISES FROM THE DELAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN IN APPOINTING PEOPLE TO IMPORTANT POSTS. TRUE, THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE NOW HAD CONTACTS WITH MANY OF THEIR ALLIES AND I THINK THAT ON SOME ISSUES THEY MAY CONSIDER THAT ADEQUATE CONSULTATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE AND THAT THEY CAN NOW PROCEED WITH TRYING TO COME TO CONCLUSIONS. ON OTHERS THE PROCESS HAS NOT GONE SO FAR AND THERE WILL BE FURTHER INITIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES. I REALISE YOUR CONCERN ON THIS SCORE AND WE ARE MAINTAINING CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH THOSE CONCERNED HERE.

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C. I DO NOT GET THE SENSE THAT THIS NEW ADMINISTRATION IS AWARE OF THE POSSIBLE INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THEIR WISH TO DISCOURAGE AND THWART THE SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE AND THEIR EMPHASIS ON A POLICY OF REALPOLITIK IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE UN ETC.

11. CARTER'S POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN TURNED ON ITS HEAD BY HAIG, WHO HAS DECLARED INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, SOVIET-INSPIRED, THE MAIN ENEMY OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS CHANGE OF EMPHASIS REMOVES AN OBSTACLE TO SUPPORT OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES, PARTICULARLY IN LATIN AMERICA (NOTE THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE OF ARGENTINA TO WASHINGTON). HAIG HAS SAID THAT THE AMERICANS AIM TO TACKLE THE PROBLEMS OF CUBAN SUBVERSION AT SOURCE (MEANING CUBA). I CANNOT AT THE MOMENT BE SURE WHAT THEY HAVE IN MIND. THEY ARE BEING DELIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS AND ARE REFUSING TO EXCLUDE ANY OPTION. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE ASSERTIVENESS OF WASHINGTON'S POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA BUT AGAIN THIS DOES NOT LOOK AS THOUGH IT IS GOING TO BE VERY COMPATIBLE WITH A CLEAR DESIRE ON REAGAN'S PART TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH MEXICO.

12. IN THE MIDDLE EAST DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION ARE ALREADY MARKED. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE THE AMERICANS PLAY DOWN THE RELUCTANCE OF ARAB STATES TO ACCEPT A WESTERN MILITARY PRESENCE AND THEY DISCOUNT THE NEED FOR URGENCY IN TACKLING THE PALESTINE ISSUE. NO DOUBT FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST HAIG WILL BE ABLE TO AMPLIFY WHAT HE MEANS BY A QUOTE STRATEGIC CONSENSUS UNQUOTE FOR THE REGION. THE F15 DECISION AND THE BID TO CLEAR THE WAY FOR AID TO PAKISTAN ARE SURELY BOTH SIGNIFICANT. AS REGARDS THE LATTER THE REAGANAUTS WILL NOT BE TOO CONCERNED BY THE INEVITABLE EFFECT ON US/INDIA RELATIONS. BUT THE AMERICANS DO NOT SEEM TO ACCEPT, OR AT ANY RATE TO RESPOND TO THE VIEW, THAT ONE-SIDED US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL OFFERS THE SOVIET UNION A CONTINUING OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE ARAB STATES.

13. RECENT CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTH LEBANON AT THE UN HAVE DEMONSTRATED AMERICA'S RELUCTANCE TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON ISRAEL. WHATEVER HAIG HIMSELF MAY THINK ON THE PALESTINE ISSUE, WE CANNOT LEAVE OUT OF ACCOUNT THE STRONG PRO-ISRAELI FEELINGS OF THE PRESIDENT, RICHARD ALLEN AND MANY OF THOSE AROUND THEM.

14. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF CURRENT AMERICAN CONTEMPT FOR THE UN IS THE SPANNER THAT THEY HAVE THROWN INTO THE WORKS OF THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE. THIS REFLECTS THEIR INDIFFERENCE TO NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES WHICH IS FURTHER EVIDENCED BY THE TILT ON AID POLICY FROM DEVELOPMENT TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE. CONFIDENTIAL

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15. WASHINGTON'S POLICY TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA IS LIKELY TO BE INFLUENCED BY THREE ELEMENTS:

A. THE PRESIDENT'S SYMPATHY FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HE REGARDS AS STRATEGICALLY ESSENTIAL TO THE FREE WORLD:

B. THE VIEW THAT CUBAN MISCHIEF IN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN ANGOLA MUST BE TERMINATED. WITHOUT THIS NO SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM IS TOLERABLE (THE PROPOSED REPEAL OF THE CLARK AMENDMENT IS PERTINENT): AND

C. THE RELUCTANCE TO COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A TILT TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA AND OPEN OPPOSITION TO SWAPO WILL LEAD TO A GENERAL SOURING OF BLACK AFRICAN OPINION TOWARDS THE USA AND TO AN ENHANCEMENT OF THE CHANCES FOR THE SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA.

16. NOR AT THE MOMENT DO I GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT THEIR INTERESTS IN OIL OR OTHER RAW MATERIALS IN AFRICAN WILL BE IMPAIRED BY A CHANGE OF POLICY IN KEEPING WITH THE ABOVE ELEMENTS.

17. INCOMPLETE THOUGH THIS ACCOUNT IS, I HOPE IT WILL CONVEY THE CHANGE IN CLIMATE THAT HAS COME OVER THE US FOREIGN POLICY SCENE, OFFICIALS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND HAIG HIMSELF WILL NOT WANT TO BE RUSHED AND WILL BE APPLYING THOROUGH ANALYSIS TO THE PROS AND CONS OF DECISIONS ON EACH SUBJECT, BUT A DIFFERENCE WIND IS BLOWING ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AID, THE UN, MIDDLE EAST/S.W. ASIA, SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE AMERICAN CONTINENT AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY. CURRENT RHETORIC WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE REFLECTED IN THE LINES OF ACTION EVENTUALLY DECIDED UPON BUT IT CERTAINLY MANIFESTS THE DETERMINATION OF THE REAGON GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE A RADICALLY DIFFERENT KIND OF FOREIGN POLICY FROM THAT OF THEIR PREDECESSORS.

FCO PASS SAVING ABU DHABI ADEN ALGIERS AMMAN BAGHDAD BAHRAIN BEIRUT
CAIRO DAMASCUS DOHA DUBAI JEDDA JERUSALEM KHARTOUM KUWAIT MUSCAT
RABAT SANAA TEL AVIV TRIPOLI TUNIS UKDEL NATO LISBON MADRID OTTAWA
ANKARA TEHRAN MOSCOW WARSAW PEKING TOKYO PRETORIA LUANDA LUSAKA
SALISBURY MAPUTO DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS GABERONE ISLAMABAD NEW DELHI
MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY BUENOS AIRES HAVANA CANBERRA

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[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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