

CSCE GENERAL

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IMMEDIATE

*Revised to
Acquies*

16/7

No 10

RESIDENT CLERK

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKDEL MADRID 161030Z JULY 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

DESKBY 161100Z - FOR RESIDENT CLERK

TELEGRAM NUMBER 184 OF 16 JULY

INFO PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO
INFO ROUTINE TO UKMIS NEW YORK, STOCKHOLM, UKDEL STRASBOURG,
VIENNA, UKDEL VIENNA, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKMIS GENEVA, BRUSSELS,
SOFIA, OTTAWA, NICOSIA, PRAGUE, COPENHAGEN, HELSINKI, EAST BERLIN
ATHENS, HOLY SEE, BUDAPEST, DUBLIN, REYKJAVIK, ROME, LUXEMBOURG
VALLETTA, OSLO, THE HAGUE, WARSAW, LISBON, BUCHAREST, BERNE,
ANKARA AND BELGRADE.

FOLLOWING DESKBY FOR RESIDENT CLERK

MY TEL NO 183: CSCE END GAME.

SUMMARY

1. AN EAST-WEST AGREEMENT WAS REACHED IN THE EVENING OF FRIDAY 15 JULY, AFTER THE WEST OBTAINED SATISFACTION ON THE HUMAN CONTACTS EXPERTS MEETING AND THE TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN OF THE CDE MANDATE. ALL THE PARTICIPANTS EXCEPT MALTA THEREUPON STATED IN A PLENARY SESSION THAT THEY ACCEPTED THE MNA DRAFT RM 39 (REVISED) PLUS AN AGREED LIST OF CHANGES TO THAT DOCUMENT (THE SO-CALLED CHECK-LIST). THESE CHANGES WERE THE ENTIRETY OF THE SPANISH PROPOSALS OF 17 JUNE PLUS A NUMBER OF SUBSEQUENT CLARIFICATIONS OF TRANSLATION. THE CONFERENCE CANNOT FORMALLY EXPRESS CONSENSUS ON THE FINAL DOCUMENT UNTIL THE MALTESE OBJECTIONS HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH, BUT THE EAST-WEST PART IS OVER AND THE 'POLITICAL HANDSHAKE' HAS TAKEN PLACE.

DETAIL

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DETAIL

2. KAMPELMAN (USA) SPOKE AS AGREED TO KONDRASHEV (USSR) LATE IN THE EVENING OF 14 JULY ON THE LINES OF PARA 2 OF TUR, SAYING THE WEST ACCEPTED THE HCEM TEXT AS REVISED AND ASSURING HIM THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER CHANGES. KAMPELMAN ALSO OBTAINED SATISFACTION FROM THE SWISS ON THE TERMS OF THE LETTER OF INVITATION FROM THE SWISS GOVERNMENT, THE TEXT OF WHICH HAS NOW BEEN CIRCULATED AND CONTAINS A REQUEST TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PLENARY OF 15 JULY THAT THE CONFERENCE DECIDE ON A CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT ANNEXED TO THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, 'SO ALLOWING THE HCEM NOT TO HAVE A LESSER STATUS THAN THE OTHER MEETINGS FORESEEN'. THROUGHOUT 15 JULY THE RUSSIANS STILL TRIED TO WATER DOWN THEIR COMMITMENT TO PUBLISHING THE HCEM STATEMENT, BUT GAVE WAY TO COMBINED WESTERN AND NNA PRESSURE, SO AGREEING TO EVERY WORD OF THE CHANGES IN TUR.

