

E. R.

2693

strategic systems
(missiles & aircraft)

Poland less than

25% of Soviet
strategic numbers

Williamsburg -

SPEAKING NOTE

DINNER : SATURDAY 28 MAY

DISCUSSION OF ARMS CONTROL

(P.M. TO INTRODUCE)

E. R.

INTRODUCTION

SUGGEST WE HAVE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, THEN CONSIDER WHETHER WE SHOULD MAKE A SHORT, JOINT PUBLIC STATEMENT ON INF TOMORROW.

INF

ALLIANCE WILL BE TESTED BETWEEN NOW AND END OF YEAR.

CAN EXPECT FURTHER SOVIET NEGOTIATING PLOYS AND ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE OUR PUBLIC OPINION.

WE SHALL NEED TO REMAIN STRONG AND SOLID - ESPECIALLY TRUE OF SOME OF SMALLER ALLIES NOT REPRESENTED HERE.

UK DEPLOYMENTS WILL BEGIN AS PLANNED (DEPENDING ON ELECTION RESULT).

/ WESTERN

WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT REMAINS COMPLETELY
JUSTIFIABLE.

NO NEED TO CONSIDER FURTHER ADJUSTMENT OR
REFINEMENTS.

MUST MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON RUSSIANS TO RESPOND
REASONABLY.

WE STICK TO PRINCIPLES OF BALANCE, NO BOGUS COUNTING,
VERIFIABILITY - AND ANY LIMITATIONS TO BE
GLOBAL, BOTH BECAUSE OF IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPAN
BUT ALSO TO PROTECT ALLIANCE INTERESTS (NO GOOD
JUST MOVING SS20s TO ASIA).

CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT BRITISH (CANNOT SPEAK FOR FRENCH)
NUCLEAR DETERRENT IS EXCLUDED FROM INF TALKS.

/ RUSSIANS

RUSSIANS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO CRACK NATO
UNITY ON THIS,

BEARING IN MIND PUBLIC OPINION, DESIRABLE THAT WE SHOULD
CONSULT EACH OTHER CAREFULLY AND IN ADVANCE
ABOUT IMPORTANT PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON INF,
TRIBUTE TO US FOR HANDLING OF THIS SO FAR.

START

THE START TALKS ARE IMPORTANT TOO (REOPEN ON 8 JUNE),
US IMPRESSIONS OF PROSPECTS?

TWO ADJUSTMENTS SEEM TO NARROW THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO
SIDES:

/ (A)

(A) SCOWCROFT REPORT OPENS UP POSSIBILITY
OF US INCREASING THE LEVELS FOR MISSILE
LAUNCHERS PROPOSED IN THE EXISTING US DRAFT
TREATY (THIS WOULD BRING THEM CLOSER TO LEVELS
PROPOSED BY SOVIET UNION).

*Remember level
in START
was low.*

(B) MEANWHILE, ANDROPOV'S 3 MAY SPEECH PRESUMABLY
MEANS THAT IN START AS WELL AS INF THE RUSSIANS WILL
NEED TO RECAST THEIR PROPOSALS IN TERMS OF WARHEADS
RATHER THAN MISSILE LIMITS.

ALL THE PROBLEMS IN START TALKS CANNOT BE SOLVED AT ONCE.

ANY CHANCE OF LIMITED BREAKTHROUGH BEFORE US
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS? E.G. AN OUTLINE AGREEMENT
SPECIFYING OVERALL NUMERICAL LIMITS AND THE SYSTEMS
TO BE INCLUDED, THE DETAILS TO BE NEGOTIATED
THEREAFTER.

/ NON-NUCLEAR

Steps. Function

+ Buildup

Mr. Q

~~Process~~

Function - Process

Be a machine

Reference

Start: in real
workings

Not whenever have
the idea
concepts

Process the result
- me
- movement for you

NON-NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL

NEED PRACTICAL PROGRESS HERE TOO E.G.

(I) SERIOUS WORK ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS AT
COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA

(II) AGREEMENT AT MADRID ON CONFERENCE ON
EUROPE
DISARMAMENT IN ~~GENEVA~~

(III) SOME MEANS OF BREAKING THROUGH SOVIET
OBSTINACY AT MBFR TALKS (VIENNA)

(IV) HOPE US WILL KEEP OPEN THE OPTION OF
AGREEMENT ON ARMS CONTROL IN SPACE.

