



PM/83/43

PRIME MINISTERPrime Minister

Agree para. 7. ?

A.J.C. 2/6.

Yes mt

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

1. In his minute of 17 May, Francis Pym said that final decisions might soon have to be taken at the CSCE Review Meeting in Madrid. He expressed the view that the draft concluding document tabled by the Neutral and Non-Aligned participants, together with all or some of the amendments which the West had proposed to the draft, would be a reasonable basis on which to conclude the meeting.

2. Since his minute there have been various moves at Madrid to try to break the deadlock which had arisen from, on the one hand, Soviet acceptance of the revised Neutral and Non-Aligned draft provided no further amendments were proposed, and on the other Western insistence that some further amendments were necessary. The Americans in particular worked hard to encourage the Spaniards to take the initiative by tabling alternative proposals acceptable to the West. The result was a statement made by the Spanish Prime Minister as head of the host government on 17 June. Although it does not reflect all the points which we would want to see included, it provides in the US view a reasonably satisfactory basis on which to draw the Conference to a close.

3. I attach a copy of the Spanish proposal which was addressed to all the Heads of Government of the participating states. Effectively what it proposes gives the West satisfactory wording on the human contacts meeting to be held in 1986. It clarified the wording on the mandate for a Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE). It goes some way towards the Western position over the treatment of Helsinki monitors. It does not, on the other hand, accept the Western wording



clarifying the mandate for a human rights meeting. But our partners are of the view that we will still be able to raise human rights violations by the Soviet Union and its allies at the experts meeting to be held in 1985. Finally, the Spanish proposal does not mention the Western amendment on radio jamming. This was something which the West had tried for at Helsinki and subsequently at the Review meeting at Belgrade and failed to secure on both occasions.

4. On 21 June President Reagan told the Spanish Prime Minister, who is currently on a visit to Washington, that the US could agree to a conclusion of the CSCE Review Conference and progress to a CDE provided the Russians accepted the Spanish amendments. He made clear that this position was at the limit of what the US could accept. We understand that the Americans are continuing private discussions with the Russians which might result in some practical steps such as the release of the Pentecostals being agreed before, but implemented after, a conclusion of the Review meeting in Madrid.

5. The latest indication of the views of the Ten from Madrid are that all are seeking authority to agree to the Spanish proposal by 24 June. If this was forthcoming and there was general agreement in the Western caucus, the Federal German Presidency would make a statement at the Plenary meeting on Friday, 24 June, accepting the proposal on behalf of the Ten.

6. It is not clear how the Russians will react. They have strongly criticised the Spaniards for putting forward a proposal which was known to be incompatible with the Soviet position. It remains to be seen whether, if the West can agree to the Spanish formula, the Russians will be prepared to take the onus of blocking the conference by withholding their agreement.



7. While I agree with Francis Pym's comment that at the end of two and a half years' negotiation this does not represent the outcome we would ideally have liked, nevertheless, for the reasons given in Francis's minute, and against the background of general agreement among our Allies, I believe we too should accept the Spanish proposal. In doing so, however, we should seek to have it agreed by all on the Western side that this represented our final position and that there could be no further concessions whatever the Russians might say. I would propose to instruct our delegation in Madrid to speak in this sense in the final Western co-ordinating meetings.

8. I am sending copies of this minute to colleagues in OD and, for his information, to Sir Robert Armstrong.

(GEOFFREY HOWE)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
23 June 1983

TEXT IN ENGLISH OF THE ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO THE HEADS OF DELEGATION ATTENDING
THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION CONFERENCE IN MADRID:

My friends:

It is good of you to join me this morning.

Spain has been immensely proud to host the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. We do so as a united people. All of us have great hopes for the Helsinki Process and its promise for peace.

The international atmosphere is filled with tensions. This reality has reflected itself in the Madrid meeting. Nevertheless, it is particularly necessary to find constructive agreements when the atmosphere is bad, because those agreements, even small steps, will help improve the atmosphere which can lead to peace and understanding between us.

When you first assembled here in September 1980, we did not expect that you would still be with us in June 1983. I suggest to you, however, that Madrid is a beautiful city in which to be, and Spain and its people have been privileged to greet and welcome you with warmth and respect.

As a Western country we are proud of our relationship with our western brothers. This is consistent with our culture and our values. Nevertheless, we respect those States that belong to the Warsaw Pact and share other values. Together, after all, we have a responsibility to pursue the search for a lasting peace.

Neither is Spain unaware of the important role played by neutral and non-aligned countries, not only here in Madrid, where their contribution has been of immense importance, but in the whole of Europe and throughout the world.

