

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 April, 1983

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CSCE Madrid Meeting: Appeal by Certain Neutral and Non-Aligned Heads of State/Government

I enclose a letter to the Prime Minister which the Finnish Ambassador, Mr Pastinen, together with four other Heads of Mission from Neutral and Non-Aligned (NNA) countries, handed to Mr Rifkind on 18 April on behalf of their Heads of State and Government. A similar letter has been sent to other Heads of States and Governments represented at the Madrid meeting.

The letter expresses concern that continued and protracted negotiations at the Madrid meeting will lead to the erosion of the aims and purposes set forth by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The letter states that the NNA participants recently put forward a proposal in Madrid for a substantial and balanced concluding document. They appeal for a political decision soon to determine the outcome of the Madrid meeting.

Acknowledging receipt of the letter, Mr Rifkind said that we appreciated the contribution which the NNA had made by tabling the draft. It contained some advances but was silent on a number of important issues. We did not think it was yet certain what could or could not be achieved in Madrid.

In fact, there are differences of view within the Alliance on how to respond to the NNA draft concluding document. A majority of the Ten think we should use it as the basis for a short and intensive end-game in which the West should seek only a strictly limited number of improvements. The United States is inclined to reject the draft as embodying too few of the proposals especially in the human rights field, which the West put forward last November, and instead to have the West stick firmly to these proposals. In Madrid and elsewhere we have sought to provide a bridge between these two approaches. We believe that the Alliance will have to establish a common position in Madrid if a successful outcome is to be achieved.



In these circumstances, we need to consult Partners and Allies as to whether a reply to the Neutral and Non-Aligned appeal is required, and if it is what it might contain. I will write again when this has been done.

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(R B Bone) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq Private Secretary 10 Downing Street Dear Prime Minister,

The Heads of State and Government of Austria, Cyprus, Finland, San Marino, Sweden and Yugoslavia, which participate in the Madrid follow-up meeting of the CSCE, have agreed to address to you this letter in order to share with you their deep concern regarding the present state of affairs of the said meeting and the CSCE process as a whole.

This process was initiated in the 1970's with the aim of bringing Europe closer to genuine peace, strengthened security, improved cooperation and a better observance of human rights. All these aims were incorporated into the Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

The Final Act should, despite setbacks and shortcomings in its implementation, continue to serve as the basis for the relations between all the 35 nations of Europe, the United States of America and Canada.

The representatives of these states have now spent nearly three years in Madrid in search of a common agreement from that meeting, in order to give substance and meaning to the CSCE follow-up process.

The genuine seriousness of approach of all the participating states has at no moment been put into question. Yet, in spite of all the efforts made in this exercise, it has not been possible to reach the desired agreement.

The neutral and non-aligned states, on whose behalf we address this letter, now fear that the Madrid meeting has reached a point where continued and protracted negotiations will no longer serve the aims of bringing us closer to a common understanding, but rather lead to an erosion of the basic aims and purposes set forth by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland

It is for this reason that eight neutral and non-aligned countries have recently made a proposal in Madrid for a substantial and balanced concluding document. It is a compromise endeavour and cannot as such fully satisfy all demands. Yet, it contains a number of concrete commitments in all fields of the CSCE process, including the strengthening of military security and the promotion of human rights. Consequently, they believe that its provisions would enhance the implementation of the commitments of the Helsinki Final Act and engage all 35 nations in new, concrete action designed to meet the important challenges of our time.

The neutral and non-aligned states in question share the serious belief that a political decision must now be made without delay regarding the outcome of the Madrid meeting and thus the future role of the CSCE process in Europe. A positive conclusion would demonstrate a renewed resolve by us all to enhance stability and strengthen continuity. Failure to reach agreement in Madrid would, we fear, be detrimental to the entire process and thus adversely affect the political development in Europe itself.

Our states have spared no effort to do their own share in bringing the goals of the 1975 Final Act into reality. They realize the limits of their own contribution regarding the present efforts in Madrid. Yet, they consider it as their right and duty to make an appeal for a shared responsibility by all participating states in this endeavour.

Bruno Kreisky, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland Adriano Reffi and Massimo Roberto Rossini, Captains Regent, San Marino

Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden

Petar Stambolic, President of the State Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

