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EXAMINED BY / EXAMINÉ PAR
M. Berdous
DATE 2007-03-02

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28-6-1-TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION
Vol 24

TITLE—TITRE:

DISARMAMENT -
MEASURES -
PLANS AND PROPOSALS -
TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION (INITIATIVES)

DESARMEMENT -
MESURES -
PLANS ET PROPOSITIONS -
TRUDEAU MISSION DE PAIX (INITIATIVES)

Retention period-Période de retention:

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DATED FROM
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84-01-20

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84-01-22

AFFIX TO TOP OF FILE - À METTRE SUR LE DOSSIER

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SMITH

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---PMS INITIATIVE-VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

FOLLOWING IS PURPOSED DELEGATION WHICH IS BEING SUBMITTED TO PM FOR APPROVAL. PROTECT UNTIL APPROVAL HAS BEEN OBTAINED: RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA; (HEAD OF POST); T AXWORTHY, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER; R FOWLER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO CABINET (FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY); JE JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO PRIME MINISTER; P HANCOCK, DIRECTOR GENERAL USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; GJ SMITH, DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; R COLEMAN, PRESS SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER; BV JOHNSTONE, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF PROTOCOL, DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; MS C VIAU, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER; MS M DURDIN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO PRIME MINISTER; J HUDON, ASSOCIATE PRESS SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER; INSPECTOR G. CARTER, SPECIAL SECURITY LIAISON OFFICER, RCMP.

2. SUPPORT STAFF: R. COOPER, OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER, PMO PRUSAKOWSKI, TECHNICIAN PCO; MS C CARDINAL, SECRETARY, PCO; W HORNER, SECURITY GUARD, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; J MAILHOT, COMMUNICATOR, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; J DESCHAMBAULT, BAGGAGE ASSISTANT, PMO.

CCC/026 230032Z XDV0045

January 21, 1984

SUBJECT: EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THE ALLIANCE AND CDE:
STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

. THE WHITE HOUSE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON
JANUARY 20, 1984. POSTS SHOULD PROVIDE TEXT TO
APPROPRIATE HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND MEDIA
REPRESENTATIVES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

. STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

.

. SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ HAS JUST RETURNED FROM
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, WHERE HE REPRESENTED THE UNITED
STATES AT THE OPENING OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY
CONFERENCE, KNOWN AS THE C.D.E. TOGETHER WITH THE
FOREIGN MINISTERS OF 34 OTHER COUNTRIES, HE DISCUSSED
EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND, IN PARTICULAR, PEACE AND
SECURITY IN EUROPE.

. THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE IS
TO REDUCE THE RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK, OR WAR BY
ACCIDENT OR MISUNDERSTANDING. THE HISTORICAL
JUSTIFICATION IS CLEAR. TWICE IN THIS CENTURY, EUROPE
HAS BEEN THE SCENE OF TERRIBLE CONFLICT.

. WE MUST NEVER ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN AGAIN.
THEREFORE, TO STRENGTHEN THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES AND OUR NATO
ALLIES WILL PROPOSE A PACKAGE OF PRACTICAL AND CONCRETE
MEASURES AT THE C.D.E. WE WILL SUGGEST THAT ALL STATES
OF EUROPE, EAST AND WEST ALIKE, AGREE:

. -- TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR MILITARY
FORCES AND PROVIDE ANNUAL PREVIEWS OF MILITARY
EXERCISES;

. -- TO GIVE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF SIGNIFICANT
MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND INVITE OBSERVERS TO THOSE
ACTIVITIES;

. -- TO ENHANCE THE CAPACITY FOR RAPID COMMUNICATIONS
AMONG OUR GOVERNMENTS; AND

. TO PROVIDE FOR VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE.

. AT THE SAME TIME, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE STEPS ALONE CANNOT SAFEGUARD THE PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES CANNOT SUCCEED ALONE. WE CAN ONLY DO SO IN CONCERT WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. A HALLMARK OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN TO BUILD CONSENSUS AMONG OUR PARTNERS IN EUROPE AND ASIA -- A CONSENSUS COVERING THE FULL RANGE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY ISSUES.

. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS DEMONSTRATING ONCE AGAIN IN STOCKHOLM THAT IT REMAINS THE KEYSTONE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. BECAUSE WE AND OUR ALLIES STAND TOGETHER, WE ARE BETTER ABLE TO MEET THE COMMON CHALLENGES WE FACE.

. NONE OF THESE CHALLENGES IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

. LAST MONDAY, I PROPOSED THAT WE AND THE SOVIET UNION MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO SECURE PROGRESS IN THREE VITAL AREAS:

. -- FIRST, TO FIND WAYS TO REDUCE, AND EVENTUALLY DO AWAY WITH, THE THREAT AND USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

. -- SECOND, TO FIND WAYS TO REDUCE THE VAST STOCKPILES OF ARMAMENTS IN THE WORLD.

. -- THIRD, TO ESTABLISH A BETTER WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH EACH OTHER, ONE MARKED BY GREATER COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING.

. THE MEETINGS THIS PAST WEEK IN STOCKHOLM HELPED US TOWARD THESE ENDS. SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO HAD A FULL AND SERIOUS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON KEY GLOBAL QUESTIONS. OF COURSE, THEY DID NOT RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT DESPITE THOSE DIFFERENCES, WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE EUROPE AND THE WORLD A SAFER AND MORE SECURE PLACE IN WHICH ALL OF US MAY LIVE IN PEACE AND DIGNITY. END TEXT.



MESSAGE

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CONFIDENTIAL

22 JAN 04 2000 372 10

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0076 21JAN84
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INFO INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER WSAW BUCST
DISTR DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBD RBR RBP XDV
REF REF YOURTEL WDGRO146 21JAN(NOTAL)
SUBJ/SUJ
---PMS VISIT:PROGRAM
PROGRAM LOOKING GOOD.
2.AS WE HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY CAN ACCEPT LARGER DINNER IF CZECHOS
WISHES.
3.WILL ADVISE PMS WISHES RE WALK.OFFER OF ASSISTANCE OF AMB AND WIFE
APPRECIATED.
4.APPRECIATE SITUATION;1000 HRS OK.WOULD ASK YOU FOR OPERATIONAL
AND FUNCTIONAL REASONS TO MAINTAIN REQUEST FOR AMB PLUS FOUR.THIS
HAS BEEN FORMAT FOR CALLS ON OTHER PRESIDENTS (EG REAGAN,MITTERAND)
AND OTHER LEADERS AND UNDERSTAND WILL ALSO BE CASE WITH PRES
HONECKER AND CEAUSESCU EXCEPT IN CASE WHERE TETE-A-TETE INVOLVED.
PM NORMALLY SPEAKS EXCLUSIVELY FOR CDN SIDE.
5.THANKS OFFER FOR INFORMAL WORKING LUNCH.GRATEFULLY ACCEPTED.
WILL ADVISE NUMBERS.
6.PLEASE LEAVE WSAW AND BUCST ON INFO LINE AS THERE MAY BE SOME
DETAILS THAT WILL PROVE OF VALUE TO THEM IN THEIR PLANNING.
7. AGREE FOWLER/HANCOCK/SMITH TO PRAMA.

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G.J. Smith/sc

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5-5912

SIG

G.J. Smith



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REF OURTEL IDDZ0068 20JAN, YOURTEL 0146 21JAN

SUBJ/SUJ

---PMS VISIT:PROGRAM-SLAVKOV

PLEASE ENSURE THAT THERE ARE NO/NO REFS TO SLAVKOV IN ANY PROGRAM
PRODUCED BY CZECHS OR EMB.SPACE IN PROGRAM BETWEEN PRESS ENCOUNTER
AND DEPARTURE FROM PRGUE FOR ZURICH SHOULD SIMPLY BE LEFT BLANK.
2.TELS REFERRING TO THIS ASPECT OF VISIT SHOULD ALSO BE COPIED ONLY
TO US AND FOWLER AS ABOVE.

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TO/À

TO BPEST

INFO

DISTR

INFO PRGUE BUCST WSAW STKHM/SCDEL BONN MOSCO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO

REF

BGRAD NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD OCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN

SUBJ/SUJ

DISTR MINA USS DMT RGB /RBR RBD RBP XDV

REF YOURTEL ZWGRO082 19JAN

---PMS INITIATIVE-VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

APPRECIATE ARGUMENTS YOUR REFTEL FOR INCLUSION OF BPEST IN ITINER-
ARY. HUNGARY WAS ONE OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AT TOP OF OUR LIST
FOR REASONS YOU HAVE OUTLINED SO WELL IN YOUR REFTEL. DECISION NOT/
NOT TO INCLUDE HUNGARY HOWEVER WAS MADE PRECISELY BECAUSE OF
NUMEROUS OTHER HIGH-LEVEL VISITORS THAT ALREADY HAD BPEST ON THEIR
ITINERARY, AND IN PARTICULAR MRS THATCHER WHO WE DID NOT/NOT WISH
TO QUOTE PREEMPT UNQUOTE BY VISITING THERE FEW DAYS BEFORE HER.
2. TIMEFRAME ALSO DOES NOT/NOT PERMIT ADDING FOURTH COUNTRY. HAVE
TAKEN CAREFUL NOTE OF YOUR SUGGESTION TO ADD BPEST LEG SHOULD
MOSCO MATERIALIZE BUT CAN MAKE NO/NO COMMITMENT AT THIS TIME.

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BNATO

VIENNA/MBFR

GENEVA

— Taken by Gary Smith
— Taken by Gary Smith

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January 21, 1984

IDDZ-0073

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Visit to Eastern Europe

Please find attached the background briefing book for your visit to Eastern Europe. It contains basic information about Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Romania, biographies on the leaders you will meet, as well as briefs on the various arms control proposals that may be raised during your discussions. I would draw your attention in particular to Tab 6 on Berlin. It is a subject of considerable sensitivity and we have been cautioned by the Bonn Group on Berlin (France, UK, USA and the Federal Republic) to be "unimpeachably correct".

We have also attached for your consideration an atmospheric scenario brief to help ease you into the East European mode. The scenario briefing book, which requires further thought, will follow on Monday.

A draft outline of the program as it now stands is also attached. _____



Gary J. Smith
Task Force Working Group

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VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER
TO EASTERN EUROPE

January 25 - February 2, 1984

Draft Outline of Programme
(subject to change)

Tuesday, January 24

2030 hours - Departure from Ottawa (CFB Uplands, Terminal 11)
by CAF 707

Wednesday, January 25

1030 hours - Arrive Prague

1500 hours - Meeting with Prime Minister Strougal

1900 hours - Official dinner hosted by Prime Minister Strougal

Thursday, January 26

1000 hours - Meeting with President Husak

1215 hours - Press encounter

Afternoon - Open

1800 hours - Departure from Prague airport

1915 hours - Arrive Zurich

2200 hours - Arrive Davos

Friday, January 27

Davos

Saturday, January 28

Davos

Sunday, January 29

Davos

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Monday, January 30

0900 hours - Depart Davos
1130 hours - Arrive Zurich
1230 hours - Possible luncheon with Swiss Federal
Counsellor (Foreign Affairs) Aubert
1500 hours - Depart Zurich
1630 hours - Arrive East Berlin (Schoenefeld Airport)
Evening - Private dinner

Tuesday, January 31

1000 hours - Meeting with President Honecker
Lunch - Private
1500 hours - Second meeting with President Honecker
2000 hours - Official dinner offered by President Honecker

Wednesday, February 1

0900 hours - Depart Berlin
1215 hours - Arrive Bucharest
Afternoon - Meeting with President Ceaușescu
Evening - Dinner offered by President Ceaușescu

Thursday, February 2

Morning - Second meeting with President Ceaușescu
Lunch - Private or official, to be determined
1500 hours - Depart Bucharest
1800 hours - Arrive Ottawa

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THE INITIATIVE IN EASTERN EUROPE

NOTES FOR A SCENARIO

Your interlocutors will have their own objectives:

- to benefit from the legitimacy and identity which your visit confers;
- to avoid complications in their relations with the USSR (although Ceaurescu's intentions are not entirely clear - he is in trouble with Moscow as the Gromyko visit suggests);
- to castigate the USA as the empire of evil responsible for the present crisis;
- to demonstrate, in Prague and Berlin, that acceptance of newly counter-deployed Soviet missiles has not made them pariahs in civilized company.

You will be spending more time in Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Romania than you have in any other country in the context of your initiative. The expanded time will therefore mean that your discussions will be more extended and substantive. Because they are also Warsaw Pact countries, you will be engaged in a negotiation as well as an information process. You will also be exposed to lengthy monologues from your interlocutors.

They represent, each in his own way, a generation of leadership in Eastern Europe which has devoted - and in some instances sacrificed - their lives to compromise: between Soviet Marxism and their own European heritage; between their

... "

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national interests and those of Moscow; between personal allegiances and party decrees. It is a generation which read the lesson of Stalin's execution of nationalist leaders in the early fifties, and survived the turbulence of periodic popular revolt over the past 28 years.

The Czechoslovaks are stereotyped as classic survivors -- masters of acquiescence while maintaining their personality. The term is "Schweikism" after the The Good Soldier Schweik, anti-hero of Hasek's novel about getting by in a Czech regiment of the Austro-Hungarian army. But the Prague Spring of 1968 showed that Czechoslovakia, alone among Eastern European countries, had a viable democratic tradition prior to 1938.

The East Germans are a totally different genre. Prussian in character, with a tradition of pre-eminence in Central Europe, thoughtful, disciplined and efficient. They run the 10th most significant industrialized country in the world. Psychologically crippled by the division of Germany and of Berlin, and by the imposition of a Slavic system of authority, their behaviour is dominated by a pathetic thirst for recognition. They are torn by the ideological need to distance themselves from the FRG -- the "bad Germans" who started WW II and still threaten the USSR -- and by their profound affinity with all-German culture, of which they are inordinately proud.

The Romanians are in an island of Latinité in a sea of Slavs and Magyars. First colonized by the Greeks as Scythia, then by descendants of Roman legionaries, pensioned to the land and to local wives. Then, occupied by the Turks from the 15th to 19th centuries -- all this may account for their devious,

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manipulative and conspiratorial traits. A typically Romanian solution for national character is to maintain a repressive and authoritarian domestic regime, totally dominated by Ceausescu and his family, and yet conduct a vehemently independent foreign policy: e.g. consistent dealings with China and Israel; a role in the G77; resistance to the military obligations of the Warsaw Pact and to the inequities of economic agreements within the bloc.