/ GENERAL

GENERAL

HAVE FOUND IN LAST FEW WEEKS THAT BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION

RESPONDS WELL TO FIRM STATEMENTS ON THE BASIC
CASE FOR STRONG DEFENCES AND THE MULTILATERALIST
APPROACH.

THE MAJORITY BELIEVE IN NATO AND THE NUCLEAR
DETERRENT.

THE TASK FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR IS TO KEEP PUBLIC
OPINION STEADY AS SOVIET PROPAGANDA BECOMES MORE
INTENSIVE.

HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS BETWEEN WESTERN AND SOVIET
LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE PART TO PLAY IN THIS.

CHANCELLOR KOHL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW ON 4 JULY?

US INTENTIONS?

Soviet will move after

perhaps deployed

Must think so perhaps
A-U. We will deploy
and will keep our
presence

Will deploy - will think
we promise

Try at different levels
to move ahead

General - most important
Madrid

Helmuth Kohl.

United - Steps.

Priorities - Reviews

Priority.
Discuss this issue in
context of other
matters.

Not committed giving promise
to security of
Germany's doctrine.

2-track decision. Soviet
now stronger

U.S. not left alone
in Europe.

"U.S. 'thinking aloud'"
- ~~Europe~~ - in

Photo of ^{Europe} ~~idea~~ of Zero Option

E. R.

As leaders of our seven countries it is our first duty to defend the freedom and justice on which our democracies are based.

To this end we shall maintain sufficient military strength to deter any attack and to counter any threat.

Nevertheless we wish to achieve lower levels of armaments and expenditure, provided this can be done without putting at risk our security.

Genuine ~~disarmament~~ must be based on the principle of balance, must not involve bogus counting and must be verifiable.

The Western Alliance has put forward proposals designed to lead to positive results in the various international negotiations now in progress or under discussion: on strategic weapons (START), on intermediate nuclear systems (INF), on chemical weapons, on ~~force~~ reductions in Central Europe (MBFR) and at a future Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE).

/ We wish

We wish these negotiations to be pursued with new impetus and urgency.

In particular we call upon the Soviet Union to respond seriously to the constructive proposals which have been advanced.

Attempts to avoid genuine negotiation by seeking to influence public opinion on our countries will not succeed.

As regards the INF negotiations in particular it is for the Soviet Union to respond to the two proposals already made

- for the complete elimination of this class of weapon;
- or alternatively for an interim agreement to establish global limits for equal warhead numbers on either side.

/ The strategic

The strategic deterrent forces of third countries have no place
in these negotiations.

If agreement cannot be reached in the coming months on the
complete elimination of INF weapons, modernised weapons
of this type will be deployed in Europe, in accordance
with the agreed timetable, to match the modernised
weapons which the Soviet Union has already installed.