3. CURIEN (FRANCE), ASSISTED BY BISHOP, THEN TOOK UP ~~THE~~ WITH THE RUSSIANS ON BEHALF OF THE NATO CAUCUS, THE OUTSTANDING TRANSLATION POINTS. A HARD BATTLE WAS FOUGHT ON THE CDE MANDATE WITH THE NNA AGAIN CALLED IN ON OUR SIDE. THE RUSSIANS FINALLY GAVE US SATISFACTION ON 'SPECIFICATIONS' BY SUPPLYING TWO WORDS MEANING 'PRECISION AND DETAILING' (UTOCHNENIYA I DETALIZI-I) BOTH OF WHICH WILL BE USED. THEY ALSO EVENTUALLY AGREED TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE COMMA BEFORE 'AS REFERRED TO ABOVE', SO MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THIS PHRASE REFERS TO 'THE WHOLE OF EUROPE' AND NOTHING ELSE. THIS WAS THE OUTCOME THE WESTERN CAUCUS HAD THOUGHT DESIRABLE WHEN IT CONSIDERED THE SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE END GAME HERE. OUR INSISTENCE ON CHANGING 'TAKOY' WAS CONSEQUENTLY DROPPED, AND WE AGREED TO A RUSSIAN SUGGESTION THAT THE CHECK-LIST (SEE PARA 1 ABOVE) SHOULD SPECIFY THAT 'SUCH' WAS TO BE DELETED IN ENGLISH ONLY. (IN FACT, ALL THE OTHER TRANSLATIONS ARE SATISFACTORY TO US, WHILE THE RUSSIAN IS MERELY AMBIGUOUS - PARA 8 OF TUR.)

4. AS A RESULT, THE OTHER POINTS OF RUSSIAN TRANSLATION QUICKLY FELL INTO PLACE. WE ACCEPTED THE RUSSIAN PROPOSED STATEMENT, TO EXPLAIN WHAT 'VISITORS' MEANS IN RUSSIAN AND, SEEING THE POSSIBILITY OF DOING MORE HARM THAN GOOD, DROPPED THE IDEA OF SEEKING CLARIFICATION ON 'HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY'. (FULL LIST FOLLOWS BY BAG.)

5. AFTER I HAD PARTICIPATED IN A SMALL GROUP OF WEST, EAST AND NNA TO FINALISE THE CHECK-LIST AND WORK OUT HOW TO CIRCUMVENT THE PROBLEM OF GETTING ENDORSEMENT IN THE PLENARY BY EAST AND WEST OF WHAT HAD JUST BEEN WORKED OUT, WITHOUT RUNNING INTO MALTESE OBSTACLES, THE PLENARY WENT AHEAD ON THE PRE-ARRANGED LINES, UNDER FINNISH CHAIRMANSHIP. THE SWISS FORMALLY MENTIONED THE INVITATION TO THE HCEM. THE AUSTRIAN INTRODUCED THE CHECK-LIST WITH, AS AGREED, ORAL UPDATING OF THE CHECK-LIST WHICH HAD BEEN TYPED EARLIER THAT DAY. THE CHAIRMAN THEN INVITED COMMENTS. GREECE (FOR THE TEN), NORWAY (FOR NATO), THE USSR (ONE FOR THEMSELVES, THE OTHER FOR 'A NUMBER OF FRIENDS'), THE HOLY SEE AND MALTA (FOR THE ILLI) THEN GAVE ENDORSEMENT OF

COMMENTS. GREECE (FOR THE TEN), NORWAY (FOR NATO), THE USSR (ONE FOR THEMSELVES, THE OTHER FOR 'A NUMBER OF FRIENDS'), THE HOLY SEE AND AUSTRIA (FOR THE NNA), THEN GAVE ENDORSEMENT OF RM 39 (REVISED) PLUS THE CHECK-LIST AS PRESENTED BY AUSTRIA. CYPRUS PUT DOWN ITS STANDARD RESERVATION, BUT DID NOT OBJECT. THE CHAIRMAN THEN PROPOSED WE PROVISIONALLY AGREE THESE TEXTS. MALTA OBJECTED. THE CHAIRMAN APPEALED TO MALTA TO REPORT THE SITUATION TO HIS GOVERNMENT AND ASK THEM TO RE-CONSIDER THEIR POSITION.

6. AUSTRIA HAD HOPED TO CONCLUDE THE MEETING BY PROPOSING AGREED DATES FOR THE FINAL SESSIONS, ATTENDED BY MINISTERS. IN PRACTICE THERE IS STILL AN IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROMYKO'S REFUSAL OF ANY DATE AFTER 27 JULY AND SHULTZ'S INABILITY TO GET TO MADRID BEFORE 1 AUGUST. DESPITE OUR URGING TO LEAVE THE MATTER TO MATURE, CESKA FORMALLY SUGGESTED 27,28 AND 29 JULY (WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO NEITHER), BUT NO-ONE VENTURED TO COMMENT.

WILLIAMS

NNN

SENT/RECD AT 16/1134Z VMR/PM