TAILORING THE INITIATIVE

You might consider your themes and purposes in Eastern Europe to be the following:

- to explain the nature of your initiative -- its genesis, your actions and proposals, and results so far; to obtain their comments and perspectives on East-West relations; to present Canada's European credentials.
- to suggest a role for middle-power alliance members in creating a political environment which encourages the USA and USSR to return to constructive negotiations. A political "multiplier-effect"?
- to suggest that they moderate their own rhetoric, take their own steps to avoid isolation, understand our societies as they are, exercise political dominance over military questions.

...4

- to stress the great stake which middle-powers have in an improved super-power relationship -- vitality of CSCE process and international institutions; stability in Central Europe and in other regions of world; increased ability to work together across alliance divisions; priority of economic growth.
- to point to the Stockholm Conference as a psychological turning point in East-West relations, despite continuing hard rhetoric; to urge that FM s (a) return if Conference bogs down and (b) attend reopened MBFR apparently March 16.
- to seek support for the logic of a 5-power Conference as the obvious missing link in managing nuclear arms reduction, with strengthened NPT as an essential consequence.
- to listen to lengthy eulogies of the Prague Declaration without being drawn to open support. Reply that Brussels Declaration was our own response. How to move from Declarations to negotiations? Sending each other interesting mail is a good start but far from enough.
- to avoid being put in position of either defending or attacking Reagan, despite the tendentious anti-Americanism you will probably be exposed to. Perhaps challenge thesis that no progress possible until Reagan departs?
- to push for Soviets to return to INF and START talks without preconditions, as you have pushed same principle with Reagan. An essential complement to re-opened MBFR if nuclear threshold is to be raised. That threshold of particular significance to Czechoslovakia and GDR as countries of counter-deployment.

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- to thrum their European character without seeming to question their loyalty to the USSR; to recognize their own legitimate security interests; to refer to counter-deployment but not to presence of Soviet troops in GDR and Czechoslovakia.
- to show awareness of German problem as being at heart of European security arrangements. Détente in a sense began with inter-German arrangements developed by Willy Brandt and Walter Ulbricht in the late 1960s and with Honecker in early 1970s. But not your task to solve: your initiative is not going head-on at most difficult problems such as Berlin, Afghanistan or INF. It is directed at political leadership, dialogue, at range of points along the East-West trendline.



MESSAGE

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INFO	INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER		
DISTR	DISTR RGBD RSR		
REF	REF YOURTEL ZNGR0050 21JAN,OURTEL IDDZ0065 20JAN		
SUBJ/SUJ	---PM MTG WITH AUBERT LET'S HEAR FIRST WHAT JACCARD HAS TO SAY ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF MONDAY 30JAN LUNCH.OPTION OF THURSDAY NIGHT SEEMS OUT AS PM WOULD LIKE TO ARRIVE DAVOS AT HOUR THAT IS NOT/NOT TOO LATE.WE HAVE ALREADY INFORMED EAST GERMANS OF ARRIVAL TIME OF 1630 HRS IN EAST BERLIN WHERE HONECKER IS TO MEET PM ON ARRIVAL. 2.BEFORE DEFINITELY FORECLOSING ANY OPTION,HOWEVER,WE WILL WAIT TO HEAR WHAT JACCARD MIGHT PROPOSE.WHAT ^{TIME,} END FOR INSTANCE,WILL HE SUGGEST FOR MONDAY AFTERNOON IF LUNCH IS OUT. 3.FURTHER TO OUR REQUEST FOR INFO ON SWISS POSITION ON SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT ISSUES(SEE OUR REFTEL),GRATEFUL YOU PROVIDE ANNOTATED BIOG OF AUBERT INCLUDING YOUR READING OF HIS PERSONALITY AND HIS OWN VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES.WE ONLY HAVE FACTUAL BIOG OF AUBERT.		

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SIG,  G.J.Smith/sc

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

 G.J.Smith

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22 JAN 84 00 12 10 Z 10

FM/DE

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0071 21JAN84

TO/À

TO BNATO

INFO

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INFO WSHDC VMBFR GENEV STKHM PRMNY *Mosco PCOOTT/FOWLER*

REF

DMF
DISTR IFB IDR IDA

SUBJ/SUJ

---STOCKHOLM CONF:NOTES ON ACD NEGOTIATIONS

FOLLOWING NOTES REFLECT SOME VERY TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN RE
CURRENT STATE OF ACD NEGS ON BASIS OF EXTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH
EASTERN AND WESTERN DELS AT THIS WEEKS MINISTERIAL SESSION OF STKHM
CONF.

(A)ON PRESENT EVIDENCE,SOVIET UNION SEEMS MOST UNLIKELY TO RETURN
TO INF NEGS IN GENEV,UNLESS WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE PREPARED TO HALT
AND/OR REVERSE INF DEPLOYMENTS.

(B)NO/NO MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRY IS AT PRESENT DISPLAYING ANY DIS-
POSITION TO HALT INF DEPLOYMENTS.

(C)WHILE LESS CATEGORICAL THAN ON INF NEGS,SOVIET UNION GIVES NO/NO
INDICATION FOR TIME BEING OF WILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO START NEGS.

(D)SOVIET UNION MAKES CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN INF AND START NEGS
ON ONE HAND AND MBFR NEGS ON OTHER.SOVIET AND OTHER WPO DELS INDI-
CATED WILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO MBFR NEGS IN NEAR FUTURE.(CZECH DEL
TOLD FRG DEL THAT VIENNA NEGS COULD RESUME AS EARLY AS MID-MARCH.)

(E)BOTH USA AND USSR PROFESSED INTEREST IN MAKING FORWARD MOVEMENT
ON CW BAN AT UN CONF ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEV.

(F)WHILE SUGGESTING WILLINGNESS TO TAKE QUOTE SERIOUS UNQUOTE

...2

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SIG *L.A.Delvoie*



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0071 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

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APPROACH TO STKHM CONF, WPO COUNTRIES GAVE MIXED SIGNALS AS TO
ATTITUDE THEY WILL ADOPT TOWARD LIMITED, CONCRETE AND VERIFIABLE
MEASURES OF TYPE TO BE PROPOSED BY WEST, AS OPPOSED TO BROAD
DECLARATORY MEASURES WHICH THEY FAVOUR.

(G) CERTAIN WESTERN DELS WERE INCLINED TO INTERPRET ELEMENTS REPORTED
ABOVE AS MEANING THAT SOVIET UNION WAS MAKING ATTITUDINAL, DISTINC-
TION BETWEEN NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR ACD NEGS. JUDGING BY FM GROMYKOS
TOUGH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS RE USA AT STKHM, BASIS OF DIS-
TINCTION SEEMS FAR MORE LIKELY TO BE WHETHER NEGS ARE BILATERAL
INVOLVING USA OR MULTILATERAL, INVOLVING WESTERN EUROPE AND NNA
COUNTRIES.

Question ① Une copie à 1/1A done/cf
② MF

D/O

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BNATO YBGR0987 21JAN84

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FRANCIS OR DESPRES)

INFO VMBFR STKHM/SCDEL NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD/DNACPOL

MOSCO WSHDC LDN BONN GENFV

DISTR MINA MINE USS DMF IFB RGE RBD RBF IDZ IDA IDRA IDRL FPF

---MBFR:RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS

USA DEL, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM WSHDC, CALLED COUNCIL MEETING THIS
MORNING TO CONVEY PROPOSAL MADE BY GROMYKO TO SHULTZ IN STKHM
THAT MBFR NEGOCIATION RESUME MAR16.

2. MESSAGE WAS WELCOMED BY NETH BELG ITALIAN UK DEN NORWEGIAN
TURKISH LUX FRG AND CDN PERMREPS. ALTHOUGH NO/NO ONE HAD
INSTRUCTIONS, ALL WHO SPOKE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE DATE PROPOSED
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEIR AUTHORITES. AS IT WAS LIKELY THAT THIS
INFO WOULD SOON REACH PRESS, IT WAS FELT THAT WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR
FORMAL AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIES ASAP. SEVERAL PERMREPS, INCLUDING
TAYLOR, NOTED THAT PROSPECT OF RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS GAVE
GREATER URGENCY TO ALLIANCE REVIEW OF ITS POSITION IN MBFR AS
INSTRUCTED BY MINISTERS IN DEC.

3. IT WAS AGREED THAT WESTERN RESPONSE WOULD BE CONVEYED THROUGH
NORMAL CHANNELS AND THAT IF THERE WAS CONSENSUS BELGIAN MBFR
AMB IN VIENN WOULD CONVEY ORALLY TO HIS POLISH COUNTERPART
FOLLOWING MESSAGE: QUOTE IN RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSAL MADE IN
STKHM BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ON BEHALF OF THE EAST TO

...2

PAGE TWO YEGR0987 CONFD

SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ, THE WEST AGREES TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE
MBFR TALKS ON MAR16 UNQUOTE. PROPOSED DATE PLUS TEXT OF ORAL MESSAGE
TO BE CONVEYED BY BELGIAN MBFR AMB HAVE BEEN PUT UNDER SILENCE
PROCEDURE WITH DEADLINE FOR AGREEMENT SET FOR 17:00 HRS LOCAL
TIME, MONDAY, JAN23.

4. GRATEFUL YOUR CONCURRENCE.

CCC/298 211200Z YEGR0987

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

max *FILE*
Division Phoned _____
Person _____
Local Time _____

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BUCST UYGR0131 21JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 210000

INFO PRGUE WSAW STKHM/SCDEL/DELVOIE BONN MOSCO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO
BPEST BGRAD NDFQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN
DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XDV
REF YOURTELS IDDZ0060 19JAN IDDZ0070 20JAN

---PMS VISIT TO ROMANIA

CONFIRM THAT PRES CEAUSESCU IS PLEASED THAT PM HAS BEEN ABLE TO
REARRANGE HIS SCHEDULE SO THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO REMAIN
IN ROMANIA UNTIL AFTERNOON 02FEB.

2. SINCE FM ANDREI IS COMING BACK FROM STKHM ONLY TODAY, OFFICIALS IN
MFA WERE NOT/NOT ABLE TO GIVE US MUCH DETAILS ABOUT INITIAL OUTLINE OF
PROGRAM. IT IS HOWEVER EXPECTED THAT PM WILL HAVE SESSION WITH PRES
CEAUSESCU IN AFTERNOON OF 01FEB FOLLOWED BY OFFICIAL DINNER. THERE
WILL ALSO BE AT LEAST ONE OTHER SESSION WITH PRES CEAUSESCU MORNING
OF 02FEB. WE HAVE EXPLAINED TO ROMS YOUR CONCEPT OF VISIT QUOTE
STREAMLINED WORKING MISSION UNQUOTE BUT THEY STILL SEE IT AS AN
OFFICIAL VISIT SINCE IT IS NOT/NOT A PRIVATE VISIT.

3. WE HAVE INFORMED ROMS OF CONTEMPLATED TIME FOR ARRIVAL AND
INDICATED THAT PM WILL DEPART EARLY AFTERNOON OF THURS 02FEB.

4. ROM AUTHORITIES WILL ACCOMMODATE OFFICIAL DEL OF 17. HOWEVER MAIN
GUEST HOUSE CANNOT/NOT PROBABLY ACCOMMODATE MORE THAN 5 PERSONS
INCLUDING PM. WE WILL GIVE LIST OF PERSONS NAMED IN PARA 6 OF TEL
YIGR0013 20JAN.

PAGE TWO UYGRØ161 CONF

5. WE HAVE ALSO INFORMED ROM AUTHORITIES THAT STANDARD CDN SIDE FOR MTGS WOULD INCLUDE 5 TO 8 PERSONS AND THAT WE ARE NOT/NOT REQUESTING TETE-A-TETE.

6. WILL WAIT TO HEAR FROM ROMS CONCERNING LUNCHES, RECEPTIONS OR COCKTAIL. AMB ALSO PREPARED TO OFFER WHATEVER YOU THINK IS APPROPRIATE; LUNCH (OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE-RESTRICTED FOR PM), COCKTAIL, BUFFET DINNER (FOR MEMBERS OF DEL NOT/NOT INVITED TO OFFICIAL DINNER AND JOURNALISTS). GRATEFUL YOUR VIEWS.

CCC/181 211310Z UYGRØ161

55912

MASTER

F.L.W

D/O

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PRGUE WOCR0147 21JAN84

TO EXTOTT XDV/JOHNSTONE DELIVER BY 211200

INFO PMOOTT/JOHNSON/COLEMAN/DURDIN PCOOTT/FOWLER RCMPOTT/5 VIP

NDHQOTT/DAOT-3/DT04 WSAW

TT ATOC/TRENTON 437SQN/TRENTON DE CAF

DISTR IDDZ MINA USS DMF RGB RBR RBD PBP XDV ZSS

REF YOURTELS IDT20062 0068 19JAN OURTEL WOCR0144 20JAN CNGNY TEL

YIGR0013 20JAN

---PMS VISIT:LOGISTICS

ACTION POINTS YOUR REFTEL 0013 FM NYORK HAVE BEEN TABLED WITH REPRESENTATIVES HERE.NO/NO MAJOR DIFFICULTIES ANTICIPATED WITH LOGISTICS REQUIREMENTS.

2.YOUR PARA3:RB MACKENZIE,COUNSELLOR(COMMERCIAL),PHONE 35 32 73 WILL BE OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR ADMIN AND LOGISTICS.

3.YOUR PARA5:OVERFLT CLEARANCE REQUEST RECD FROM ATOC TRENTON AND NOTE DELIVERED TO MFA TODAY.WILL ADVISE WHEN APPROVAL RECD. NO/NO INSTRUCTIONS YET FROM 437 SQN TRENTON ON GROUND HANDLING REQUIREMENTS.

4.YOUR PARA6:PM ACCOMMODATION AT GOVT VILLA 1 GOGOLOVA SQUARE, TELEPHONE SWITCHBOARD 536-968.MADE SITE INSPECTION TODAY.WHILE SETTING AND PUBLIC ROOMS FULLY SATISFACTORY SOME SECONDARY GUEST ROOMS REQUIRE USE OF SHARED BATH DOWN HALL AND ARE OTHERWISE BELOW STANDARD.SUGGEST FOWLER,HANCOCK AND SMITH STAY WITH DEL AT HOTEL PRAHA LEAVING ONLY PM,JOHNSON,CARTER AND VIAU AT VILLA.ADVISE.

