

Soviet Union

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FM UKDEL MADRID 161055Z FEB 1981

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NO 12 OF 16 FEBRUARY 1981

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON UKDEL NATO PRIORITY PARIS BONN MOSCOW
UKMIS GENEVA UKREP BRUSSELS THE HAGUE

AND SAVING TO VIENNA BRUSSELS SOFIA OTTAWA NICOSIA PRAGUE
COPENHAGEN HELSINKI EAST BERLIN ATHENS HOLY SEE BUDAPEST
REYKJAVIK DUBLIN ROME VALLETTA OSLO WARSAW LISBON
LUXEMBOURG BUCHAREST STOCKHOLM BERNE ANKARA BELGRADE
UKDEL VIENNA UKDEL STRASBOURG CAIRO RABAT ALGIERS TUNIS
BEIRUT DAMASCUS TRIPOLI TEL AVIV

no

CSCE REVIEW MEETING: STATE OF PLAY

A clear summary. The disillusionment of the Swiss is very striking.

1. THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THIS SECOND PART HAVE BEEN SPENT IN THE EXPECTED EXPOSITION OF DIVERGENT PROPOSALS BY EAST AND WEST, WITH THE EQUALLY EXPECTED LACK OF GIVE. PRESS INTEREST HAS BEEN LOW. IN THIS UNPROMISING SITUATION, THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY SILENT SO FAR. THOUGH THEY STILL TRY TO CONCERT, THEY HAVE FALLEN APART AS A GROUP. A MAIN REASON IS A NEW SCEPTICISM IN THE SWISS GOVERNMENT ABOUT WHAT RESULTS THE CSCE PROCESS IN ITSELF CAN PRODUCE, GIVEN PRESENT SOVIET REALITIES.

2. ON THE CDE, WE ARE ALL RIGHT. OUR CASE FOR ESTABLISHING WHETHER THE BASIC ELEMENTS EXIST FOR ANY USEFUL SECURITY NEGOTIATION HAS COME OVER BETTER THAN EASTERN HARPING ON THE APPARENT CONSENSUS ON HAVING A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. THE FACT THAT OUR POSITION ON THE BASIC ELEMENTS IS NON-NEGOTIABLE HAS SUNK IN. AND NOW WE HAVE THE ADDED IMPETUS OF THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH PROPOSAL, ANNOUNCED THIS MORNING IN PLENARY (COPIES BY BAG TO FCO, UKDEL NATO AND WASHINGTON). MY ONLY DISAPPOINTMENT IS THAT THE FRENCH DELEGATION ARE NOT OPERATING QUITE AS EFFECTIVELY ON THIS AS I EXPECTED.

3. ON THE HUMAN DIMENSION, WE HAVE DONE OUR STUFF, WITH FIRM LINKS BACK TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND SOME MENTION OF INDIVIDUAL CASES. IN RESPONSE, THE RUSSIANS HAVE TRIED TO RULE OUT (AND TO TALK OUT) ALL WESTERN PROPOSALS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WHILE INDICATING SLIGHT ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE ON TECHNICAL DETAILS IN OUR PROPOSALS ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION. OF OTHER PROPOSALS, THE SPANISH ONE ON TERRORISM (WHICH WE CO-SPONSOR) HAS RECEIVED A NEW ORDER OF US SUPPORT AFTER HAIG'S REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT, AND SHOWS SIGNS OF BECOMING A BIGGER EAST-WEST ISSUE HERE.

4. ALTHOUGH THE DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN THE DRAFTING PHASE NOW BEGUN IS ON EVERYONE'S LIPS, THE PREVAILING MOOD IS OF PESSIMISTIC REALISM. ADMITTEDLY, THE INFLUENTIAL AUSTRIAN, CESKA, HAS BEGUN TO FIGHT AGAINST THE TIDE SEMI-COLON AND NOT ALL WOULD GO SO FAR AS THE SWISS, WHO HAVE BEEN TALKING INFORMALLY OF A TWO-SENTENCE DOCUMENT SAYING SIMPLY THAT WE MET AND THAT WE FIXED

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THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING. BUT I THINK THE PRESENT REALISM IS SATISFACTORY FOR WESTERN POLITICAL INTERESTS. ON THE EASTERN SIDE, THERE HAS BEEN AN EAST GERMAN HINT THAT PERHAPS WE COULD DO NO MORE ON A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE THAN NOTE THE INTEREST EXPRESSED IN IT AND COMMIT OURSELVES TO PURSUE IT FURTHER. THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT YET USED THE BIG STICK OF REFUSING TO FIX THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING SEMI-COLON AND THERE HAS BEEN A HINT FROM KONDRASHEV THAT THEY MAY WORK INSTEAD FOR AN INTERVAL OF 5 OR 6 YEARS BEFORE IT IS HELD.

5. THE SPIRIT OF WESTERN COORDINATION REMAINS VERY GOOD. MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE BACKED OFF FROM INSISTING THAT DRAFTING PAPERS ON OUR MAJOR PROPOSALS SHOULD BE TABLED IN THE NAME OF THE TEN RATHER THAN THE FULL LIST OF WESTERN COSPONSORS, WHEN HE SAW THAT THIS WOULD RECREATE THE STRAINS OF BELGRADE. AND THE TEN AND THE REST HAVE BEEN SHOWING CAREFUL REGARD FOR EACH OTHER'S SENSITIVITIES IN DISCUSSING A FRENCH ATTEMPT TO CATEGORISE ALL WESTERN PROPOSALS IN TERMS OF THEIR SUBSTANTIVE IMPORTANCE. THE ESSENTIAL POINT HERE IS TO GUARD AGAINST BEING DRAGGED INTO A COSMETIC RESULT OF BUSINESS AS USUAL, ESPECIALLY IN BASKETS II AND III. THERE IS A STRONG ANGLO-FRENCH AXIS ON THIS (WITH MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE HAVING OBTAINED INSTRUCTIONS TO WITHDRAW THE TWO FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR CULTURAL MEETINGS, IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS ON BASIC ISSUES). DENMARK AND NORWAY ARE ALREADY SHOWING SIGNS OF BEING LESS STERN.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

WILBERFORCE

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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