

Prime Minister (2)

SAVING

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FM WASHINGTON 252257Z JUL 84

TO SAVING F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER SAVING 19 OF 6 JULY

INFO SAVING YODUK, UKMIS NEW YORK, ALL NATO POSTS, UKREP BRUSSELS, DUBLIN, TOKYO, PEKING, MOSCOW, CG'S IN USA.

NY TELNO 2266: DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM: ARMS CONTROL, DEFENCE, AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS

(A) SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL

1. THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF THE PLATFORM IS DOMINATED BY A DISCUSSION OF SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL POLICY. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS ACCUSED OF ALLOWING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE TO SPIRAL OUT OF CONTROL AND OF FAVOURING DESTABILISING NUCLEAR PROGRAMMES AT THE EXPENSE OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE PRESIDENT IS CRITICISED FOR PRESIDING OVER THE COLLAPSE OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS, REJECTING SALT II, THREATENING THE ABM TREATY, AND ABANDONING THE GOAL OF A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN. HE IS ALSO CRITICISED FOR REFUSING TO ENTER INTO ASAT ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, FOR HIS STRATEGIC DEFENCE INITIATIVE, FOR HIS PROPOSED BINARY CW PROGRAMME, AND FOR RELAXING CONTROLS ON NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. HE IS ACCUSED OF ALLOWING US/SOVIET RELATIONS TO REACH A NADIR.

2. THE PROGRAMME SETS OUT A QUOTE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE UNQUOTE TO THESE POLICIES, IE THE VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AS WELL AS THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENCE. THE PLATFORM SAYS THAT AMERICANS DO NOT DIVIDE ON THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET THREAT AND ON THE REQUIREMENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS THEREFORE PLEDGED TO A STRONG DEFENCE, BUILT IN CONCERT WITH AMERICA'S ALLIES, BASED ON A COHERENT STRATEGY, AND SUPPORTED BY A SOUND ECONOMY. BUT MUTUAL AND VERIFIABLE CONTROLS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST BE A SERIOUS AND INTEGRAL PART OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE.

3. THE PLATFORM ADVANCES A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN SUPPORT OF THIS GENERAL OBJECTIVE. THE FIRST PROPOSAL WOULD BE FOR THE IMMEDIATE INITIATION OF TEMPORARY VERIFIABLE AND MUTUAL MORATORIA ON THE TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ASAT SYSTEMS: ON THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF ALL WEAPONS IN SPACE: ON THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES: AND ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR ARMED SEA-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES.

4. THESE MORATORIA WOULD BE MAINTAINED FOR A FIXED PERIOD WHILE NEGOTIATIONS TOOK PLACE AND AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION ALSO OBSERVED SIMILAR RESTRAINT. IT IS HOPED THAT THEY WOULD LEAD TO

RESTRICTED

/THE

RESTRICTED

2.

THE NEGOTIATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE MUTUAL AND VERIFIABLE FREEZE ON THE TESTING, PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