...2

Finley and R.H.

PAGE TWO WOGR0147 CONF

5. DELEGATION ACCOMODATION AT PARTY HOTEL PRAHA, ADDRESS SUSICKA 20, PHONE 3808, TELEX 123540 SPHP. DEL MAY BE ONLY GUESTS IN 125 ROOM HOTEL. FULL SERVICES WILL BE AVAILABLE. ALL EXPENSES PAID BY HOSTS. MEDIA ACCOMMODATION PLUS HUDON, DURDIN AND PRUSAKOWSKI AT HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL. PHONE 2899, TELEX 12153. RATES FOR PRESS CDN DLRS91.25 INCL BREAKFAST. FLIGHT CREW ACCOM AT HOTEL INNATL PHONE 32-10-51. RATES TO BE VERIFIED.

6. YOUR PARA 7 GUEST HOUSE CAN MEET REQUIREMENTS. HAVE FLOOR PLAN AND CAN DO ROOM ASSIGNMENT WITH LITTLE DIFFICULTY GIVEN VILLA DESIGN.

7. YOUR PARA 8: REQUESTS TABLED.

8. YOUR PARA 11: LARGE ROOM AS PER SPECIFICATIONS AT HOTEL PRAHA. AVAILABLE. HOTEL CAN PROVIDE TABLES, DESKS, CHAIRS ETC. ADVISE. NOTE 220/220 VOLTAGE. CAN YOU BRING TRANSFORMERS AS REQUIRED?

9. YOUR PARA 12: HOSTS WILL PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION NEEDS. CAR ASSIGNMENT TO BE DONE 23 JAN BUT AT HOSTS REQUEST ANTICIPATE AT LEAST HALF DOZEN OUR DELEGATION WILL TRAVEL IN CARS WITH HOSTS PLUS INTERPRETERS.

10. YOUR PARA 13: EMB PASSAT STATION WAGON AVAIL FOR TARMAC DUTY TO CARRY CLASSIFIED MATERIAL. GRATEFUL YOU CLARIFY WHETHER THIS MATERIAL IS BOUND FOR HOTEL OR FOR EMB WHERE 24 HOUR SECURITY CAN BE GUARANTEED. MISSION VEHICLES WITH LOCAL DRIVER WILL BE AVAILABLE UNDER JOHNSTONES CONTROL FOR LOGISTICS AND ADMIN DUTIES.

...3

PAGE THREE WOGR0147 CONF

- 11.YOUR PARA15:OLD PRGUE AIRPORT ONLY USED FOR VIP ARRIVALS.
PROCEDURES DISCUSSED AND SITE INSPECTED.DEPARTURE VEHICLES WILL BE
ON TARMAC AT FOOT OF PLANE RAMP.SCENARIO DETAILS TO FOLLOW.
 - 12.YOUR PARA17:REQUEST SUPPLIES FROM OTT TO INCLUDE AT LEAST
1000/1000 SHEETS EDDY MIMCO PHOTOCOPY PAPER-LARGE SIZE(14 INCHES
BY 8-1/2 INCHES).
 - 13.YOUR PARA 18:PRGUE CURRENTLY AT MINUS 5 CENTIGRADE.NO/NO SNOW
ON GROUND.NO/NO RELIABLE FORECAST CURRENTLY AVAILABLE.
 - 14.YOUR PARA19:WE AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS RE GDR VISAS.
 - 15.YOUR PARA 21:ACCOMMODATION SECURITY FOR PM INCLUDES PERIMETER
PATROL OF FENCED IN GUEST HOUSE,GATE AND DOOR GUARDS.WE ANTICIPATE
MOTORCADE MAY ALSO HAVE POLICEMEN ON FOOT AT INTERSECTIONS AS WELL
AS SEVERAL ESCORT VEHICLES.ADVISE SECURITY REQUIRED ON PRIVATE WALKS
BY PM.AIRCRAFT SECURITY OF CONCERN TO US.DURING MINISTER LAMONTAGNE
VISIT OCTOBER 81 DASH 7 SHOWED SIGNS OF ENTRY,PRESUMABLY DESITE
HOST SECURITY.REQUEST YOU DISCUSS WITH ZSS AND NDHQ.24 HOUR ON BOARD
SECURITY WOULD TAX POST RESOURCES HOWEVER.
 - 16.DO YOU HAVE PREFERENCE FOR MENU FOR PRIVATE LUNCH 25JAN?ADVISE.
 - 17.MOST FREQUENTLY REPEATED CONCERN BY HOSTS IS FOR RECEIPT OF
DELEGATION AND MEDIA LISTS.
- CCC/175 211730Z WOGR0147

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

MASTER FILE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PRGUF WOGRO146 21JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 210900

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RED RBR PBP XDV

REF YOURTELS IDDZ0067 0068 20JAN

---PMS VISIT:PROGRAM

YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON PROGRAM PASSED TO CSSR
PMO AT MTG TODAY. IN GENERAL THEIR RESPONSES FAVOURABLE BUT A
FEW POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED.

2. OFFICIAL DINNER WILL BE FOR APROX 80 INCL FULL CANDEL
AND EMB OFFICERS (NO/NO WIVES). OFFICIAL WILL PUT TO PM OUR
WILLINGNESS FOR SMALLER AFFAIR BUT KNOWS HE PREFERS BIG DINNER.
TWO PMS WILL SIT SIDE BY SIDE WITH INTERPRETER ACROSS FROM THEM.
3. CALL ON MAYOR SCRAPPED. GUIDE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO
WALK PM THROUGH HISTORIC PRGUE AND ACROSS CHARLES BRIDGE.
ALTERNATIVELY, MY WIFE AND I WOULD BE PLEASED TO GUIDE HIM IF
HE WISHES. THIS EARLY MORNING PERIOD WILL BE LEFT ENTIRELY FREE.

4. PRESIDENT HUSAK NEVER RECEIVES BEFORE 1200 AND
REQUEST FOR THAT HOUR HAS BEEN PUT TO HIM. HOSTS FEEL PM PLUS
FOUR IS TOO MANY AND HOPE WE CAN REDUCE NUMBER. HUSAK WILL
HAVE ONLY STROUGAL AS ADVISER; APPARENTLY SALDA IS SIMPLY
THERE TO SEE TO THINGS AND DOES NOT/NOT PARTICIPATE.

5. PRESS OPPORTUNITY IS SLIGHT PROBLEM AS HOSTS WILL
NOT/NOT HEAR OF IT TAKING PLACE AT PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. THEY

...2

PAGE TWO WOGR0146 CONF

SUGGEST DRIVING PM TO FOREIGN MINISTRY(2 MINS) TO MEET PRESS.
WE HAVE EXPLAINED INFORMALITY OF OCCASION BUT THIS MAY WORRY
THEM MORE THAN FORMAL PRESS CONF WOULD.THERE WILL BE CZECHO-
SLOVAK MEDIA PRESENT.

6.DEPARTURE FROM PRGUE FOR SLAVKOV SCHEDULED FOR THREE
HOURS AFTER MTG WITH HUSAK BEGINS.AIRPORT 15-20MIN DRIVE FROM
MFA.SNACK TO BE SERVED ON AIRCRAFT.HOSTS SEEM TO UNDERSTAND
PRIVATE NATURE OF AFTERNOON TRIP AND WILL ENSURE IT IS KEPT
PRIVATE-MEDIA ARE UNLIKELY TO LEARN OF IT FROM THEM.THEY
ALSO UNDERSTOOD REASONS FOR TURNING DOWN STOP IN BRATISLAVA.
PMS DEEP APPRECIATION FOR ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS VISIT WAS
EMPHASIZED AND NOTED.

7.RETURN TO PRGUE AT 1730 WITH DEPARTURE CEREMONIES
AND TAKE OFF FOR ZURICH AT 1800.

8.WOULD LIKE TO OFFER VERY INFORMAL CDNS ONLY WORKING
LUNCH AT RESIDENCE AFTER PMS DEPARTURE FOR SLAVKOV TO HANCOCK,
FOWLER, SMITH AND ANY OTHER AVAILABLE OFFICIALS.(YOU WILL HAVE
TO EAT SOMEWHERE.)APPRECIATE RBDS OFFER OF HOUR AT MFA AND
WILL ARRANGE.

9.HAVE NOT/NOT INFOD WSAW AND BUCST ON THIS TEL.INFORM
IF YOU WISH THEM TO GET TELS ON PROGRAM DETAILS.

PEEL

CCC/175 211330Z WOGR0146

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BERN ZNGR0050 21JAN84

TO EXTOTT/IDDZ DELIVER BY 210900

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER IMMED

DISTR RGBI RSR

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0065 20JAN

---PM MTG WITH AUBERT

WAS ABLE TO REACH AUBERTS CHEF DE CABINET JACCARD, AT HIS HOME IN
LAUSANNE OVER WEEKEND.

2. JACCARD SAID HE HAD ALREADY HAD PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH AUBERT,
WHO SAID HE WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO MEET PM AND DISCUSS MATTERS
RELATED TO SECURITY. AUBERT WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO GO TO ZURICH IF
NECESSARY.

3. AFTER LISTENING TO OUTLINE OF PMS PROGRAMME JACCARD SAID THERE MIGHT
BE A PROBLEM MON 30JAN. HE DID NOT/NOT HAVE WITH HIM AGENDA OF AUBERT,
BUT THOUGH AUBERT WAS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR BEFORE PARLIAMENT ON THAT
DAY. HE ENQUIRED ABOUT POSSIBILITIES ON THURSDAY EVENING AND ALSO
WHETHER THERE WAS FLEXIBILITY TO DELAY DEP FROM ZURICH ON MON, AS IT
MIGHT BE EASIER FOR AUBERT END OF AFTERNOON. IN ANY EVENT HE WILL LOOK
INTO THE MATTER FIRST THING MON AND GET BACK TO ME.

4. I SAID IT WOULD PROBABLY BE RATHER DIFFICULT FOR PM THURSDAY EVENING
AS HE WOULD BE EMERGING FROM LONG DAY OFFICIAL OBLIGATIONS IN PRAGUE
IMMEDLY UPON ARRIVA FROM CDA. IT MIGHT PERHAPS BE EASIER TO DEALY DEP
MON AFTERNNON. IN ANY EVENT I WOULD HAVE TO CHECK ON THESE TWO
POSSIBILITIES WITH OTT.

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PAGE TWO ZNGR0050 CONF

5. POSSIBLY FOR REASONS OUTLINED IN OURTEL ZNGR0046 20JAN, IT DOES NOT/NOT APPEAR POSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE FOR AUBERT TO GO TO DAVOS. THERE MAY BE ALSO CONSIDERATION OF OTHER GOVERNMENTAL LEADER PRESENT WHICH AUBERT MAY HAVE DECLINED TO MEET. GRATEFUL FOR EARLY ADVICE ON MCN REGARDING POSSIBILITIES OUTLINED PARA 3/3 AND 4/4.

CCC/205 211145Z ZNGR0050

MASTER FILE

DISCOURS PRONONCE PAR

M. STEFAN A. ANDREI
MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES DE LA
REPUBLIQUE SOCIALISTE DE ROUMANIE

A LA

CONFERENCE SUR LES MESURES DE CONFIANCE
ET DE SECURITE ET SUR LE DESARMEMENT EN EUROPE

S T O C K H O L M

Le 20 janvier 1984

Monsieur le Président,

La Conférence sur les mesures de confiance et de sécurité et sur le désarmement en Europe représente un événement politique d'une grande portée pour le processus de l'édification de la sécurité et le développement de la coopération sur le continent, dans le cadre duquel l'arrêt de la course aux armements, l'empêchement d'une nouvelle guerre et le passage au désarmement constituent le problème cardinal, la garantie du renforcement de la paix et de la collaboration. Agissant sur la base du consensus réalisé à la Réunion de Madrid, les représentants des 35 Etats signataires de l'Acte final se réunissent, pour la première fois, au sein d'un forum spécialement convoqué pour discuter et s'accorder sur des mesures visant à raffermir la confiance et la sécurité en Europe, afin d'ouvrir la voie, dans une étape ultérieure, à l'examen et à l'adoption, dans le même cadre, de mesures concrètes de désengagement militaire et de désarmement sur le continent européen.

"Nous attachons une grande importance à la Conférence de Stockholm - soulignait récemment le président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceausescu - car nous estimons que, dans les circonstances internationales actuelles et vu la situation qui s'est créée en Europe, cette réunion peut jouer un rôle très important pour adopter des mesures concrètes en direction de la confiance et du désarmement, ce qui pourra exercer une forte influence sur l'évolution générale. Dans cet esprit, nous participerons à la Conférence animés du désir d'apporter toute notre contribution au raffermissement de la confiance, de la coopération et de la paix sur le continent."

La Conférence revêt une signification exceptionnelle dans les circonstances internationales actuelles, où le rétablissement et le développement du dialogue et de la confiance réciproque, ainsi que le renforcement de la sécurité de chaque nation, deviennent des exigences fondamentales pour assurer la paix, la détente et la coopération dans notre région et dans le monde.

En effet, la Conférence se déroule dans une situation internationale qui en est arrivée à une tension d'une gravité extrême. On peut même dire que jamais après la seconde guerre mondiale l'humanité ne s'est trouvée dans une situation aussi grave. C'est le résultat direct de la poursuite et de l'intensification de la course aux armements, en premier lieu de la course aux armements nucléaires, de l'approfondissement des contradictions entre différents Etats et groupements d'Etats, de l'aggravation des anciens conflits et de l'apparition de nouveaux autres, de la politique de maintien et de repartage des sphères d'influence, de recours à la force et à la menace de la force et d'ingérence dans

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les affaires intérieures d'autres Etats. En même temps, la tension dans les relations internationales a été stimulée par la crise économique et par la politique financière et des taux d'intérêts excessivement élevés, qui ont conduit à la détérioration considérable de la situation de tous les pays, et en particulier de ceux en voie de développement, à l'agrandissement des décalages entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres.

La situation s'est aggravée tout particulièrement dans la dernière période par suite du commencement du déploiement des missiles nucléaires américains à portée intermédiaire dans certains Etats de l'Europe occidentale, ce qui a déterminé le retrait de l'Union Soviétique des négociations de Genève et l'annonce de contre-mesures, y compris le déploiement de missiles nucléaires dans quelques pays socialistes européens, ainsi que dans d'autres zones du monde. Tout cela ouvre la voie à une intensification de la course aux armements et crée de nouveaux dangers de voir éclater une nouvelle guerre mondiale, qui serait inévitablement un conflit nucléaire et qui aurait des conséquences catastrophiques pour tous les peuples de l'Europe et du monde et mettrait en péril l'existence même des peuples et la vie sur notre planète.