Spain understands that it has a special function to fulfill at this Madrid meeting. We are an active participant in the deliberations, but we also have a singular responsibility as the host country. We want to fulfill that responsibility with fairness and equal concern for the rights and interests of all the 35 participating States here.

There are many delegations at the meeting, including the Spanish Delegation, who believe we are approaching the midnight of our deliberations. The meeting is at an impasse and the Government of Spain wishes to contribute toward the ending of that impasse in a manner which will serve the cause of peace and understanding so basic to the Helsinki Process, without in any way acting contrary to the national interest of any State.

We hope that our efforts will not be resented by any State. Our motivation is genuine. Our concern is great. Our responsibility is clear. We are, therefore, making specific proposals today on how to end this meeting on a positive note. Our proposals comprise a package. We are convinced there is no room for further negotiations because

that would only open up the process to additional delays, arguments and new tensions. We present our package to you in the hope that it will be accepted in its totality. We fear that if it is not accepted then June 1983 is simply not the time that is ripe for a conclusion.

Needless to say, any State here may decide not to accept our recommended package. That is the right of every State. We cannot impose a solution and do not seek to do so. We merely seek to expedite one. We respectfully ask every State here to express its political will affirmatively, even if a Delegation looks upon one or another of our recommendations in a less than favourable light. The basis for our proposal is RM-39 (revised). We propose that it be adopted as the final concluding document with all of us agreeing to the three following points:

First in the humanitarian area, I am informed by the Government of Switzerland that it wishes to invite all the participating States to a meeting of experts to explore how best further to achieve the objectives of the human contacts provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. They propose the date of April 16, 1986 in Berne. The meeting will follow the Rules of Procedure of CSCE.

We believe it would strengthen the Helsinki Process for the Madrid meeting to accept that invitation on behalf of all the States. In that connection we note that one of the Resolutions unanimously adopted at the recently concluded Budapest meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union recommended the convening of such a meeting "in the not too distant future". Those supporting that Resolution, of course, included leading Parliamentarians from the East and the West, the USSR and the US. What was agreed upon unanimously in Budapest can certainly be implemented in Madrid.

Second, we are also aware that controversy exists on the wording of a sentence designed "to encourage..... efforts to implement the Final Act". Since the words "genuine and positive" used to describe those efforts appear to be duplicative, we urge as a compromise that the word "genuine" be permitted to remain in the text and the reference to "positive" be dropped.

Finally, let me turn to the security provisions of the final document. We are taking a major step toward peace by agreeing in 1983 to convene a Conference on measures aimed at encouraging confidence and security and disarmament in Europe. Even though two months have elapsed since the recommended April 27th date for ending the Madrid meeting, we believe the preparatory meeting for that Conference should begin on October 25th of this year, even though the formal convening, in view of the lack of time for adequate preparation, will now have to be scheduled for January 17th 1984.

One outstanding issue remains. Efforts to resolve it linguistically have not succeeded. It is obvious to any reader of the paragraph describing notifiable activities in the sea area and air space adjoining the whole of Europe, that the word "such" before "activities" is not only ambiguous in English, but it is not clear to what it refers. Rather than

attempt to define it and after consulting with some of the authors of the paragraph, we believe a solution to the impasse is to drop the word "such" from the text.

With agreement on these few points, the Madrid meeting is prepared to come to a successful close. Any additional substantive amendments at any other place in the document would seriously jeopardise success. We understand that informal consultations have resolved a number of other outstanding questions, some of which will require textual changes in one or more languages and explanatory statements by the Chair. Other serious questions beyond the scope of the concluding document have also, I am informed, been informally and bilaterally resolved.

There should be no further impediments to our being able to end the Madrid meeting with satisfaction and pride in its historic role.

I conclude with an expression of my appreciation for the dedication and patience you have all shewn in your personal efforts. You deserve the esteem of all peace-loving peoples. You have preserved and strengthened the Helsinki Process. Among the most important of your decisions is the one relating to hold a follow-up meeting in Vienna in 1986, after the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act is commemorated in August 1985. Periodic CSCE follow-up meetings to assure the perpetuity of the pursuit of peace and cooperation in Europe is now assured.

I speak as the Head of the Spanish Government and I respectfully suggest that each of you, on my behalf, forward this message to the Heads of each of your Governments for their consideration

If you all approve of my ideas the Head of my Delegation will gladly come forward with detailed proposals as to how to implement them.

It is my final recommendation that you agree, once a formal consensus is arrived at, to recess your meetings for two or three weeks, at which point to reconvene with concluding statements by your Foreign Ministers. At that time let us all rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace.

Thank you. The next step is yours to take.

Soviet Union
May 80, Human
Rights - Madrid Conference.



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23 JUN 1983



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