① ✓ Intell. chon Products of
Int. network Sound many

① Reviewing -
② Syst. of

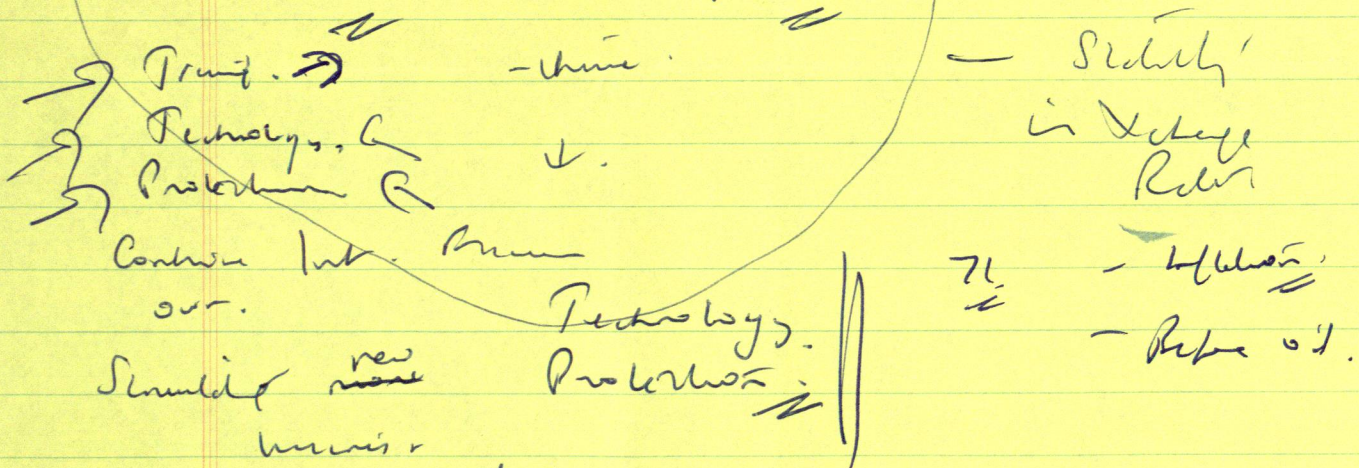
Publicity -

2. Autordi =

→ Quark case - special case
unemployment

① a - Training - Shmidt

② Key own franchise



→ Develop countries → And → Trade → Leaders
Works for it - all the way

③ Quark case →

N.I.C.
South Korea
Singapore
Indonesia
Taiwan

Francis.

- Don't agree with this text.

- Not part of NATO integrated command.

- Should not take collective position on 2 level decisions.

- Support major proposals as a source of ideas

→ - Plan to provide red: Atlantic Alliance.

- Is so widely known Europe & Africa.

- How long what branches would be open in last 10 years.

- Last free agreement.

Kohl

If we were to depart without an agreed

Grandjean

- Wrong message.

- Not message to our people

Grandjean wants avoid to destroy Germany's very hard over.

Carry the state
but not stay //

2-track decision France after 20th.

Regional structures - but desirable.

~~France~~ Japan has global problem.

France not now organization.

N.A.T.O. political organization.

(
Might have Venice
Poland - Golyo
Tel Aviv - Versailles
—
)

Some kind -

Q/0 | Documentation

↓

↓

Walter Heater designer at William burg.

Son - Public Opinion



Statements - - New situation
but decline responsibility
for sitⁿ.

- Reluctant must avoid
charges.

- Relate out of Walter.

- not must that F.M. reports.

Not objective we report

Cannot become party a system we do
not belong to.

WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT: DEFENCE AND DISARMAMENT

The following statement was approved this evening by the Heads of State and Government of the seven participant countries and was due to be released to the press at about 2230Z today, 29 May.

Begins:

1. As leaders of our seven countries, it is our first duty to defend the freedom and justice on which our democracies are based. To this end, we shall maintain sufficient military strength to deter any attack, to counter any threat, and to ensure the peace. Our arms will never be used except in response to aggression.
2. We wish to achieve lower levels of arms through serious arms control negotiations. With this statement, we reaffirm our dedication to the search for peace and meaningful arms reductions. We are ready to work with the Soviet Union to this purpose and call upon the Soviet Union to work with us.
3. Effective arms control agreements must be based on the principle of equality and must be verifiable. Proposals have been put forward from the Western side to achieve positive results in various international negotiations: on strategic weapons (START), on intermediate-range nuclear missiles (INF), on chemical weapons, on reduction of forces in central Europe (MBFR), and a conference on disarmament in Europe (CDE).
4. We believe that we must continue to pursue these negotiations with impetus and urgency. In the area of INF, in particular, we call upon the Soviet Union to

/ contribute

contribute constructively to the success of the negotiations. Attempts to divide the West by proposing inclusion of the deterrent forces of third countries, such as those of France and the United Kingdom, will fail. Consideration of these systems has no place in the INF negotiations.

5. Our nations express the strong wish that a balanced INF agreement be reached shortly. Should this occur, the negotiations will determine the level of deployment. It is well known that should this not occur, the countries concerned will proceed with the planned deployment of the US systems in Europe at the end of 1983.
6. Our nations are united in efforts for arms reductions and will continue to carry out thorough and intensive consultations. The security of our countries is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis. Attempts to avoid serious negotiation by seeking to influence public opinion in our countries will fail.
7. We commit ourselves to devote our full political resources to reducing the threat of war. We have a vision of a world in which the shadow of war has been lifted from all mankind, and we are determined to pursue that vision.

Ends

Pym