La Roumanie estime que le déploiement des nouveaux missiles ne peut et ne doit pas être accepté comme une fatalité et qu'il n'y a aucune justification pour passer à l'escalade de la course aux armements nucléaires.

Dès lors que c'est en Europe que s'est déjà accumulée la plus grande partie des armements nucléaires et aussi classiques et que se trouvent face à face les deux blocs militaires opposés, la Roumanie a, dès le début, affirmé que les négociations de Genève entre l'Union Soviétique et les Etats-Unis devraient aboutir à un accord qui conduise à l'arrêt du déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire, au retrait et à la destruction de ceux déjà en place, en vue de libérer le continent de n'importe quelles armes nucléaires. La Roumanie a déployé une intense activité et le président Nicolae Ceausescu a personnellement avancé une série de propositions destinées à aider à trouver des solutions, et a adressé des messages aux deux parties, ainsi qu'à d'autres Etats, leur demandant de tout mettre en oeuvre pour parvenir à un accord qui réponde aux intérêts de la sécurité de tous et de la paix.

Devant la gravité de la situation à laquelle on est parvenu après le déploiement des nouveaux missiles, l'interruption des négociations et l'annonce des contre-mesures, la Roumanie a entrepris de nouvelles actions visant à arrêter la nouvelle escalade des armements nucléaires.

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Récemment, le président Nicolae Ceausescu s'est adressé à nouveau, conjointement avec le premier ministre de Grèce, Andreas Papandreou, aux dirigeants de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats-Unis pour leur demander d'agir sans retard en vue de dépasser la grave situation qui s'est créée.

Etant donné que les problèmes qui se posent en Europe se conditionnent l'un l'autre, il est clair que tout pas qui mène à l'aiguïsement de la tension, à l'intensification des armements, tel que le déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires, ne peut ne pas influencer négativement le développement des rapports entre les Etats du continent et ne pas nuire au climat de confiance de compréhension et de détente.

La confiance et la sécurité en Europe peuvent être réalisées seulement dans un climat de détente et de compréhension réciproque, de large coopération internationale, de respect des principes d'indépendance et de souveraineté nationales, de pleine égalité des droits et de non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures, de l'élimination de la force et de la menace de la force, du respect du droit qu'a chaque peuple d'organiser sa vie selon sa volonté et ses aspirations.

Certes, la phase actuelle de la Conférence a des objectifs spécifiques conformément au mandat établi par la Réunion de Madrid. Elle peut et doit jouer un rôle positif dans le renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité et dans la diminution de la confrontation et de la tension dans la vie internationale. En même temps, nous ne devons pas susciter d'illusion que la paix pourrait être ainsi garantie, car cela signifierait une dissimulation de la vérité aux peuples. Il est évident que l'on ne peut pas parler de sécurité quand, en fait, la course aux armements continue. Nous devons dire ouvertement aux peuples que la sécurité réelle ne peut se réaliser que par l'initiation et la promotion constante de mesures effectives de désarmement et, en premier lieu, d'élimination du danger de la nouvelle escalade des armes nucléaires sur le continent européen.

La présente phase de la Conférence répondra aux attentes des peuples dans la mesure où elle mettra pleinement en valeur les possibilités dont nous disposons pour ouvrir la voie d'accords sur l'arrêt de la course aux armements et le désarmement.

Monsieur le Président,

Dans cet esprit, en partant des réalités actuelles et de la nécessité d'enrayer le cours dangereux des événements en Europe et dans la vie internationale et en donnant expression à la volonté de paix et de coopération du peuple roumain, le

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président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceausescu, le gouvernement roumain estiment qu'à présent il s'impose d'agir fermement selon les directions suivantes:

I. L'arrêt des travaux de déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires américains, la mise en dépôt de ceux qui ont déjà été apportés sur le continent européen et la cessation de l'apport par les Etats-Unis de nouveaux missiles en Europe. Dans le même temps, l'Union Soviétique devrait annuler ou ne pas appliquer les contre-mesures annoncées. Sur cette base, les négociations de Genève devraient reprendre, pour parvenir à un accord qui assure l'arrêt du déploiement de missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire, la réduction et la destruction de ceux déjà en place, comme autant de pas sur la voie de la libération de l'Europe de toutes armes nucléaires, qu'elles soient à portée intermédiaire ou tactiques.

La Roumanie estime que les pays sur le territoire desquels il est prévu d'installer les nouveaux missiles ont une grande responsabilité, mais peuvent également jouer un rôle important pour dépasser l'impasse où l'on se trouve, en ce sens que ces pays peuvent demander l'ajournement du déploiement des missiles jusqu'à la réalisation d'un accord. Cela représenterait une insigne contribution à la cause de la paix, de la détente et de la coopération, répondrait aux intérêts des peuples concernés et serait apprécié et salué par tous les peuples du monde.

En vue de dépasser le moment critique actuel, une grande responsabilité incombe, certes, aux deux grandes puissances nucléaires: l'URSS et les Etats-Unis. C'est pourquoi le président de la Roumanie a suggéré une rencontre entre les ministres des affaires étrangères de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats-Unis et la préparation d'une rencontre au sommet entre ces deux pays.

Etant donné que les armes nucléaires sont déployées dans des pays européens et que la guerre où l'on ferait usage de missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire se déroulerait en Europe et affecterait directement la vie de toutes les nations européennes, les pays européens ne peuvent pas se tenir à l'écart et laisser seulement aux deux grandes puissances nucléaires le soin de décider des destinées de l'Europe. Bien au contraire, il est nécessaire que tous les Etats européens apportent leur contribution active à l'identification des voies permettant de dépasser la situation actuelle, à l'arrêt de la course aux armements nucléaires sur le continent, à la réalisation de l'équilibre des forces non pas par l'accroissement, mais par la réduction des stocks nucléaires existants.

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Compte tenu de l'existence des blocs militaires, les pays qui en font partie doivent avoir un rôle plus actif et participer plus directement aux négociations, aidant ainsi les deux grandes puissances nucléaires à parvenir à un accord approprié. C'est dans ce sens que la Roumanie a suggéré une rencontre des ministres des affaires étrangères des Etats participants au Traité de Varsovie et des Etats membres de l'OTAN, en vue de discuter de la situation qui s'est créée, d'aider à dépasser le moment critique actuel et à reprendre les négociations. La Roumanie estime qu'une fois reprises les négociations de Genève entre l'Union Soviétique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, il serait nécessaire de faire fonctionner, parallèlement, une Commission Consultative des pays membres des deux pactes militaires, à laquelle participeraient aussi les autres Etats européens, y compris les pays neutres et non-alignés, et qui aurait pour tâche d'analyser les propositions et de contribuer à la réalisation d'un accord entre les deux parties. En tout cas, les pays des deux blocs militaires doivent participer activement, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à la réalisation d'un accord adéquat.

D'une façon générale, la Roumanie considère que l'Europe devrait agir d'une façon plus unie et avec plus de fermeté pour défendre et promouvoir les intérêts vitaux des nations européennes et assumer directement la responsabilité pour l'existence, la paix et la vie de ses peuples. Cela répond aux aspirations des peuples européens, lesquels ont vigoureusement exprimé, par des manifestations d'une grande ampleur, leur opposition à la course aux armements nucléaires et ont démontré leur volonté de défendre leur droit fondamental à la vie, à une existence libre.

II. L'adoption de mesures concrètes et efficaces pour faire cesser la course aux armements et passer à la mise en oeuvre d'un programme effectif de désarmement, en premier lieu nucléaire, sous un contrôle international efficient, qui assurent la cessation de la production d'armes nucléaires et le passage à la réduction totale et l'interdiction définitive de toutes les armes nucléaires, ainsi que des autres armes de destruction massive. En ce sens, il s'impose de rendre plus dynamiques les travaux de la Conférence de Genève sur le désarmement, afin de parvenir à des accords sur les problèmes inscrits dans son ordre du jour et à la finalisation dans les plus brefs délais du Programme global du désarmement.

La mesure radicale pour renforcer la confiance et accroître la sécurité en Europe consiste dans la cessation de la course aux armements sur le continent et dans le désarmement réel en ce qui concerne aussi bien l'armement nucléaire que l'armement conventionnel.

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Afin que chaque Etat ait la pleine garantie de se trouver à l'abri de tout acte d'agression et que la force et la menace de la force soient exclues des relations interétatiques, les efforts doivent porter vers la réalisation d'une sécurité des Etats à un niveau aussi bas que possible des armements, vers l'établissement de l'équilibre militaire non pas par l'augmentation, mais par la réduction des effectifs, des armements et des dépenses militaires.

III. Le passage à la réduction des armements classiques dans le cadre d'un processus énergique de désarmement, selon une vision de perspective qui conduise, en fin de compte, au désarmement général et complet.

En ce sens, la Roumanie se prononce pour la reprise des négociations de Vienne afin d'aboutir, le plus tôt possible, à des accords sur la réduction des forces armées et des armements en Europe centrale.

IV. Le gel des dépenses militaires et la passage à leur réduction de 10 à 15%, dans une première étape, sur la base d'accords négociés et efficaces.

Le gel des dépenses militaires par tous les Etats, et en premier lieu, par les grands Etats puissamment armés, et la réduction ensuite de ces dépenses auraient une grande importance pour la limitation de la course aux armements et le passage au désarmement. Ces mesures rendraient disponibles d'importantes ressources qui pourraient être utilisées pour la solution des problèmes économiques et sociaux de chaque pays, pour appuyer les efforts des pays en voie de développement.

V. La création de zones dénucléarisées en vertu d'accords conclus entre les Etats des régions respectives, les puissances nucléaires s'engageant à ne pas utiliser l'arme nucléaire et, en général, la force contre ceux-ci.

Etant donné l'importance de la création de telles zones dans différentes régions de l'Europe pour le renforcement de la sécurité et pour la réalisation du désarmement, la Roumanie s'est prononcée à agir pour la création de zones dénucléarisées dans les Balkans, au Nord de l'Europe et en d'autres parties du continent.

VI. L'adoption de mesures efficaces capables de conduire au renforcement de la confiance entre Etats et de la sécurité internationale.

Bien que les mesures de confiance et de sécurité qui font l'objet de la phase actuelle de la Conférence soient collatérales elles ont, néanmoins, leur importance pour

- 7 -

l'élimination des sources génératrices de méfiance, de tension et de confrontation, pour la reprise de la politique du dialogue et des négociations.

Notre Conférence est appelée à discuter et à se mettre d'accord sur des mesures effectives qui soient une expression concrète de l'obligation assumée par les Etats de s'abstenir de l'emploi et de la menace de la force. Pour sa part, la Roumanie estime que les mesures suivantes peuvent contribuer à renforcer la confiance et la sécurité: la réduction et l'élimination du danger des confrontations militaires par la diminution des activités militaires dans les zones de frontière et dans d'autres régions sensibles, l'élimination des suspicions provoquée par les activités militaires; la diminution et le renoncement aux activités militaires qui engendrent méfiance et tension; le rétrécissement continuuel de l'aire géographique de la compétition militaire et, en particulier, des zones où sont déployées des armes nucléaires; l'extension de l'information et de la consultation réciproques dans le domaine militaire, notamment en cas de situations de crise; la garantie que les obligations qui seront assumées au titre des accords conclus durant la Conférence seront strictement remplies.

En vue de réaliser ces objectifs, la Roumanie présente les propositions suivantes concernant les mesures à examiner et à adopter dans la première phase de la Conférence:

1. Le renoncement aux manoeuvres militaires multinationales au long des frontières entre les Etats.
2. La création, au long des frontières entre les Etats, de zones de 50 - 100 km où ne doivent pas avoir lieu des manoeuvres des déplacements et des concentrations de forces armées et d'armements ou la mise en état d'alerte d'unités importantes de ceux-ci et où soient limitées les forces armées, les armements et les activités militaires, comme un pas vers l'établissement de zones démilitarisées.
3. L'établissement, au long des frontières entre les pays membres de l'OTAN et les pays participants au Traité de Varsovie, d'un couloir libre d'armes nucléaires et d'autres armes de destruction massive et, à l'exception des forces de l'ordre et frontalières.
4. L'interdiction de l'exécution de manoeuvres ou déplacements de navires ou d'avions ayant à bord des armes nucléaires, au long des frontières terrestres et maritimes avec les autres Etats, sur une zone de 50 - 100 km.

- 8 -

5. La limitation des forces armées qui participent aux manoeuvres militaires.
6. La notification préalable obligatoire des manoeuvres et des mouvements militaires d'envergure des troupes de terre, aériennes et navales.
7. La notification obligatoire de la mise en état d'alerte des forces armées nationales ou étrangères se trouvant sur le territoire d'autres Etats, ou d'importantes unités de celles-ci.
8. L'établissement d'un système d'information réciproque et de consultations systématiques sur des problèmes intéressant la sécurité des Etats et du continent européen, aux fins de prévenir et de dénouer les situations de crise.
9. L'adoption concertée de mesures visant à prévenir un conflit nucléaire par erreur ou accident.
10. La conclusion d'un Traité général européen de non-recours à la force ou à la menace de la force, qui contienne des stipulations et des mesures de nature à rendre effectif le respect de la sécurité, de l'intégrité territoriale, de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté nationales de chaque Etat participant.
11. Le non-déploiement de nouvelles troupes et la non-installation de nouvelles bases militaires sur les territoires d'autres Etats de l'Europe et la cessation de l'extension et de la modernisation de celles déjà en place.
12. Le gel des dépenses militaires des Etats participants à la Conférence de Stockholm, au niveau de l'année 1984, jusqu'à la conclusion d'un accord de réduction de celles-ci.
13. L'encouragement et l'appui des efforts visant la création de zones de coopération pacifique et de bon voisinage, sans armes nucléaires, dans les Balkans, le nord de l'Europe et dans d'autres parties du continent.
14. L'interdiction de la propagande de guerre et l'encouragement par les médias de la confiance réciproque entre les Etats, l'assurance du droit des peuples à la paix, à la vie, à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

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15. L'information par la Conférence de l'opinion publique, après chacune de ses étapes, sur les progrès obtenus dans les négociations sur le renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité en Europe.

