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FM UKDEL MADRID 201655Z

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 99 OF 20 DECEMBER 1980

INFO ROUTINE PARIS WASHINGTON BONN MOSCOW LUXEMBOURG

UKDEL NATO UKREP BRUSSELS

AND SAVING TO VIENNA BRUSSELS SOFIA OTTAWA NICOSIA PRAGUE

COPENHAGEN HELSINKI EAST BERLIN ATHENS HOLY SEE BUDAPEST

KEYKJAVIK DUBLIN ROME VALLETTA THE HAGUE OSLO WARSAW LISBON

BUCHAREST STOCKHOLM BERNE ANKARA BELGRADE UKDEL VIENNA

UKMIS GENEVA UKDEL STRASBOURG CAIRO RABAT ALGIERS TUNIS

BEIRUT DAMASCUS TRIPOLI TEL AVIV

*ms*

*Read full*

CSCE REVIEW MEETING: GENERAL ASSESSMENT

1. THE WEST SUCCEEDED WELL IN ITS AIM OF HOLDING A THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THIS MEETING. THE LENGTH OF TIME FOR THE REVIEW PROVED QUITE ADEQUATE, AND THE PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT FOR NEW PROPOSALS TO BE TABLED IN THE MAIN BY THE END OF THE FIFTH WEEK, BUT INTRODUCTORY SPEECHES ON THEM RESERVED FOR THE SIXTH WEEK, WAS LARGELY OBSERVED. WE MANAGED STILL TO MAINTAIN A STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN THIS LAST WEEK. APART FROM SOME FLAGGING IN THE PLENARY DURING THE THIRD AND FOURTH WEEKS THE TIME AVAILABLE FOR THE REVIEW WAS FULLY AND EFFECTIVELY USED BY THE WEST.

2. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THERE HAS PREDICTABLY BEEN NOTHING TO SHOW FOR ALL THIS EFFORT. THE RUSSIANS WERE NOT ABLE TO REMAIN DISENGAGED IN FACE OF THE CRITICISM DURING THE FIRST HALF, WHILE WAITING TO GET DOWN TO THEIR DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES IN THE SECOND HALF. BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN NOT AN INCH EITHER INSIDE THE MEETING OR IN THEIR CONDUCT OUTSIDE IT. (YESTERDAY KAMPELMAN (US) NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN TWENTY ARRESTS OR CONVICTIONS OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS WHILE THE MEETING HAD BEEN IN PROGRESS.) WHILE NOTHING ELSE IS TO BE EXPECTED AT THIS JUNCTURE, THERE IS AN OBVIOUS CREDIBILITY PROBLEM FOR THE CSCE PROCESS IF ALL THIS DISCUSSION ULTIMATELY PRODUCES NO IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET BEHAVIOUR. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT STILL REMAINS POSSIBLE THAT, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH OTHER MORE IMPORTANT FACTORS (EG IN US/SOVIET RELATIONS), THE MAIN POINTS MADE HERE BY THE WEST WITH WIDE NNA SUPPORT MAY HAVE SOME INFLUENCE IN MOSCOW. THE WAY THE POLISH ISSUE WAS HANDLED WAS PROBABLY ABOUT RIGHT. AN ELOQUENT SILENCE FOR MOST OF THE MEETING, UP TO THE POINT WHEN THIS BECAME TOO UNREAL, WAS SUCCEEDED BY A SERIES OF MORE OR LESS DIRECT WARNINGS, WITHOUT POLAND EVER BEING MENTIONED BY NAME. THE POLISH DELEGATION SEEMED BOTH GRATEFUL AND RELIEVED, THOUGH THE US STATEMENT YESTERDAY CAME VERY CLOSE TO FORCING SOME RESPONSE, WHICH THE POLES DESPERATELY WANTED TO AVOID.

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/ 3. THE MEDIA

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3. THE MEDIA FIND SOMETHING OF A CREDIBILITY PROBLEM ALSO IN THE MASS OF NEW PROPOSALS Tabled (83 AT THE LAST COUNT). WESTERN SPEECHES IN THIS LAST WEEK, HOWEVER, SUCCEEDED IN SINGLING OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FOUR MAIN WESTERN PROPOSALS (THE FRENCH CDE ONE AND THE NINE'S PROPOSALS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN CONTACTS, AND INFORMATION). ON THE OTHER SIDE THE PROPOSAL Tabled BY POLAND FOR A CONFERENCE ON MILITARY DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT STANDS ALONE AS THE DOMINANT EASTERN PROPOSAL, ACCEPTANCE OF WHICH THEY ARE FIRMLY LINKING WITH ANY POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS, AS WELL AS (MORE DANGEROUSLY) WITH THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF ANOTHER REVIEW MEETING. AT PRESENT THERE IS A REALISTIC RECOGNITION IN THE NATO CAMP THAT AN OUTCOME OF THE BELGRADE KIND, WITH NO AGREEMENT ON ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE, IS THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME HERE. SIMILARLY THERE IS WESTERN RECOGNITION THAT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT WILL NOT BE IN THE INTERESTS OF EITHER THE WEST OR THE CSCE PROCESS ITSELF FOR THE MEETING TO BE DRAGGED ON MUCH BEYOND THE PRESENT TARGET DATE OF 5 MARCH. BUT ANY SUCH VIEWS ON THE COURSE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE MEETING CAN ONLY BE PROVISIONAL, AS BEING HIGHLY SUBJECT TO OUTSIDE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

4. SOME POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT AMONG WESTERN COUNTRIES (AND PARTICULARLY BETWEEN THE USA AND FRANCE) AROSE IN THIS LAST WEEK BUT FORTUNATELY NOT IN A WAY THAT SPOILED THE EXTRAORDINARILY GOOD SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY WHICH HAS PREVAILED FROM THE START. IT IS ALSO WORTH NOTING THAT SPAIN HAS FITTED VERY NATURALLY INTO WESTERN COORDINATION MEETINGS, WITHOUT ANY RECURRENCE OF THE INITIAL SENSITIVITIES OVER THE FORMS OF THIS.

5. PLEASE SEE MIFT FOR AN OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE INDIVIDUAL BASKETS.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

WILBERFORCE

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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