62068 # # 19

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SITUATION LISTING

DATE 07/07/84//189

SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: MESSAGE: HCE442 STU2727 OO RUEHC

DE RUEHRO #7109/01 3142019

ZNY SSSSS ZZH 0 102016Z NOV 83 FM AMEMBASSY ROME TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 5712 BT

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 27109

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: MARR, PARM, PREL, IT, UR, US

SUBJECT: INF: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM PRIME MINISTER CRAXI

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT 1930 LOCAL TIME NOVEMBER 10 CRAXI'S ACTING DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR BADINI HANDED THE DCM A MESSAGE FROM CRAXI TO THE PRESIDENT, TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS IN EMBASSY TRANSLATION. BADINI MADE CLEAR THAT CRAXI HOPED FOR A RESPONSE FROM THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE WHICH BEGINS HERE MONDAY, NOVEMBER 14, OR AT LEAST AN INDICATION FROM WASHINGTON THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE MAKING A NEW PROPOSAL TO THE SOVIETS IN GENEVA. BADINI SAID THAT THE ITALIAN VIEW WAS THAT A NEW PROPOSAL WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT FEAR A DEFEAT IN PARLIAMENT, BUT IT WANTED TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC THAT THE WESTERN POSITION WAS JUST. 3. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR PRESIDENT,

I HAVE GIVEN MUCH THOUGHT IN RECENT DAYS TO THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES. I HAVE STUDIED MUCH DATA AND INFORMATION ON FORCE RELATIONSHIPS AND HAVE GONE OVER THE SALIENT PHASES WHICH PRECEDED AND FOLLOWED THE "TWO TRACK" NATO DECISION; I HAVE ANALYZED UNDERSTANDINGS AND PROGRAMS ON FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY. MY STUDY LEADS ME TO CONFIRM THE CORRECTNESS OF THE 1979 DECISION, AS IT HAS BEEN AMPLY DESCRIBED TO NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS AND TO OUR PUBLIC OPINIONS. I AM ALSO CONFIRMED IN THE CONVICTION THAT IT IS OUR DUTY TO CONTINUE TO ASCERTAIN CAREFULLY HOW MUCH SPACE IF ANY WE HAVE TO REACH IN GENEVA AN EQUITABLE AND VERIFIABLE ON INTERMEDIATE LONG-RANGE MISSILES BEFORE

SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED NLRR M08-222#62068 BY RW NARA DATE 1/12/11 SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

THE NATO COUNTRIES BEGIN TO START UP OPERATIONS TO RE-BALANCE FORCES. I SHALL DESCRIBE THE ANALYTICAL PORTIONS AND THE CONCLUSIONS OF MY REFLECTIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THEN TO THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT DURING THE DEBATE ALREADY FIXED FOR NOVEMBER 14-15 IN A PLENARY SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. THE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION WHICH WILL CLOSE THE DEBATE WILL NOT ENTER INTO THE MERITS OF THE DOUBLE DECISION TAKEN BY NATO IN 1979 BUT WILL CONCERN THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO APPLY IT. IT IS MY DESIRE TO FURNISH YOU BRIEFLY IN ADVANCE WITH SOME ASPECTS OF MY CONCLUSIONS. THERE EMERGES ABOVE ALL FROM MY REFLECTIONS A CONFIRMATION OF THE CLEAR WILL WHICH HAS BEEN SHOWN WITH CONSTANCY AND CONSISTENCY BY OUR COUNTRIES TO MAKE USE OF THE NEGOTIATING COMPONENT OF THE DOUBLE DECISION. THE ZERO-OPTION OFFER WHICH YOU MADE IN NOVEMBER 1981 IN CLOSE HARMONY WITH THE ALLIES FURNISHES THE CLEAREST EVIDENCE OF THIS. THE RENOUNCIATION ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS OF SUCH ARMAMENTS SYSTEMS WAS AND CONTINUES TO BE, IN FACT, THE BEST AND SUREST WAY TOWARD THAT GENERALIZED PROCESS OF ARMS REDUCTIONS AND DISARMAMENT WHICH REPRESENT THE GENUINE OBJECTIVE OF FREE SOCIETIES AND THE CONFIDENT HOPE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE FAILURE ON THE SOVIET SIDE TO ACCEPT THE ZERO-OPTION LED US TO ADVANCE AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL BASED ON AN INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION. WE HAVE URGED, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO IT, THAT A BALANCE BE REACHED ON THE LOWEST POSSIBLE NUMBERS OF THE EQUATION OF FORCES. INDEED, THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATING APPROACH OF THE WEST GOES IN THIS DIRECTION.

THE READINESS WITH WHICH THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS WAS SOUGHT, THE CHOICE OF THE NEGOTIATING METHOD, GRADUALIST AND PRAGMATIC, FOR FIXING GLOBAL AND VERIFIABLE ARMAMENTS LIMITS, THE EXACT DEFINITION OF THE OBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SPECIFICATION OF CRITERIA AND PRINCIPLES FOR A CREDIBLE CONTROL FOR THE ARMS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, ARE INDEED ELEMENTS WHICH SHOW THE SINCERE AND TOTAL COMMITMENT WHICH OUR COUNTRIES HAVE GIVEN IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE GENEVA DISCUSSIONS AND THEIR SUCCESS.