En présentant ces propositions, nous sommes, en même temps, prêts à examiner, dans un esprit constructif, les propositions et les considérations des autres Etats participants, toute suggestion de nature à favoriser la réalisation du mandat de la Conférence, l'instauration d'un climat de confiance et de coopération.

Monsieur le Président,

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, notre Conférence est appelée à jouer un rôle particulièrement important, tant par les mesures concrètes qu'elles adoptera, que par la contribution qu'elle doit apporter au relâchement de la tension dans la vie internationale, à la reprise de la politique de paix, de désarmement, de détente et de coopération en Europe et dans le monde entier, de respect de l'indépendance nationale de tous les peuples. Le fait même pour les Etats, pour les gouvernements, d'avoir désigné les ministres de affaires étrangères pour participer à l'ouverture de cette Conférence peut fournir l'occasion d'un dialogue politique en vue d'arrêter le cours dangereux des événements, de mettre fin à la course aux armements et de passer au désarmement, ce qui créerait, vraiment, une base réelle pour accroître la confiance et la sécurité sur le continent.

Les intérêts vitaux des peuples du continent imposent d'oeuvrer pour une Europe unie, dans laquelle des Etats indépendants et souverains, sans distinction de leur système social, puissent développer largement leurs rapports et contribuer au renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité, au renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité, au progrès général de l'humanité. Une Europe de la paix et de la coopération impose d'agir pour le démantèlement des bases militaires installées sur le territoire d'autres Etats, pour le retrait de toutes les troupes à l'intérieur de leurs frontières nationales, pour la liquidation de la politique de bloc et pour la réduction des activités militaires des deux blocs jusqu'à leur dissolution simultanée et à l'élimination de la division de l'Europe.

L'Europe peut et doit jouer un rôle encore plus important et devenir un participant toujours plus actif à la vie internationale. L'Europe, qui, au long des siècles, a enrichi le patrimoine de la culture et de la civilisation de l'humanité, ne peut et ne doit pas oublier, en même temps,

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que c'est à partir de son territoire que deux conflagrations mondiales ont éclaté. Pour le présent et l'avenir des peuples du continent, il est nécessaire pour les Etats européens de développer entre eux une large coopération, de discuter et résoudre en commun les problèmes du continent et d'apporter une contribution toujours plus substantielle à la solution démocratique et juste de grands problèmes internationaux auxquels se trouve confrontée l'humanité.

La solution adéquate des problèmes fondamentaux, de la paix, du désarmement, de la sécurité et de la coopération sur le continent, ainsi que tout pas concret en direction du renforcement de la confiance et la sécurité en Europe auraient des effets sur l'assainissement du climat international. D'autre part, la solution pacifique, par des négociations, des conflits et des foyers de tension qui existent dans d'autres parties du globe, la réalisation de progrès substantiels sur la voie de l'élimination du sous-développement et de l'instauration du nouvel ordre économique international, l'exclusion de la politique de force et de menace de la force seraient d'une importance particulière pour la situation politique sur le continent européen.

Dans le cadre de sa politique générale, la Roumanie a largement développé ses rapports avec tous les Etats signataires de l'Acte final d'Helsinki, a participé activement à la promotion du processus inauguré par la Conférence générale européenne et apporte toute sa contribution à la mise en oeuvre des stipulations de l'Acte final, à la solution, dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples, de grands problèmes du monde contemporain.

Monsieur le Président,

Le Roumanie estime que le mode de déroulement de la Conférence de Stockholm et toute son activité devront traduire dans les faits le mandat établi par la Réunion de Madrid et refléter l'esprit du Document de clôture de celle-ci. Etant donné l'objectif de la Conférence et l'importance de celle-ci pour l'assainissement du climat politique en Europe, nous estimons que les premières mesures concrètes devront être négociées et adoptées de manière à pouvoir entrer en vigueur jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1984. La Roumanie considère également que la première phase de la Conférence devra jeter les fondements solides du renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité sur le continent, de sorte que la prochaine réunion des Etats participants à la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, qui se tiendra en 1986, puisse décider de passer à la phase suivante, consacrée à la négociation et à l'adoption de mesures réelles de désarmement.

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Etant donné que les problèmes ayant trait au renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité et au désarmement en Europe touchent les intérêts vitaux de tous les peuples du continent, ils ne peuvent trouver de réponse réelle, que par des solutions élaborées de façon démocratique, avec la participation directe de tous les 35 Etats. La Roumanie estime comme étant d'une importance primordiale la mise en application et le respect rigoureux des règles de procédure et des méthodes de travail démocratiques de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe.

En ces moments de tension extrême, de graves dangers à l'adresse de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, la Roumanie considère que la présente Conférence peut contribuer, grâce aux efforts constructifs de tous les Etats participants, à l'arrêt du cours actuel des événements vers l'affrontement et la méfiance, à la reprise de la détente. Nous estimons que les gouvernements de tous les Etats participants, les forces politiques ont la responsabilité de tout mettre en oeuvre pour que ce nouveau moment dans la vie du continent soit mis à profit dans un esprit de coopération, afin de s'accorder sur des mesures aussi amples et efficaces que possible de confiance et de sécurité et, par la suite, de désarmement.

C'est dans cet esprit que la Roumanie est fermement décidée à apporter, de concert avec les autres Etats participants à la Conférence, toute sa contribution à cette action d'importance historique visant à renforcer la confiance et la sécurité sur le continent et à assurer les conditions requises pour passer à des mesures effectives de désengagement militaire et de désarmement, en vue d'édifier une Europe sans armes nucléaires, une Europe de la coopération et de la paix.

Pour conclure, je ne saurais mieux exprimer les sentiments du peuple roumain à l'égard de notre réunion qu'en citant le président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceausescu, qui soulignait récemment: "Nous espérons que la Conférence agira de manière à répondre aux attentes de tous les peuples de l'Europe et qu'elle marquera un moment nouveau sur la voie de la réalisation d'une coopération pacifique, du renforcement de la sécurité et de l'amitié entre tous les Etats de notre continent".

JAN 20 1984

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**ACTION
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---PM VISIT TO NEW YORK - PRESS SCRUM FOLLOWING MTG WITH

REF YOURTEL URR0020 16JAN YITD0493 14DEC83

SEN CHARLES MATHIAS, 20JAN84.

---DAVOS SYMPOSIUM: PROFILES OF USA PARTICIPANTS

DURING SCRUM FOLLOWING PM S MTG WITH SEN CHARLES MATHIAS (REP.,

AS REQUESTED IN REFTTEL; ANTHONY M SOLOMON HAS BEEN PRESIDENT AND

MARYLAND), PM COMMENTED THAT DISCUSSION HAD CENTERED ON NUCLEAR

EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK. SINCE

PROBLEMS FACING MANKIND. ON PEACE INITIATIVE, NATO COUNTRIES

IN THAT POST HE SERVES AS VICE CHAIRMAN AND A PERMANENT VOICE

HAD SHOWN DESIRE TO RENEW DIALOGUE WITH EAST BLOC. PURPOSE OF

OF THE FEDERAL OPEN MARKET CTTEE. UPON GRADUATION FROM THE

PM S TRIP NEXT WEEK TO EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WAS TO SEE

CHICAGO, MR SOLOMON BEGAN HIS CAREER IN GOVT SERVICE AND

IF THEY WERE ALSO WILLING TO RENEW DIALOGUE.

SERVED AS DIRCEN OF US FINANCIAL MISSION TO IRAN AND

2. SEN MATHIAS SPOKE OF HIS GREAT RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR

WITH BACHE AND CO, MOVED TO MEXICO WHERE HE BECAME PRESIDENT

PM S LEADERSHIP IN CALLING WORLD ATTENTION TO DREADFUL PROS-

BLANCA FOOD PRODUCTS CO. FOLLOWING TWO YEARS OF TEACHING

PECT OF NUCLEAR WAR. PM HAD IDENTIFIED BOTH CURRENT AND FUTURE

UNIV, HE SERVED IN A VARIETY OF GOVT POSITIONS INCLUDING THAT OF

PROBLEMS, INCLUDING WHOLE NEW RANGE RELATING TO OUTER SPACE

DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR LATIN AMERICA FOR THE AGENCY FOR

WHICH WAS DISCUSSED DURING MTG. WHILE OVERALL, SINGLE SOLUTION

INNATL DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC

TO VERY BIG PROBLEM OF WORLD TENSION WAS PROBABLY NOT/NOT WITH-

AFFAIRS. HE HAS ALSO SERVED AS A MEMBER OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

IN REALM OF HUMAN CAPABILITY, SMALLER STEPS TOWARDS THIS

FIVE-MAN TASK FORCE ON REFORM OF THE INNATL MONETARY SYSTEM AND AS AN

GOAL WERE POSSIBLE, EACH ONE MAKING THE SUCCEEDING STEP EASIER.

ADVISOR TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE USA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WAYS AND

PM WAS RIGHT IN ADDRESSING ELEMENTS OF PROBLEM. PM WOULD LIKE

MEANS CTTEE.

TO SEE GENERAL MOVEMENT FORWARD FROM A NUMBER OF PEOPLE

2. SOLOMON IS NOT/NOT KNOWN TO HAVE PARTICULAR VIEWS RELATED TO CDA

AND COUNTRIES. THIS APPROACH WAS BOTH NECESSARY AND PRACTICAL.

HOWEVER, IN PAST HE HAS EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER INNATL DEBT SITU

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS CTTEE WAS CONSTANTLY STUDYING PROBLEM

...2

AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN CONJUNCTION WITH CDN EFFORTS.

UUU/880 202000Z YIGR0034

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Centre for International Studies

University of Toronto

20 January 1984

Mr. L.A. Delvoie
Director General
International Security and Arms Control Bureau (IDD)
Department of External Affairs
Lester B. Pearson Building
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

Dear Mr. Delvoie,

I was sorry that we did not have a chance to meet when I was in Ottawa on that very inconvenient Friday before Christmas. I'm hoping, however, that, thanks to Bob Cameron's role as intermediary, we will be able to lure you to Toronto. I understand from Bob that in principle you would be prepared to come down early in the week of 6 February. After wrestling with the problem of conflicting commitments at this end (John Holmes, for example, will be in Trent 6 February and also on 7 February until after lunch) it seemed that one possible scenario would be to get a smallish group together for dinner in the College's private dining room on Tuesday 7 February at 6:30 for 7:00 pm. I have made the necessary arrangements and prepared a guest list of some eight or nine -- including my Executive Committee and the (overlapping) committee which is plotting our 14-15 June conference on 'Canada and International Security Institutions'. This conference is one of the points on which we would like to tap your expertise. But we would also like to hear your views on the subject of university research which might be of interest to the Department of External Affairs in the international security and arms control field, and to learn, for example, whether there would be any way in which the Centre might be involved in departmentally assisted contract research.

When you are coming to Toronto I wonder if we could also press you into service to conduct a faculty (or faculty and graduate student) seminar on some such topic as 'the prime minister's peace initiatives, problems, and prospects.' This could be scheduled earlier in the afternoon of Tuesday, say from 3:00 to 5:00 pm. It could be a seminar announced in our CIS Bulletin (which would mean that anyone interested could come); or it could be an invitational, off-the-record seminar (which I think is what you indicated you would prefer) to which we would invite selected members of the staff cross-appointed to the Centre who might be interested, ^{and} e.g., faculty from York University such as R.B. Byers. As I noted above, unfortunately John Holmes would be unable to attend, and I teach Tuesday afternoons; but no doubt we could bring together an interested group of colleagues.

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- 2 -

Mr. L.A. Delvoie

20 January 1984

Bob has seen the draft of this letter before it was sent off, and is telephoning your office so that you will be forewarned in advance of its arrival by the slow Warren route. Please do telephone me when you have a moment so that we can confirm arrangements or make alternate ones.

Yours sincerely,



ROBERT SPENCER,
Director.

RAS/pmj

c.c.: R.P. Cameron, Foreign Services Visitor, University of Toronto

Centre for International Studies

University of Toronto

26 January 1984

Mr. L.A. Delvoie
Director General
International Security and Arms Control Bureau (IDD)
Department of External Affairs
Lester B. Pearson Building
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

Dear Mr. Delvoie,

Bob Cameron told me yesterday that he had talked to you on the phone and that you had agreed to the arrangements I had suggested in my letter of 20 January (which you will receive in due course). This is very good news indeed, and we are looking forward to your visit.

May I therefore confirm that we will schedule:

- (1) an invitational, off-the-record faculty seminar for 3:00 pm in the Combination Room, Trinity College, which we will ask you to address on 'The prime minister's peace initiative, problems and prospects' copy of the notice enclosed. If you could speak for a half hour or so, we could then move into discussion and continue for as long as you and the group wanted (but not past 5:00 pm). To this we will invite a number of members of the Toronto campus international relations fraternity, and also interested colleagues from York and possibly other neighbouring universities. As I mentioned in my earlier letter, I unfortunately teach until 4:00 pm, but I'll come in late; John Holmes will not be there at all as he will not return from Trent University until just before dinner.
- (2) a dinner in the College's private dining room at 6:30 for 7:00 pm.
To this I have invited a smaller group (which will overlap to some extent with the afternoon group) comprising the Centre's Executive Committee, (listed in the enclosed Prospectus) plus Gerald Morris of the Faculty of Law and of course Bob Cameron. As I mentioned earlier, we would like over dinner and after it to tap your expertise on planning our 14-15 June conference on 'Canada and International Security Institutions.' We would also like to hear your views on the subject of university research which might be of interest to the Department of External Affairs in the international security and arms control field, and to learn, for example, whether there would be any way in which the Centre might be involved in departmentally assisted contract research.

I understand from Bob Cameron that in the interval Frank Griffiths has been in touch with you on this same subject. As you will see, he is a member of the Centre's Executive Committee and will I hope be present at the dinner.

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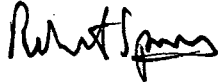
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Mr. L.A. Delvoie

26 January 1984

When your travel plans are set, perhaps you would let me know. In any event, I would suggest that you might like to come from the airport to the Centre's offices in Trinity College. If I have left for my class before you arrive I'll make certain that arrangements are made to welcome you and to see that you get to the Combination Room.

Yours sincerely,



ROBERT SPENCER,
Director.