- F. BUILDING ON THIS INITIATIVE, A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT WOULD:
- (A) PROPOSE THE MERGING OF INF AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS QUOTE IF THE PRESIDENT JUDGED THAT THIS COULD ADVANCE A COMPREHENSIVE ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION UNQUOTE. PRODUCTION OF THE MX MISSILE AND THE B1 BOMBER WOULD CEASE. DEEP REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARSENALS WOULD BE PURSUED IN THE FRAME WORK OF SALT II, WHICH WOULD BE OBSERVED, UP-DATED, AND RESUBMITTED TO THE SENATE FOR RATIFICATION:
  - (B) IMMEDIATELY RESUBMIT TO THE SENATE FOR RATIFICATION THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY OF 1974, AND THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS TREATY OF 1976:
  - (C) CONCLUDE A VERIFIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY:
  - (D) REAFFIRM US COMMITMENT TO THE ABM TREATY AND ENSURE US COMPLIANCE WITH IT. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT SOVIET COMPLIANCE WOULD BE VIGOROUSLY SOUGHT IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION AND THROUGH OTHER APPROPRIATE CHANNELS:
  - (E) ACTIVELY PURSUE A VERIFIABLE ASAT TREATY AND BAN ON WEAPONS IN SPACE:
  - (F) UNDERTAKE ALL-OUT EFFORTS TO HALT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND SEEK A VERIFIABLE INTERNATIONAL BAN ON THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS GRADE FISSILE MATERIAL SUCH AS PLUTONIUM AND HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM (A HART PROPOSAL):
  - (G) PROHIBIT THE PRODUCTION OF CW AND WORK FOR A VERIFIABLE CW TREATY BANNING SUCH WEAPONS:
  - (H) IMPROVE FACILITIES FOR CRISIS COMMUNICATION, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF US SOVIET NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTIONS CENTRES (A HART PROPOSAL):
  - (I) INVITE EMINENT MEMBERS OF THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY TO REPORT ON THE LONGER TERM ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE WHICH WOULD FOLLOW A NUCLEAR WAR AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS OF SUCH A STUDY IN THE FORMULATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ARMS CONTROL POLICIES.

6. THE PLATFORM SAYS THAT A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION WOULD INITIATE, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH NATO ALLIES, A STRATEGY FOR PEACE IN EUROPE. ELEMENTS OF SUCH A STRATEGY WOULD INCLUDE:

- (A) ACHIEVING A BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN ORDER TO REDUCE RELIANCE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND COMMIT THE ALLIANCE TO MOVING TOWARDS A QUOTE NO FIRST USE UNQUOTE POLICY:
- (B) NEGOTIATING WITH THE WARSAW PACT THE PULLING BACK OF BATTLE-FIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE FRONT LINE, TO AVOID HAVING TO MAKE A QUOTE USE THEM OR LOSE THEM UNQUOTE CHOICE:
- (C) NEGOTIATING NEW APPROACHES TO INF ARMS CONTROL ALONG THE LINES OF THE QUOTE WALK IN THE WOODS UNQUOTE PROPOSAL AND

RESTRICTED

/THEN

RESTRICTED

3.

- THEN SEEKING TO MOVE TOWARDS THE ZERO/ZERO SOLUTIONS.
- (D) NEGOTIATING SIGNIFICANT MUTUAL AND BALANCED REDUCTIONS IN NATO AND WARSAW PACT CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND ALSO CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES TO REDUCE THE DANGERS OF SURPRISE ATTACK.

COMMENT

7. VERY MUCH AS EXPECTED, WITH A QUOTE COMPREHENSIVE, MUTUAL AND VERIFIABLE UNQUOTE NUCLEAR FREEZE AS THE CENTRE-PIECE. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE UK, IS THE CLEAR RE-COMMITMENT TO THE CONCLUSION OF A VERIFIABLE CTB.

(R) DEFENCE POLICY AND NATO

8. THE SECTION OF THE PLATFORM DEALING WITH DEFENCE POLICY STRESSES THE NEED TO CANCEL DESTABILISING AND DUPLICATIVE WEAPONS PROGRAMME, PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAMMES, AND THE STRENGTHENING OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE. THERE IS ALSO STRESS ON THE NEED TO REORGANISE PENTAGON MANAGEMENT, CUT OUT WASTE IMPLEMENT A PROGRAMME OF MILITARY REFORM, INTRODUCE A SYSTEM OF FAIR AND OPEN COMPETITIVE BIDDING IN THE PROCUREMENT FIELD, AND GENERALLY SEEK QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE US DEFENCE EFFORT.

9. THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG ALLIANCE IS SEEN AS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY REMAINS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE. A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION WOULD WORK TO ENSURE THAT THE ALLIES CARRIED THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE DEFENCE BURDEN AND WOULD BE COMMITTED TO BETTER CONSULTATION ON SECURITY MATTERS. QUOTE WE MUST PERSUADE THE NEXT GENERATION OF EUROPEANS THAT AMERICA WILL USE ITS POWER RESPONSIBLY IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THEM. WE DEMOCRATS AFFIRM THAT WESTERN SECURITY IS INDIVISIBLE. WE HAVE A VITAL INTEREST IN THE SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AND IT MUST ALWAYS REMAIN CLEAR THAT AN ATTACK UPON THEM IS THE SAME AS AN ATTACK UPON US - BY TREATY AND IN REALITY UNQUOTE.

10. A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION WOULD WORK WITH ITS NATO AND OTHER ALLIES TO ENSURE SECURITY AT SPENDING LEVELS GROWING AT A STEADY AND SUSTAINABLE RATE. THE EUROPEAN ALLIES WOULD BE PRESSED TO INCREASE THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATO'S DEFENCE TO LEVELS OF EFFORT COMPARABLE TO THAT OF THE US. THE STRENGTHENING OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE IS PARTICULARLY DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO REDUCE NATO'S NEED TO RELY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

COMMENT

11. AGAIN, NO SURPRISES. PERHAPS MOST INTERESTING IS THE STRESS ON THE NEED TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE. THE PLATFORM ACKNOWLEDGES MANY OF HART'S IDEAS ON MILITARY REFORM.

RESTRICTED

/(C)

RESTRICTED

4.

(C) EAST/WEST RELATIONS

12. THE PLATFORM DESCRIBES US/SOVIET RELATIONS AS A CRITICAL ELEMENT OF US SECURITY POLICY AND NOTES THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS THE ONLY ADVERSARY WITH THE CAPABILITY OF DESTROYING THE UNITED STATES. A REALISTIC VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION IS REQUIRED, NEITHER UNDERESTIMATING THE SOVIET THREAT NOR EXAGGERATING THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET REGIME. THE US AND ITS ALLIES AND FRIENDS MUST MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE DETERRENT BUT THE KEY US REQUIREMENT IS TO PURSUE A QUOTE CLEAR, CONSISTENT, AND FIRM POLICY OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION UNQUOTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THIS REQUIRES A STEADY AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH THAT NEITHER TOLERATES SOVIET AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION NOR FUELS SOVIET PARANOIA.

13. IN PURSUIT OF THIS POLICY, A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT WOULD PROPOSE AN EARLY US/SOVIET SUMMIT TO BE FOLLOWED BY REGULAR ANNUAL SUMMITS. THERE WOULD ALSO BE REGULAR MEETINGS BETWEEN SENIOR CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS.

14. THE PLATFORM CONDEMNS SOVIET PERSECUTION OF DISSIDENTS AND JEWS AND PLEDGES THAT A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION WOULD NOT REMAIN SILENT IN THE FACE OF SUCH ACTIONS. THE CAUSE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE ADVANCED BY PURSUING POLICIES DESIGNED TO END THE ARMS RACE AND REDUCE EAST/WEST TENSION.

15. A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION WOULD ENCOURAGE THE PURSUIT BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICIES, AND GREATER LIBERALISATION IN THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS; AND WOULD SEEK INDEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEM IN ORDER TO HELP THEM ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. SOVIET REPRESSION IN POLAND AND THE ACTIONS OF THE JARUZELSKI REGIME ARE CONDEMNED. THE PLATFORM SAYS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CALLS FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN POLAND, THE RECOGNITION OF SOLIDARITY, AND THE RESUMPTION OF PROGRESS TOWARDS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST THE POLISH REGIME UNTIL IT MAKES SATISFACTORY PROGRESS TOWARDS THESE OBJECTIVES.

COMMENT

16. VERY MUCH THE DEMOCRAT MIXTURE AS BEFORE. THE STRESS ON SUMMITS IS DESIGNED TO SPOTLIGHT A PERCEIVED ADMINISTRATION WEAK SPOT.

WRIGHT

FCO (PALACE) / WHITEHALL  
NAD

COPIES SENT TO  
No. 11 DOWNING STREET

RESTRICTED