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FM UKDEL MADRID 241150Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 058 OF 24 NOVEMBER 1980

PRIORITY PARIS WASHINGTON BONN MOSCOW LUXEMBOURG UKDEL NATO

UKDEL BRUSSELS

SAVING VIENNA BRUSSELS SOFIA OTTAWA NICOSIA PRAGUE COPENHAGEN
HELSINKI EAST BERLIN ATHENS HOLY SEE BUDAPEST REYKJAVIK
DUBLIN ROME LIECHTENSTEIN VALLETTA MONACO THE HAGUE OSLO
WARSAW LISBON BUCHAREST SAN MARINO STOCKHOLM BERNE ANKARA
BELGRADE UKMIS GENEVA UKDEL VIENNA UKDEL STRASBOURG

FOLLOWING FROM UKDEL CSCE MADRID

CSCE REVIEW MEETING: GENERAL VIEW

1. IN THE OPENING STATEMENTS AND THE GENERAL DEBATE, ENDING THIS MORNING, THE WEST HAS SCORED A CLEAR DEBATING VICTORY (FOR WHAT THIS IS WORTH) OVER THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR ALLIES ON AFGHANISTAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. WESTERN ATTACKS MAY HAVE BEEN LESS AGGRESSIVE, BUT THE SPREAD OF NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT FOR THE WESTERN VIEW GREATER, THAN THE RUSSIANS EXPECTED.
2. AFTER LETTING ALL THIS CRITICISM RUN OFF THEIR BACK, THE RUSSIANS FOR THEIR PART MUST BE SATISFIED WITH THEIR TACTICS OVER A EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. BUILDING ON THE APPARENTLY WIDE SUPPORT FOR SOMETHING WITH THIS KIND OF NAME, THE RUSSIANS HAVE SOUGHT TO OCCUPY A CENTRAL POSITION, ARGUING IN GENERAL TERMS FOR A CONFERENCE (WHICH MIGHT DEAL WITH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE FIRST STAGE) WITH A BROAD AND FLEXIBLE MANDATE DRAWING FROM THE FINNISH, SWEDISH AND FRENCH AS WELL AS WARSAW PACT IDEAS. THIS LEAVES THE NATO COUNTRIES OUT ON A LIMB FOR SETTING QUOTE PRECONDITIONS UNQUOTE, OR SAYING NO.
3. THE WESTERN SOLIDARITY, WHICH IMPRESSED MR BLAKER, HAS BEEN MAINTAINED. OBVIOUS SOVIET WEDGE-DRIVING (BY COUNTER-ATTACKING SO FAR ONLY THE USA, AND FINDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMENDATION OF SOME EUROPEAN ALLIES, THOUGH NOT OURSELVES) MAY PRESENT SOME AWKWARDNESS IN THE BASKET 11 CONTEXT OF POST-AFGHANISTAN SANCTIONS, BUT SHOULD NOT PROVE REALLY DANGEROUS SO LONG AS WE DO NOT START FALLING OUT AMONG OURSELVES FOR OTHER REASONS. THE HARD SOVIET TACTICS DURING THE PREPARATORY MEETING, WHICH HELPED TO CEMENT THIS WESTERN SOLIDARITY, HAS ALSO LEFT US WITH A BACKLOG OF WORK TO FINALISE THE COORDINATION OF WESTERN NEW PROPOSALS, WHICH SHOULD START BEING TABLED TWO WEEKS FROM NOW. THIS WORK, INCLUDING OUR OWN HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSAL, IS IN HAND.

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Useful summary

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4. ESPECIALLY AFTER THE NAIL-BITING START TO THE MEETING, WESTERN MEDIA INTEREST WAS BOTH HIGH AND HELPFUL DURING THE FIRST WEEK, BUT DECLINED AS WE WENT INTO CLOSED PLENARY SESSION AFTER THAT. THERE WILL PROBABLY BE ANOTHER PEAK IN THE LAST WEEK(OF 15 DECEMBER) BEFORE THE RECESS, WITH THE FOCUS TENDING TO BE ON THE NEW PROPOSALS TABLED. IN BETWEEN, WITH MOST OF THE ACTION IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES, WE SHALL BE IN A TROUGH, WHICH IS UNHELPFUL IN TERMS OF OUR OVERALL POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THE RUSSIANS.

CONCLUSIONS

5. SO FAR SO GOOD. BUT ONCE THE RUSSIANS HAVE SAT COOLLY THROUGH OUR BARRAGE IN THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, THEY WILL HAVE INTACT THEIR POSITION ON A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, AND ALSO THE PROSPECT OF VARIOUS AGREEMENTS ON SECONDARY ISSUES WHICH SUIT THEIR BOOK OF QUOTE BUSINESS AS USUAL UNQUOTE. THE WEST, ON THE OTHER HAND, AFTER MAKING ITS CRITICISMS, WILL LACK A POSITIVE AND UNIFYING THEME.

6. AT THE END OF LAST WEEK, I TRIED TO PROVIDE SUCH A THEME. I ARGUED BROADLY THAT THE ESSENTIAL POLITICAL POINT OF THE REVIEW MEETING WAS THAT (A) WE ALL HAD A COMMON INTEREST IN THE PEACEFUL MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE IN THE 1980S SEMI-COLON (B)THE FINAL ACT COULD PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK SEMI-COLON (C) BUT WE NEEDED CONCRETE EVIDENCE FROM THE EAST THAT IT WOULD BE RESPECTED IN PRACTICE. I WILL CONTINUE, UNLESS INSTRUCTED OTHERWISE, TO WORK ON THESE LINES. BUT ANY THEME OF THIS KIND NEEDS TO BE PUT ACROSS IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS BY THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING (IF THE CHANGE OF US ADMINISTRATION ALLOWS) RATHER THAN JUST HERE.

7. IN SUPPORT, WE NEED TO HAVE NEW PROPOSALS TO FOLLOW THROUGH OUR MAIN POINTS IN THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE ALREADY HAVE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSAL UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION IN THE NINE AND THE FIFTEEN. BUT I HAVE ALSO SUGGESTED IN THE NINE THAT WE NEED SOMETHING RELATED TO THE AFGHANISTAN ISSUE, WHICH WE CANNOT SIMPLY LET DROP AFTER CHRISTMAS. OUR DELEGATION HAS BEEN COMMISSIONED, WITH SOME SUPPORT, TO PRODUCE A DRAFT, WHICH ALL AGREE WOULD NEED TO BE SUBMITTED THROUGH THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS.

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FROM THE TACTICAL ANGLE, IF WE HAD APPARENTLY REASONABLE AND MODERATELY WORDED PROPOSALS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND AFGHANISTAN, WHICH STILL STUCK IN THE RUSSIANS' GULLET, WE MIGHT BE LESS EXPOSED IN STICKING OUT OURSELVES FOR THE NATO POSITION ON A CDE MANDATE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING AS ABOVE

WILBERFORCE

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