RAS/pmj

Encl.: Prospectus
Campus Guide
Seminar Notice



Centre for International Studies

University of Toronto

27 January 1984

Dear

I am pleased to invite you to a special off-the-record seminar on:

'The Prime Minister's Peace Initiative: Problems and Prospects.'

Speaker: Mr. Louis Delvoie,
Director General International Security and Arms Control Bureau,
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

Time: 3:00 pm.

Date: Tuesday 7 February 1984

Place: Combination Room, Trinity College

Mr. Delvoie was the chairman of the task force which prepared the prime minister's initiative, and he has accompanied the prime minister on some of his travels and was part of the Canadian delegation to the ministerial sessions of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which opened in Stockholm on 16 January.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT SPENCER,
Director.

RAS/pmj



Centre for International Studies

University of Toronto

27 January 1984

Dear

Mr. Louis Delvoie, the Director General of the International Security and Arms Control Bureau of the Department of External Affairs is visiting the University to speak to an off-the-record seminar (as you will see from the enclosed notice) on the prime minister's peace initiative on Tuesday 7 February 3:00 to 5:00 pm in the Combination Room, Trinity College.

You are of course cordially invited to attend this seminar.

I should also like to invite you to join a small group for dinner in the Small Dining Room, Trinity College, at 6:30 for 7:00 the same evening. At the dinner, and in an informal session after it, Mr. Delvoie has agreed to discuss two topics with us: our projected conference on Canada and International Security Institutions scheduled for 14-15 June; and University research in international security and arms control which might be of interest to the Department of External Affairs, and the prospects for the Centre's involvement in such research.

I hope very much that you can attend the dinner (and the afternoon seminar). Please let us know by noon Monday 6 February.

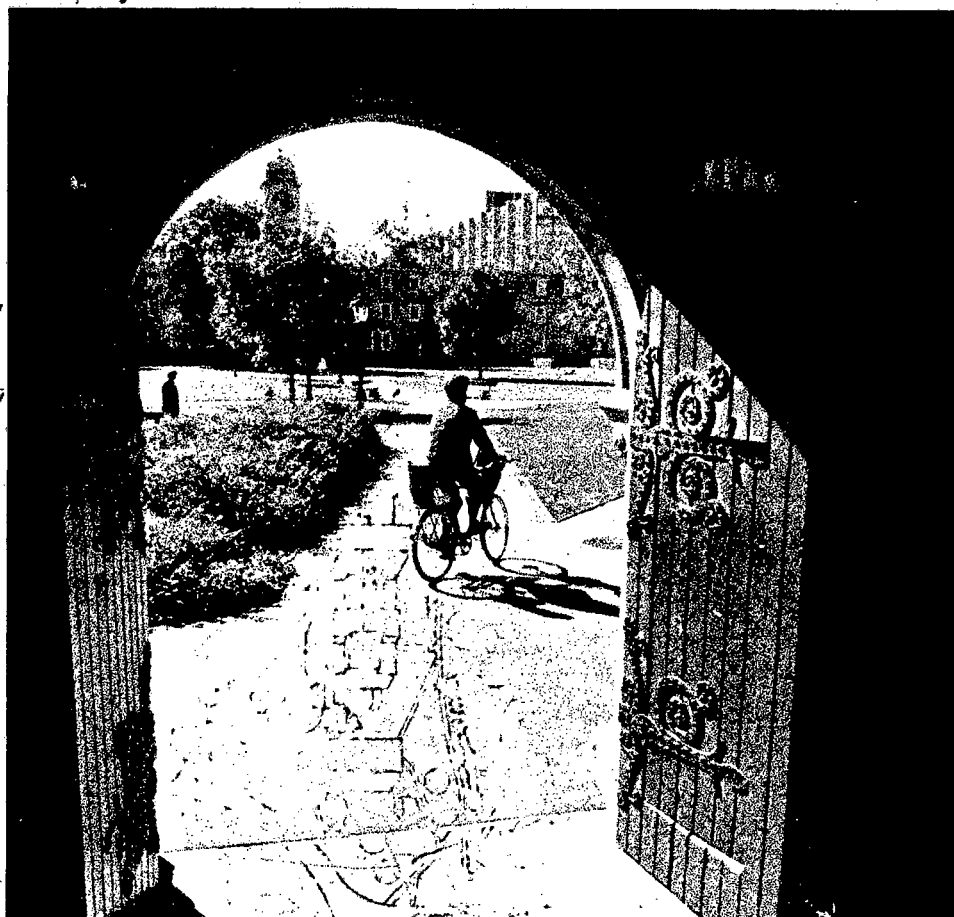
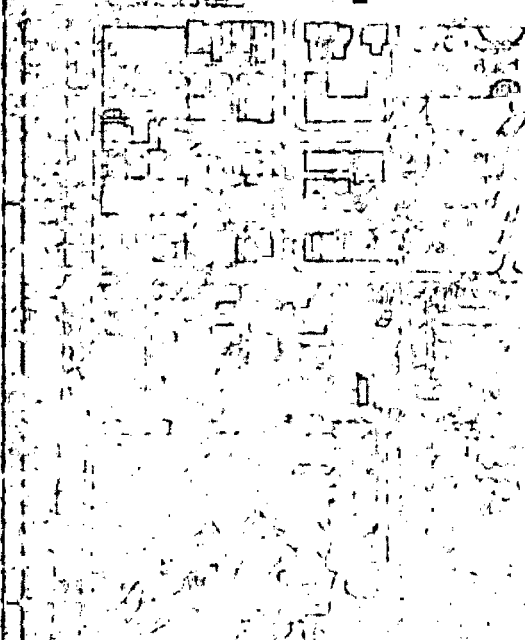
Yours sincerely,

ROBERT SPENCER,
Director.

RAS/pmj

University of Toronto

Guide and map



The University

The University of Toronto is a community — a small city within a city. Its population, of full-time and part-time students and staff, approaches 55,000, somewhat greater than that of North Bay, Ontario. Its annual operating budget is close to \$300 million. There are 225 buildings on its three principal campuses, which together cover a square mile; but most of the buildings are concentrated on less than a fifth of the land, on the St. George campus in the centre of Toronto. The university has its own post office, newspapers, fire marshal, police, dispensary, sports teams, restaurants, theatres, workshops, bookstores, libraries, chapels, grounds-keepers, clubs and residences. It has grown to meet society's requirements, but is now as big as it's likely to become for some time. Current university planning is not for growth but for vigour and excellence.

Why?

This huge complex exists for two purposes.

The first is teaching — to pass on knowledge already gained. In addition to its courses in arts and science, for example, Toronto prepares more than half the physicians and dentists graduating in Ontario; it has trained the majority of the province's foresters and architects; it offers the province's only degree course in pharmacy, and enjoys a special role in nursing education. It consistently attracts many of the best students entering university in Canada.

The other purpose of the university is research — to open the frontiers of knowledge of ourselves and our universe, and to make this new knowledge available through lectures, publications and professional practice.

Most of the men and women who teach also carry on research, and most campus buildings were designed to house both functions. Other buildings, most notably Hart House, were erected to foster the sense of community in which true co-operation can flourish.

Two other colleges sprang up in the sixties on spacious campuses of their own — Scarborough 33 kilometres east of St. George, Erindale 33 kilometres to the west.

The ninth and newest college, Woodsworth [38A], is concerned primarily with the needs of part-time credit students.

The colleges vary immensely — in size (from 700 to 3,100 students), in architecture (from stark thrusting modern to richly embellished Victorian), in character. They house classrooms, offices, libraries, student lounges, dining halls, and the occasional pub; they are homes for student clubs and societies; theatre and music groups, newspapers and literary journals, dances and other events. Without them a student might be lost in a faculty of 10,000 other students. In the colleges, a newcomer finds a small recognizable community, where he or she can meet professors and other students face to face, formally and informally, in class, at meals, after study. They are a most important part of the university.

...and Other Colleges

There are four other colleges on campus. Massey College [34] is a residential college for graduate students, a gift to the University in 1963 from the Massey Foundation. The others, which federated with the university in the 19th century, offer instruction only in theology, and grant their own degrees. They are Knox (Presbyterian) [575], Wycliffe (Anglican) [675], and Emmanuel (United Church) [502]. Degrees in theology are also awarded by Trinity and St. Michael's.

Scarborough and Erindale

Scarborough College [200], internationally famous for its bold architectural design, overlooks Highland Creek Valley in eastern Metropolitan Toronto. A quarter of its 290-acre campus is parkland and ravine. Erindale College [300], to the west, stands on 224 acres on the banks of the Credit River. Both colleges make generous use, for recreation and study, of their rich natural endowment.

Continuing Education

Education is a life-long process these days, and two important university divisions are dedicated to this belief.

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Who Governs?

The Governing Council represents 000053 people concerned with the way the University of Toronto operates. About one-third of its

The University

The University of Toronto is a community — a small city within a city. Its population, of full-time and part-time students and staff, approaches 55,000, somewhat greater than that of North Bay, Ontario. Its annual operating budget is close to \$300 million. There are 225 buildings on its three principal campuses, which together cover a square mile; but most of the buildings are concentrated on less than a fifth of the land, on the St. George campus in the centre of Toronto. The university has its own post office, newspapers, fire marshal, police, dispensary, sports teams, restaurants, theatres, workshops, bookstores, libraries, chapels, grounds-keepers, clubs and residences. It has grown to meet society's requirements, but is now as big as it's likely to become for some time. Current university planning is not for growth but for vigour and excellence.

Why?

This huge complex exists for two purposes. The first is teaching — to pass on knowledge already gained. In addition to its courses in arts and science, for example, Toronto prepares more than half the physicians and dentists graduating in Ontario; it has trained the majority of the province's foresters and architects; it offers the province's only degree course in pharmacy, and enjoys a special role in nursing education. It consistently attracts many of the best students entering university in Canada.

The other purpose of the university is research — to open the frontiers of knowledge of ourselves and our universe, and to make this new knowledge available through lectures, publications and professional practice.

Most of the men and women who teach also carry on research, and most campus buildings were designed to house both functions. Other buildings, most notably Hart House, were erected to foster the sense of community in which true co-operation can flourish.



Arts and Science

More than half the full-time students at the University of Toronto — and the great majority of part-time students — take courses in the Faculty of Arts and Science. This is a dynamic faculty, the heart of the university, with its headquarters (the dean's offices) in Sidney Smith Hall [33] and its staff in half a hundred buildings. Its 29 major departments offer more than 2,000 courses and half-courses in the humanities and the social, physical, and life sciences — an amazing diversity which runs from Biblical studies to nuclear physics, from the structure of a mushroom to the intergalactic stretches of the universe, from the philosophy of Plato to the economics of petrodollars, from English literature to the study of 33 other languages, ancient and living.

Colleges

Every student in Arts and Science belongs to one of nine colleges.

Four of these are the historic colleges of Toronto — University [1], Victoria [501], Trinity [600], and St. Michael's [Carr Hall, 426]. Each is well over a century old, with venerable traditions of its own.

The others were launched in the 1960s to house surging enrolments. New College [32] was first — its name recalls New College, founded in 1379. Innis College [132], most innovative of the nine, honours Harold Innis (1894–1952), the outstanding Canadian scholar of his time. Both accept students from other faculties.

Two other colleges sprang up in the sixties on spacious campuses of their own — Scarborough 33 kilometres east of St. George, Erindale 33 kilometres to the west.

The ninth and newest college, Woodsworth [38A], is concerned primarily with the needs of part-time credit students.

The colleges vary immensely — in size (from 700 to 3,100 students), in architecture (from stark thrusting modern to richly embellished Victorian), in character. They house classrooms, offices, libraries, student lounges, dining halls, and the occasional pub; they are homes for student clubs and societies, theatre and music groups, newspapers and literary journals, dances and other events. Without them a student might be lost in a faculty of 10,000 other students. In the colleges, a newcomer finds a small, recognizable community, where he or she can meet professors and other students face to face, formally and informally, in class, at meals, after study. They are a most important part of the university.

...and Other Colleges

There are four other colleges on campus. Massey College [34] is a residential college for graduate students, a gift to the University in 1963 from the Massey Foundation. The others, which federated with the university in the 19th century, offer instruction only in theology, and grant their own degrees. They are Knox (Presbyterian) [575], Wycliffe (Anglican) [675], and Emmanuel (United Church) [502]. Degrees in theology are also awarded by Trinity and St. Michael's.

Scarborough and Erindale

Scarborough College [200], internationally famous for its bold architectural design, overlooks Highland Creek Valley in eastern Metropolitan Toronto. A quarter of its 290-acre campus is parkland and ravine. Erindale College [300], to the west, stands on 224 acres on the banks of the Credit River. Both colleges make generous use, for recreation and study, of their rich natural endowment.

Scarborough started operations in 1965, Erindale in 1967. In both, students may take Arts and Science courses while enjoying the best of two worlds; at their college they are part of an academic community of moderate size with its own identity and specialties, yet they have all the advantages of membership in Canada's largest university. Regular bus service links the two colleges with the St. George campus. Both can be reached easily by car from the downtown campus: for directions, see the maps on the other side.

The Professions

The University of Toronto provides professional training through the following faculties: Applied Science and Engineering (aerospace studies; biomedical, chemical, civil, electrical, geological, industrial, and mechanical engineering; metallurgy and materials science; engineering science) Dentistry Education (leading to Ontario Ministry certification; incorporates the Institute of Child Study and the University of Toronto Schools) Forestry and Landscape Architecture Law Library Science Management Studies Medicine (including rehabilitation medicine, community health, and art as applied to medicine) Music Nursing Pharmacy Social Work, plus Survey Science (Erindale), the School of Physical and Health Education, the School of Architecture.

Most of these divisions offer programs at the graduate level. Several offer programs for part-time students.

Graduate Studies

Toronto's resources for advanced study are among the most important in North America. The School of Graduate Studies [43, 172] administers courses leading to Master's or Doctor's degrees in most of the university's major fields. About 8,000 full-time and part-time students register each year. As part of this activity, special centres and institutes have been created to focus the approaches of many disciplines on specific areas of study — comparative literature, criminology, culture and technology, drama, environmental studies, the history and philosophy of science and technology, immunology, industrial relations, international studies, medical science, medieval studies, policy analysis, religious studies, Russian and East European studies, and urban and community studies. The largest of the graduate departments is that of educational theory at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education [181].

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Who Governs?