#7109 NNNN

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SITUATION LISTING

SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE444

STU2729

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DE RUEHRO #7109/02 3142020

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHOC IMMEDIATE 5713

BT

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 ROME 27109

EXDI

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: MARR, PARM, PREL, IT, UR, US

SUBJECT: INF: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM PRIME MINISTER CRAXI

WHICH THE WESTERN COUUTRIES HAVE GUARDED THEIR
IRRENOUNCEABLE RIGHTS TO THEIR OWN SECURITY,
HAVE PERMITTED A LIMITED NEARING OF RESPECTIVE POSITIONS
WHICH, ALTHOUGH IT IS STILL CLEARLY INSUFFICIENT, IS
AT THE SAME TIME PERCEPTABLE. THE LAST PROPOSALS
OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET,
ANDROPOV, ARE UNDOUBTEDLY A FURTHER EFFECT OF THE
SOLIDITY AND CORRECTNESS OF OUR POSITION.

THIS LINE OF FLEXIBILITY, LINKED WITH THE FIRMNESS WITH

THEY CONTINUE HOWEVER TO IMPOSE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS
THE DIFFICULTIES REPRESENTED BY THE WELL KNOWN
NEGATIVE PRECONDITIONS, BUT THEY DO CONTAIN ELEMENTS
WORTHY OF ATTENTION AND NOT LACKING IN SIGNIFICANCE.
IN FORMULATING THESE LATEST PROPOSALS, AND IN PARTICULAR
BY LOWERING THE BALANCE LEVEL FROM 162 TO 140 INTERMEDIATE
LONG-RANGE MISSILES, MOSCOW HAS IMPLICITLY ADMITTED
HAVING PROCEEDED IN RECENT YEARS TO AN UNJUSTIFIED REARMAMENT; IT HAS IMPLICITLY ADMITTED HAVING RUN A STRETCH
OF ARMAMENTS RACE THAT NO REAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENT MADE
NECESSARY.

I BELIEVE THAT OUR TASK NOW IS TO EXPLORE AGAIN AND WITH IMMEDIACY ALL OF THE NEGOTIATING POSSIBILITIES, WITH THE INTENT OF AVOIDING THE FINAL FAILURE OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

OUR ACTION WILL IN ANY CASE HAVE BEEN USEFUL IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN BECAUSE IT WOULD SERVE TO MAKE CLEAR THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THOSE WHO ARE STILL REFUSING TO DO THEIR PART TOWARD AN EFFORT OF PEACE AND DETENTE. THE WORLD SITUATION WHICH WE ARE ENCOUNTERING AT THE

SENSITIVE

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MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MOMENT IS FULL OF TENSIONS; THE DANGEROUS HOTBEDS OF CRISES AND THE GRAVE CONFLICTS TAKING PLACE HAVE BROUGHT EAST-WEST RELATIONS TO A VERY WORRISOME DEGREE OF DETERIORATION.

IN THIS DIFFICULT SITUATION YOU, BY DECIDING TO HOLD OPEN THE PATH OF DIALOGUE AT GENEVA AFTER THE TRAGIC EPISODE OF THE SOUTH KOREAN AIR CRASH, WERE ABLE TO GIVE PROOF OF CLEAR VISION AND A HIGH SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. TODAY IT IS PROPER TO MAKE ANOTHER POSITIVE GESTURE TO RELAX THE CLIMATE OF DISTRUST AND FEAR WHICH PERVADES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THIS GESTURE AND THIS SORT OF WESTERN INITIATIVE ARE HOPED FOR AND SUPPORTED BY OURSELVES.

IT IS THEREFORE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO TAKE A CONCERTED LOOK AT THE CONCRETE CONTENT WHICH TOGETHER WE CAN GIVE TO THE PROPOSALS AGREED IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND ANNOUNCED BY YOU IN SEPTEMBER. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE PROMPT DEFINITION OF NUMERICAL LEVELS FOR THE INF LONG-RANGE GLOBAL CEILING AND FOR REDUCED DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE. THIS INITIATIVE WILL PERMIT US TO CONFIRM ALSO IN THE EYES OF OUR PUBLIC OPINIONS THE INITIATIVE WHICH WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN SO FAR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AS WELL AS GIVING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS NEW DYNAMISM IN THE SEARCH OF AN AGREEMENT. THE EXPERTS OF OUR COUNTRIES ARE ENGAGED IN THE STUDY OF THE MODALITIES AND THE TERMS OF A POSSIBLE QUANTIFICA-TION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS WITH OUR POLITICAL IMPETUS, THE STUDY IS BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE SPECIAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP WHICH HAS BEGUN ITS WORK IN ROME. I WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH YOU, WITH FEDERAL CHANCELLOR KOHL AND WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, IN THE HOPE THAT AFTER THE IMPORTANT DECISIONS TAKEN ON THE QUESTION OF ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE RECENT MONTEBELLO DECLARATION, WE CAN TOGETHER FURNISH INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION WITH A FURTHER DEMONSTRATION OF OUR READINESS FOR DIALOGUE AND OUR OPENNESS TOWARDS ORGANIZING IN THE WORLD A PEACE WHICH WILL OFFER GUARANTEES TO ALL AND SECURITY FOR EACH ONE. WITH BEST REGARDS, B. CRAXI.

END TEXT. RABB

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