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FM WASHINGTON 302040Z OCTOBER, 1983 TO PRIORITY F C 0

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3225 OF 30 OCTOBER
INFO UKMIS NEW YORK, PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKDEL NATO AND BRIDGETOWN
INFO SAVING MOSCOW, DUBLIN AND OTHER NATO POSTS.

GRENADA: SHORT TERM CONCLUSIONS

- 1. AS SEEN FROM WASHINGTON, THE FOLLOWING SHORT-TERM CONCLUSIONS CAN BE DRAWN AT THE END OF THE FIRST WEEK.
- 2. MILITARILY, THE BATTLE HAS BEEN TOUGHER THAN EXPECTED, BECAUSE THERE WERE MORE ARMED CUBANS ON THE ISLAND THAN EXPECTED. WE ARE TOLD THAT ARSENALS OF WEAPONS HAVE BEEN FOUND. THIS DOES NOT SAY MUCH FOR AMERICAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, BUT IT GIVES THE PRESIDENT GREATER EX POST FACTO JUSTIFICATION FOR HIS DECISION.
- 3. POLITICALLY, SHULTZ HAS STRESSED THE HIGHMINDED MOTIVATIONS:
 THE NEED TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN LIVES: THE INVITATION FROM THE OECS.
 THE PRESIDENT HAS IN CONTRAST WRAPPED HIMSELF IN THE AMERICAN FLAG
 AND PLACED HIS DECISION FIRMLY IN THE EAST/WEST CONTEXT. THIS IS,
 FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, PLAYING WELL IN PEORIA. SO WELL IN
 FACT THAT THE CONGRESS HAS AVERTED ITS EYES FROM THE SHOOTING WAR
 AND BUSIED ITSELF WITH THE WAR POWERS ACT. A NEW YORK TIMES POLL
 REVEALS THAT TWO-THIRDS OF THE SAMPLE BELIEVE THAT THE MARINES
 WENT IN PRIMARILY TO STOP THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM. TOO RIGHT, AS
 THEY SAY IN AUSSIE.
- 4. ON CONSULTATION, THE PRESIDENT AND SHULTZ DID NOT CONSULT US EARLIER BECAUSE:-
- (A) THEY WERE IN A STATE OF SHOCK AND DRAINED BY THE EVENTS IN BEIRUT. BUT
- (B) THE ADVICE WE WERE LIKELY TO OFFER WAS LIKELY TO BE UNWELCOME AND THEREFORE TO DISTRACT THEM FROM THE MATTER IN HAND,
- (C) THE MORE PEOPLE THAT THERE WERE IN ON THE SECRET, THE MORE DIFFICULT A SECURE OPERATION WOULD BE AND
- (D) THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT HAVE SEEN OUR LOCUS STANDI IN THE SAME LIGHT AS OURSELVES. THEY HAVE NEVER UNDERSTOOD THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CROWN. MOREOVER, FROM THEIR VIEWPOINT, OUR RECENT CONCERNS WITH GRENADA HAD NOT BEEN EXACTLY HIGH PROFILE.

 AND WE HAD LITTLE TO OFFER THAT THEY FELT THEY NEEDED.
- AMERICANS WILL RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER US WHENEVER THEY DECIDE THAT
 IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO DO SO. NOR DO I PLACE MUCH RELIANCE ON
 THE PRESIDENT'S OR THE SECRETARY'S PROMISE OF IMPROVED PERFORMANCE.
 IN MY VIEW, THEIR JUDGEMENT OF THE AMERICAN INTEREST WILL PREVAIL
 IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST. THAT BEING SO, THE LESSON FOR US
 IS THAT, IF WE WISH TO BE CONSULTED, WE HAVE SO TO CONDUCT OUR
 AFFAIRS THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR THEM TO DO SO. IN THE NATO
 ALLIANCE CONSULTATION IS NECESSARY SINCE DECISIONS ARE TAKEN BY
 CONSENSUS. CONSULTATION ON INF HAS BEEN EXEMPLARY BECAUSE DEPLOYMENT
 COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE UNLESS IT HAD BEEN SO. IN FINANCIAL
 MATTERS, CONSULTATIONS IN IMF, G5, G1D ETC IS EXCELLENT BECAUSE
 WE ARE THERE AND WE HAVE SOME MONEY.

EUROPE, IS THEREFORE A POLICY AND A PRESENCE OVER THE WIDER FIELD.
THAT COSTS MONEY, MILITARILY AND DIPLOMATICALLY. PAST DECISIONS OF PAST GOVERNMENTS HAVE SET THE PRESENT PATTERN. CURRENT DECISIONS OF HER MAJESTY'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE THE PATTERN BETTER OR WORSE. IN CENTRAL AMERICA, FOR EXAMPLE, OUR PRESENCE IN BELIZE IS YALUABLE TO THE AMERICANS AND MAKES US AN INTERESTING INTERLOCUTOR. BUT THE ABSENCE OF REPRESENTATION IN NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, DUE TO PAST EXPENDITURE CUTS, IRONICALLY IN PRECISELY THE TWO CURRENT BATTLEFIELDS, MEANS THAT WE HAVE NO MEANS OF PROVIDING OURSELVES WITH AN INDEPENDENT ON-GOING ASSESSMENT OF EVENTS THERE NOR THE AMERICANS WITH A USEFUL SECOND OPINION.

7. RUTHERFORD IN THE PINK 'UN AND WATT IN THE TIMES HAVE SUGGESTED EUROPE AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO AMERICA. I AM ALL IN FAVOUR IF IT CAN BE DONE. BUT CAN IT? THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS CERTAINLY A VALID COUNTERWEIGHT TO AMERICA IN THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SPHERE, BECAUSE THE EUROPEAN MEMBER STATES HAVE A TREATY OBLIGATION TO ACT TOGETHER. AS A RESULT WE CAN ENSURE THAT THE EUROPEAN INTEREST IS TAKEN SERIOUSLY. POLITICAL COOPERATION, BEING VOLUNTARY, IS CO-OPERATION A LA CARTE AND THEREFORE, WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN, AT BEST AN IRRITANT TO THE AMERICANS AND AT WORST A BROKEN REED FOR OURSELVES.

8. FINALLY, YOUR SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OUR VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE SERVED BRITISH INTERESTS IN THAT THEY HAVE ENABLED US TO KEEP OPEN THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE US ADMINISTRATION. FURTHER CONSULTATION WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST WHEN WE COME TO DISCUSS PEACE-KEEPING AND THE RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE IN GRENADA. IF WE HAVE A VALID INPUT, WE SHOULD BE PRIVY TO AMERICAN THINKING AS IT DEVELOPS. AND WE CAN HELP DETERMINE THE FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS ON THE ISLAND. SO FAR SO GOOD. 9. PLEASE SEE MIFT.

FCO PASS SAVING MOSCOW, OTHER NATO POSTS AND DUBLIN.

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