The Governing Council represents all the people concerned with the way the University of Toronto operates. About one-third of its members are appointed by the Government of Ontario — they represent the public. The rest speak for the various constituencies of the university — its teaching staff, students, alumni and administrative staff. The Council, established in 1972, was the first of its kind in any English-language university in North America.

Student Life

No student need be bored at the University of Toronto. There is as rich a life outside the classroom as in it.

Hart House [2], a gift from the Massey Foundation in 1919, is a unique student centre. This beautiful Gothic building houses concerts (classical and popular), debates, poetry readings, theatre, dances and social events, an important collection of Canadian art, a browsing library, a chapel, several common rooms, food services, quarters for a dozen clubs. Similar activities are held in many other campus buildings particularly at the Faculty of Music [51], Convocation Hall [10a], the Medical Sciences Building [5], and the various colleges.

The Students' Administrative Council [120] represents the interests of full-time undergraduates in negotiations with the University and conducts a number of educational, social, and community programs. The SAC assists financially the student newspaper, *The Varsity* (founded in 1881), and several campus radio stations.

Graduate students are represented by the Graduate Students' Union, which has its own building [56] and newspaper, *Grad Post*. The Association for Part-time Undergraduate Students is active in the interests of all part-time undergraduates and publishes a weekly newsletter, *Voice*.

At the International Student Centre [26], students from all continents meet in organized programs or informally in a multicultural setting. The centre also offers orientation and counselling services for students from overseas.

Other services contribute to student life in a variety of ways. The Health Service provides medical treatment. Counselling is available from the Psychiatric Service, the Advisory Bureau, the Career Counselling and Placement Centre, and a wide range of formal and informal academic counsellors. An employment service is operated by the Placement Centre, and the Housing Service helps students to find off-campus housing.

Scores of campus-wide clubs exist to foster religious, political, national, educational, recreational, and social interests. Many are listed in the Student Handbook published by the SAC.

In addition, each college, faculty, and school has its own student organization. These may sponsor their own newspapers, social events, dramatic or musical athletic teams, and educational activities.

Athletics and Recreation

The university has a well-developed program of competitive athletics, an extensive intramural league, fitness and instruction classes, clubs, and a wide variety of recreational activities.

The new Athletics and Physical Education Centre opened September 1979 on the St. George Campus. Combining the Clara Benson Building (68), constructed in 1959, and the new Warren Stevens Building (68a), the facilities include 50-metre, 25-yard and a beginner's swimming pools, 12 squash courts, a large open-area field house containing a 200-metre indoor track and four multi-purpose court surfaces, a dance studio and four gymnasiums. Other facilities include jogging paths, playing fields, and Varsity Stadium (30) and Varsity Arena (30a). More than 40 teams — nicknamed the 'Blues' — represent U of T in men's and women's intercollegiate sports.

Scarborough and Erindale Colleges and Hart House have their own facilities and recreation clubs. Scarborough's includes a riding school.

Residences

About 3,200 students live on the St. George campus. Most of the residences are attached to colleges, except for Devonshire House [12], mainly for men in professional faculties, and a complex for graduate students [81]. Close to the campus, there are 710 apartments for married students, owned by the Ontario Housing Corporation. Both Erindale and Scarborough Colleges have innovative townhouse-style residences on their campuses.

In summer each campus has residence accommodation available with a full range of facilities for conferences and visiting groups.

Libraries

The University of Toronto library system consists of more than 50 libraries containing well over 5 million items and growing at a rate of about 200,000 items a year. It is by far the largest library resource in Canada.

The John P. Robarts Research Library [6], completed in 1973, houses library administrative offices and the central collection of books, journals, reference works, government documents, and microform materials in the humanities and social sciences. Next to it is the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library [6b]. Other major units in the system are the Science and Medicine [3a], Engineering [185], and Sigmund Samuel [3b] Libraries. Other libraries are attached to colleges, faculties, departments, centres, and institutes.

Many of the library catalogues and reference services are open to the public, and visitors with identification may request material for use in the reading rooms.

Neighbours

The University of Toronto tries to be a good neighbour. Some examples:

Young people whose first language is not English can be at an obvious disadvantage getting into university: with the help of community and labour leaders, we are trying to identify and assist first-class high school students in various sections of Metro's ethnic mosaic.

The Transitional Year Program helps selected students who have dropped out of school before Grade 13 make the jump to university.

Adults and children have long received expert care at the dental clinic in the Faculty of Dentistry at 124 Edward Street. More recently, community health centres have been opened in five locations in Metropolitan Toronto as part of the Faculty of Medicine's emphasis on family and community medicine. Students operate a medical and dental centre of their own as well.

Sixteen legal aid clinics operate with help from the Faculty of Law.

Advice in running small businesses is available from the Faculty of Management Studies.

Amateur gardeners can find help at the plant disease clinic run by the Department of



Other University of Toronto outposts are scattered across the Canadian North — predicting the impact of possible crude oil spills in the Arctic, providing dental therapy in the Northwest Territories, studying (with scientists from three other lands) Eskimo community life on Franklin Island, caring for the health of Indians at Sioux Lookout.

The university's ties reach to every continent. It has lent staff to teach in Africa, India, and Latin America, and many professors maintain contacts with the countries of the Third World. Canadian University Service Overseas, a volunteer youth program, started at Toronto. Many offices and labs on campus are engaged in the battle to feed the world's hungry. As well, the university is an outstanding centre for studies in Slavic languages and cultures, Islamic culture, Chinese, and Japanese, and its scholars are probing the beginnings of Western culture at locations in the Middle East, Greece, and Crete.

The U of T and You

If you were brought up on Pablum, thank the University of Toronto — it was developed here as a new kind of balanced baby food. If your life, or a friend's, should ever depend on an electric heart pacemaker, thanks again go to Varsity, where the first was built. These are two of many advances in health science which originated on this campus. Most dramatic was the discovery in 1921 of insulin, which has brought relief and prolonged life to millions of diabetics.

Much complex research that goes on here involves glass-filled labs, nuclear accelerators, giant computers, high temperatures, or massive libraries. But the results may spread to the corners of the earth. Some examples:

The first electron microscope in North America was built in Toronto, opening a world of viruses and particles too tiny to be seen by light.

When a crew of Apollo astronauts ran into trouble in space, calculations at the Institute for Aerospace Studies helped bring them back to earth. The same institute has worked to counter aircraft noise and to help develop the STOL aircraft, vital for Canadian development.

A spinoff from equipment built at Aerospace Studies may have immense impact. It was built originally to analyse minute traces of gases in the Martian atmosphere. In future it may be used to detect disease by analysis of the breath, determine the drug taken by an unconscious patient, diagnose disease in a premature infant when blood sampling would be dangerous, locate ore deposits, and measure air pollutants.

The Environment

Long before pollution was generally recognized as a worldwide threat, Toronto's scientists were diagnosing the sickness of the Great Lakes and calling for action. Today, at the Institute for Environmental Studies, at the Pollution Probe, and in many laboratories, staff and students are fighting to free our air, land, and water from contamination. Staff members have produced a device that detects oil slicks on the Great Lakes at night and three engineering students have invented a simple 'oil slick lickie' to clean them up. Plastic litter is non-biodegradable, but a Toronto professor has invented a plastic that 'rots' in sunlight. Another has developed a paper-making process which sharply reduces the amount of waste-product pollution. Smoke abatement has long been a concern, and now work is being done in other aspects of air pollution — including a pair of non-polluting cars of the future, student-built and tested across the continent.

How We Got Here

In 1827, by royal charter, the University was founded as King's College — a name still remembered in two of its principal streets. It was then controlled by the colonial Establishment and the Church of England, but its active life as such was short. On January 1, 1827, as a result of the social ferment of the preceding decade, King's College was declared non-denominational, placed under provincial control, and renamed the University of Toronto. University College became its teaching arm in 1853.

The Anglicans responded by starting the University of Trinity College. Other church-related universities were also springing up in the province, among them Victoria (Methodist) and St. Michael's (Roman Catholic). Engineering and medicine were taught at separate institutions. This fragmentation was practical as long as higher education was relatively simple, but as the sciences and learning in general expanded the advantages of co-operation became increasingly clear. Late in the 19th century, Victoria and St. Michael's joined the University of Toronto in a federation which guaranteed the smaller universities their autonomy and character and allowed them to grant their own degrees in theology, while making available to their students the resources of a larger, publicly-supported campus — most significantly, libraries, laboratories, and teaching staff. Trinity followed into federation in 1904. By that time, the Faculties of Medicine and of Applied Science and Engineering were fully integrated in the university. Other professional faculties and schools were subsequently added.

During the first third of this century, the university prospered with its province, then weathered successively depression, world war, and the postwar surge of enrolment as the veterans made up for lost study. In the late 1950s it geared up for a bigger challenge, to meet the world's need for trained people and the demand for education of a growing population. Since then it has more than doubled its facilities, principally in the area west of St. George Street and on the Scarborough and Erindale campuses.



mosaic.

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Advice in running small businesses is available from the Faculty of Management Studies.

Amateur gardeners can find help at the plant disease clinic run by the Department of Botany. Urban shade trees are a concern of the Faculty of Forestry where (among other activities) a vaccine has been developed to fight Dutch elm disease.

The Faculty of Social Work is involved in welfare and community organization and legislation; and the School of Continuing Studies helps sponsor a major national human rights institute.

The Robert Street rink [117] and playing field, and recreational facilities at both Scarborough and Erindale Colleges, are open to the public.

Toronto area schools benefit from the advice and visits of hundreds of staff members each year. Staff also are active in community organizations.

...In the Global Village

The university does not stop at its principal campuses. The maps show two others sites of activity: the research labs of the Institute for Aerospace Studies and the David Dunlap Observatory in Richmond Hill. (Tours of the observatory and its 74-inch telescope are offered during warm weather; for information, phone 884-2112.) The university also has telescopes in Algonquin Park, the Chilean Andes, and Hawaii.

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The Toronto-McMaster Lipid Research Clinic is working to modify risks related to coronary heart disease. Other teams are battling schizophrenia, cancer, diabetes, muscular dystrophy, epilepsy and the less dramatic but more common diseases that attack the gums.

The Earth Sciences consortium at Erindale College is investigating the continental crust and its mineral deposits.

Other scholars are studying criminal justice and government corrections policies, law reform and the workings of justice, federalism and urban public policy, the social effects of housing developments, the complex problems of urban mass transit, the conflicts between labour and management. Still others are building computer-based models of the economy as test grounds for government policy.

Our knowledge of Canada—its literature, history, society, and physical structure—comes in large part from University of Toronto professors. The most ambitious scholarly publication in the country, the multi-volume Dictionary of Canadian Biography, is a project of the University of Toronto Press, in bilingual co-operation with its counterpart at Laval University.

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act - Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information



Music and Theatre

The campus is a mid-town centre for the performing arts.

The Royal Conservatory of Music [35] is probably the world's largest music school, with several branches and an extramural examination system from coast to coast. The Faculty of Music offers more advanced degree and diploma courses, and an opera school. Walter Hall and the MacMillan Theatre, in the Faculty's Edward Johnson Building [51], are used for public performances. Other parts of the university, including Hart House and some colleges, have their own musical programs. There is a student concert band, choir, and symphony orchestra, and the renowned carillon in Soldiers' Tower.

Hart House Theatre was Toronto's first 'little theatre' when it opened in 1919. Its productions now are run by the Centre for the Study of Drama. More experimental plays are staged at the Studio Theatre on Glen Morris Street [91]. Student groups mount several productions each year, from medieval drama to musical reviews.

Who Went Before

There are about 170,000 living alumni; the majority in Ontario, others scattered in almost every country in the world. Through donations to the Varsity Fund, alumni contribute annually to scholarships and other campus programs. Each college, faculty, and school has its own organization, federated in the University of Toronto Alumni Association. Headquarters for this activity is Alumni House [69], 47 Willcocks Street.

Campus Tours

From June through August, student guides are on duty to conduct group tours of the campus, and provide information to visitors. This summer visitor's service is located in Hart House.

Department of Information Services
University of Toronto
45 Willcocks Street
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1
416/978 2021
For University switchboard
call 416/978 2011

