

GR600

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MOSCOW 101500Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1283 OF 10 NOV 83

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, ATHENS (FOR SECRETARY OF STATES' PARTY),

INFO PRIORITY BUCHAREST, MODUK (DS17),

INFO ROUTINE ROME, THE HAGUE, BRUSSELS.

ROMANIAN PROPOSALS ON INF.

1. I HAVE NOT SEEN THE TEXTS OF CEAUSESCU'S MESSAGES TO WESTERN LEADERS. BUT I NOTE THAT THERE ARE AMBIGUITIES IN THE MESSAGE TO REAGAN (WASHINGTON TELNO 3364) AND THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE A MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MESSAGES TO REAGAN AND KOHL AND THE INFERENCE IN PARAGRAPH 2(A) OF BUCHAREST TEL NO 248 THAT THE ROMANIANS ENVISAGE THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF SS-20S. IT IS ALSO NOT CLEAR TO ME WHETHER CEAUSESCU INTENDS THAT THE RUSSIANS SHOULD UNDERTAKE A UNILATERAL REDUCTION IN SS-20S IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS.
2. THE KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER THE ROMANIANS ARE PLAYING THE MAVERICK IN THE WARSAW PACT OR ACTING AS STALKING HORSE FOR THE RUSSIANS.
3. IF THE FORMER, THE US SUGGESTION THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO DISCOURAGE PUBLICITY SEEMS MISGUIDED (UKDEL NATO TELNO 261), THE MORE SO SINCE THE WESTERN PRESS IS ALREADY AWARE OF CEAUSESCU'S INITIATIVE. THE INITIATIVE WOULD SEEM TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PAY THE RUSSIANS BACK SOME OF THEIR OWN MEDICINE AND TO PROMOTE AN EXERCISE IN WEDGE-DRIVING WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT WHICH MIGHT EVEN HAVE INFLUENCE ON THE SOVIET POSITION.
4. AS WE HAVE REPORTED (MOSCOW TEL NO 1224), THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY HERE HAVE TOLD US THAT THE ROMANIAN POSITION ON INF HAS LED TO STRAIN IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. OUR ROMANIAN CONTACTS HAVE SINCE SAID THAT AT THE WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN SOFIA, THE RUSSIANS SHOT DOWN A ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR SYSTEMS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO A WIDER NEGOTIATING FORM: THAT THE KEY, BUT AMBIGUOUS, PASSAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE FUTURE OF THE INF TALKS AFTER DEPLOYMENT HAD BEGUN WAS A DIFFICULT COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE ROMANIANS AND THE RUSSIANS: AND THAT THE ROMANIANS REFUSED TO AGREE TO ANY REFERENCE IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO COUNTER-MEASURES. ON COUNTER MEASURES, THERE IS ALSO SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE HUNGARIANS AND POSSIBLY ALSO THE BULGARIANS THEMSELVES HAVE ALSO OPPOSED SOVIET PROPOSALS TO INTRODUCE MISSILES INTO BULGARIA (MOSCOW TELNO 1214, PARA 4). DIFFERENCES OF VIEW WITHIN THE PACT OVER INF VIE WITH ANDROPOV'S HEALTH AS POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE POSTPONEMENT OF A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT REPORTEDLY PLANNED

CONFIDENTIAL

(FOR.