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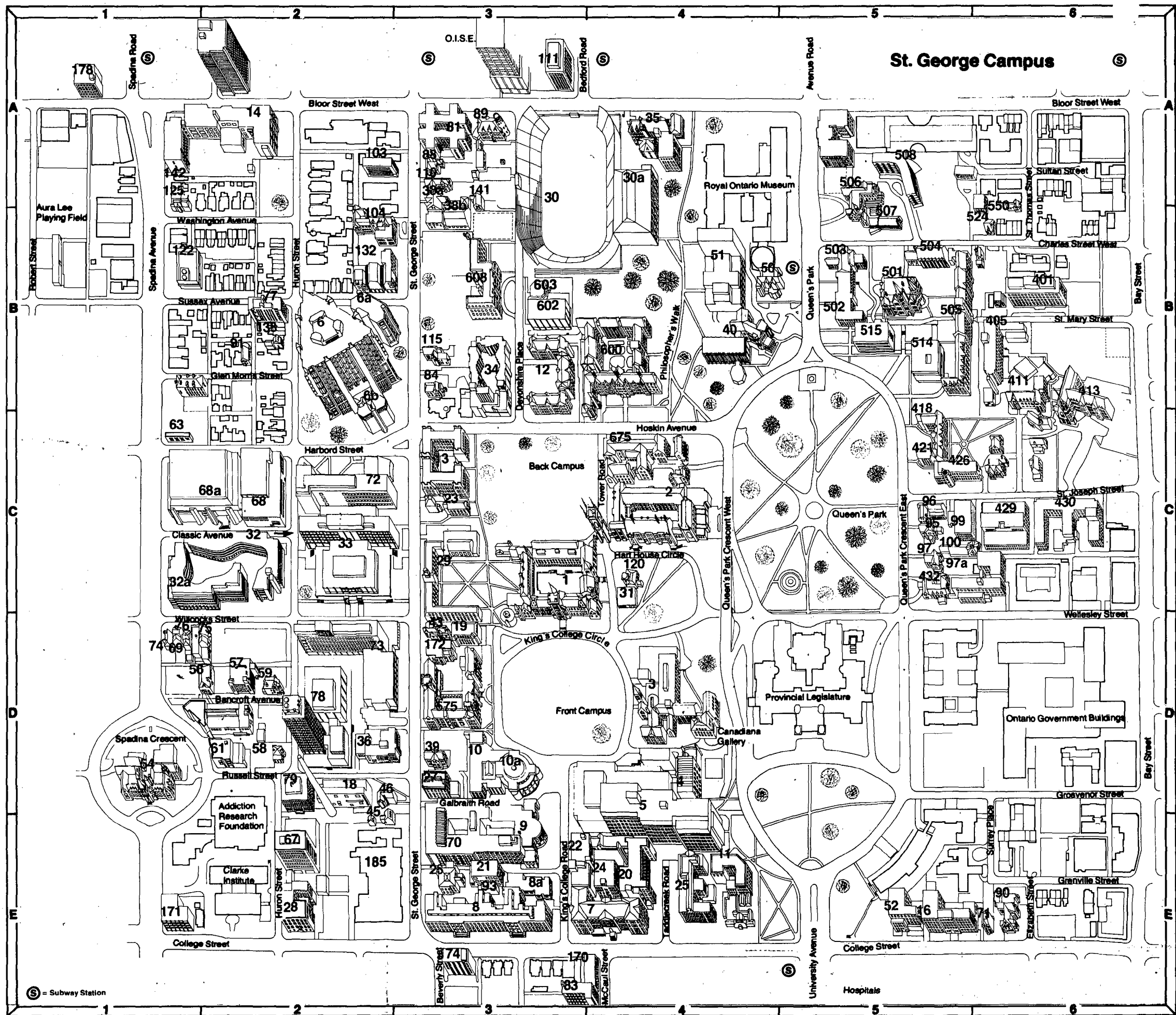
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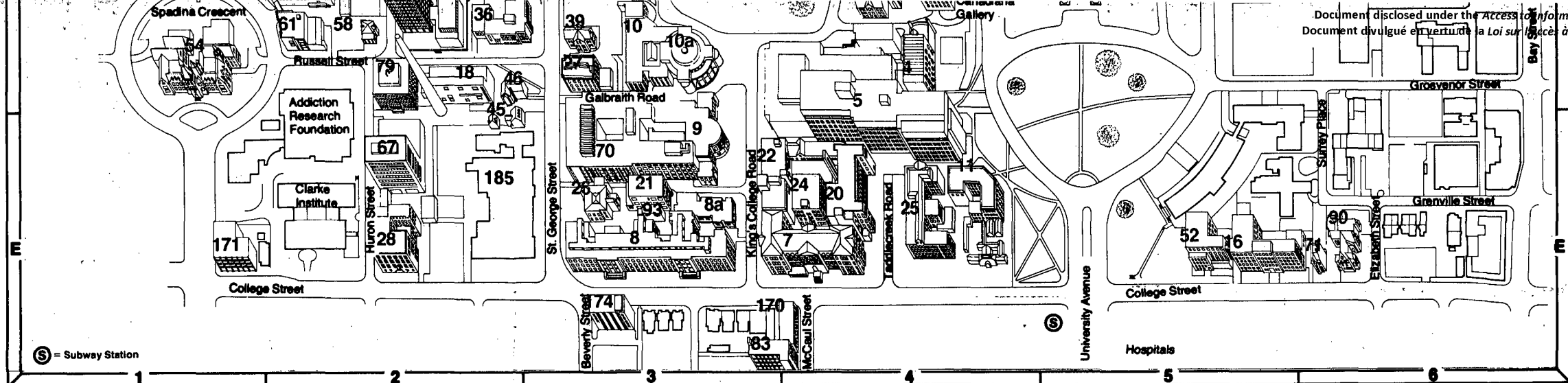
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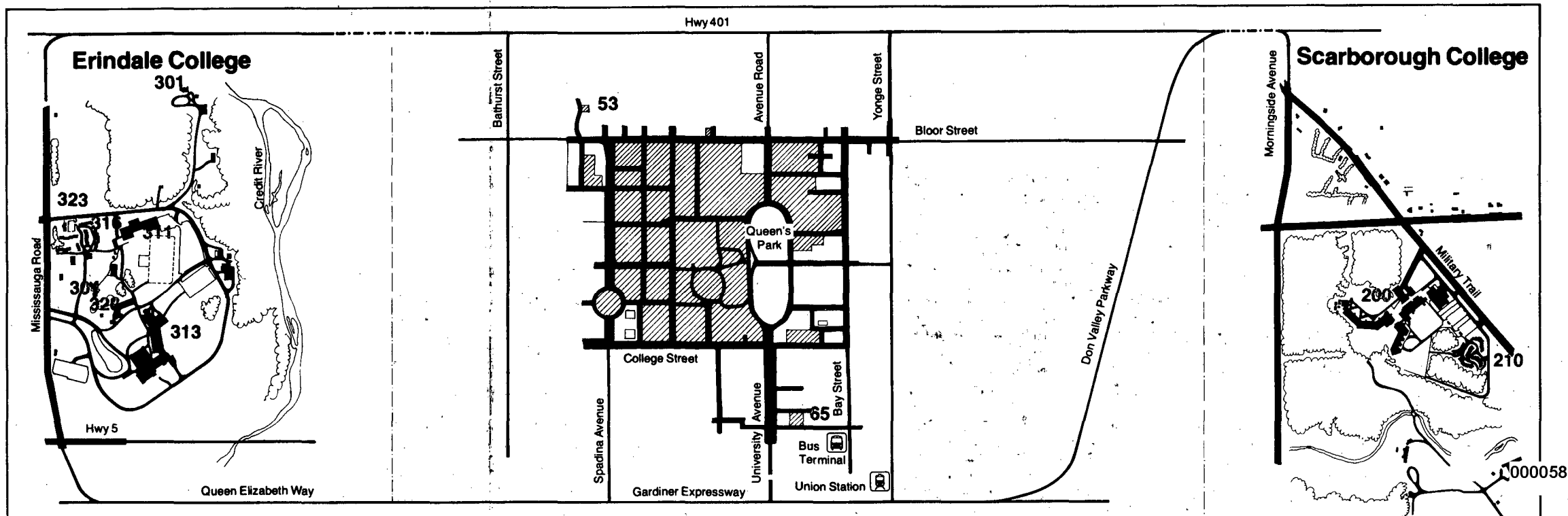
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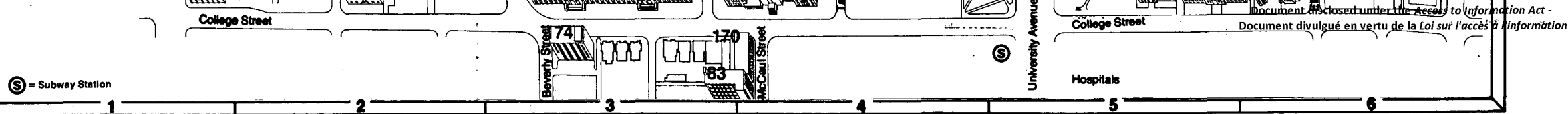
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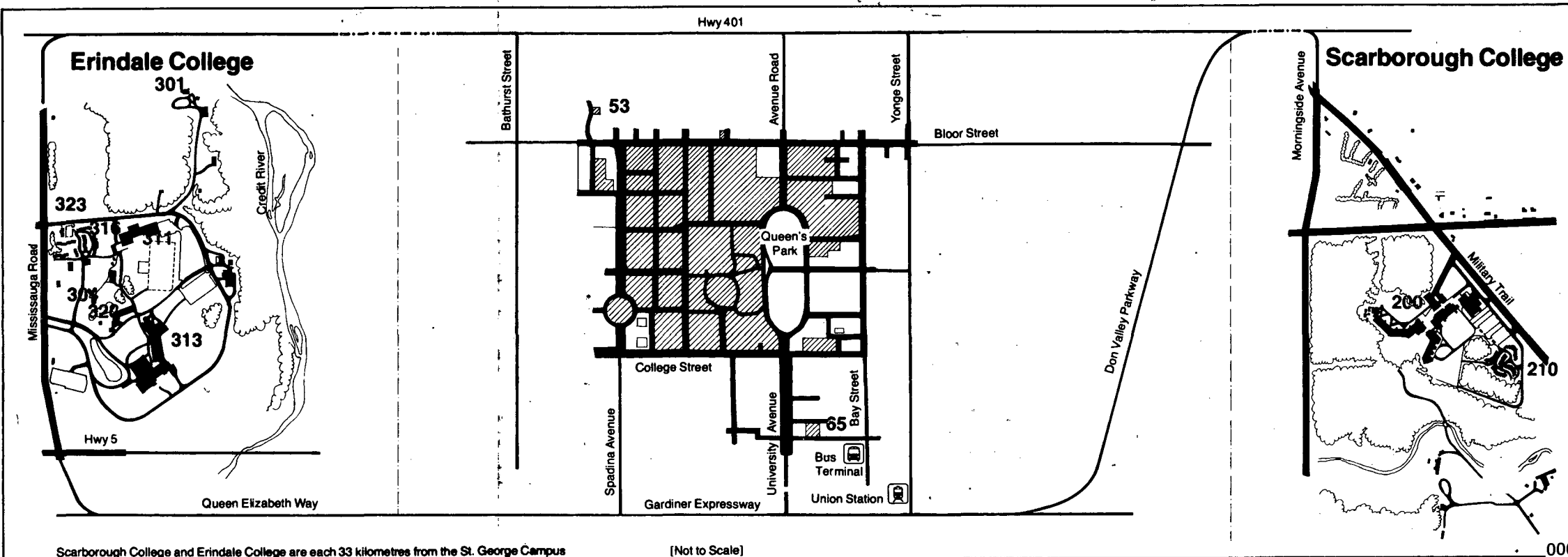
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Sandra Giles

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JB French

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1983-84

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1983-84

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The Centre for International Studies

Graduate Teaching

Established by the School of Graduate Studies in December 1976 to succeed the International Studies Programme, the Centre is housed in Trinity College, one of the federated colleges of the University which has assumed a special responsibility for the development of undergraduate studies in international relations. The Centre is responsible to the Council of the School of Graduate Studies and is placed for administrative purposes under Division II (Social Sciences) of the School.

By the terms of reference approved by the Council of the Graduate School, the Centre was directed to 'promote graduate studies and research relating to international relations and to the particular and comparative study of foreign areas, in each case with primary reference to the modern period'. More specifically, the Centre was instructed to 'assign priority to international relations ... with emphasis on the relations between Canada and other states - including the developing countries - and Canada's role in inter-governmental organizations'. The Centre was also instructed to develop improved relations with external bodies and organizations including the agencies of the Government of Canada.

The Centre co-operates closely with discipline-based graduate departments and with the graduate Centres for Russian and East European Studies and for South Asian Studies, as well as with the York-Toronto Joint Centre on Modern East Asia and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, whose national headquarters is located on the campus.

The Centre does not offer instruction but seeks to develop, in co-operation with interested departments, graduate courses and teaching programmes in international relations.

The major co-operating departments are History, Political Science, and Economics, which offer many courses in international relations at the graduate level. Many courses related to international studies are also offered in, among others, the Graduate Departments of Anthropology, East Asian Studies, Geography, Middle East and Islamic Studies, Management Studies, and Law. In addition, the University provides instruction in a broad range of modern languages through the following departments: East Asian Studies, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese, Italian Studies, Middle East and Islamic Studies, Slavic Languages and Literatures, and the Centre for South Asian Studies.

While the Centre is prepared at all stages to provide information and counselling, students pursuing degrees in international relations or in modern area studies should apply for and register in the department of their major discipline, and should discuss their programme in the first instance with the graduate secretary of the department concerned.

Collaborative Programme In International Relations

Visiting Professors

Programme Committee:
Chairman RA Spencer
History MA Klein
Political Science Richard Stren

With the assistance of the Centre the Departments of History and Political Science collaborate in providing M.A. and Ph.D. programmes. Under these programmes students must register in one department and meet all its degree requirements. They may then follow a programme of study which includes courses in international relations in their own and in the co-operating department and receive, in addition to the degree, the notation on their transcripts 'Specialist Programme in International Relations'.

This programme is supervised by a committee composed of representatives of the Centre and of the Departments of History and Political Science. Further details are available from the Centre or from the graduate offices of the two departments.

The courses approved by the collaborating departments for this programme are listed under 'Courses of Instruction' and are indicated by a dagger (†). With the approval of the department concerned reading courses may be arranged to meet a student's special wishes.

In addition to the faculty cross-appointed from co-operating departments, a number of visiting professors are appointed to the Centre.

The *Claude T Bissell Professorship of Canadian American Relations*, which is funded by the Associates of the University of Toronto, Inc., a New York-based group of graduates and friends of the University, brings to the campus each year for a full session a Canadian or an American scholar.

For 1983-84: Dr. Alfred O Hero, Jr.,
Director, World Peace Foundation,
Boston

The *Visiting Professorship of German and European Studies*, which is funded by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, brings to the campus each year for a full session a senior German scholar.

For 1983-84: Professor Michael Stürmer,
Historical Institute,
University of Erlangen

Other visiting appointments are made from time to time.

Research

Graduate Student Research Grants

As a graduate and research centre, the Centre for International Studies seeks to stimulate research projects in its areas of interest and to facilitate research by seeking financial support. With the support of the Donner Canadian Foundation, the Centre is at present engaged in a major research project focussing on Canada's role in international institutions. The Centre also facilitates contacts with other institutions.

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External Affairs, Ottawa
(Foreign Service Visitor).
Professor Takashi Konami,
Tokyo University for Foreign Studies.
Professor Sieu-tong Kwok, The Chinese
University of Hong Kong.

Libraries

The rich resources of the John P Roberts Research Library, the core of a library system containing 5.6 million volumes, with its extensive Government Document Collection, is a resource unrivalled in Canada, and is supplemented by the Libraries of the Faculty of Law and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, which houses a unique collection of newspaper clippings.

The Centre for International Studies has limited funds, in part derived from an endowment established by Rio Algom Limited, with which to assist Ph.D. students to meet research costs incurred in connection with the preparation of their dissertations. These awards are made for projects which fall within the Centre's terms of reference in both international relations and area studies. Preference will be given to projects dealing with international relations and to those relating to Canada's external policies. As an interdisciplinary body, the Centre is naturally especially interested in projects which have a genuine interdisciplinary component. One purpose of the awards is to strengthen graduate student involvement in and commitment to the Centre and its research and other activities. The Centre's awards are intended to facilitate research in the modern period, which is generally interpreted to mean the twentieth century. Projects concerning historical topics in international relations which fall outside this period will, however, be eligible for consideration.

Students registered at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education which has its own research and fellowship funds are ineligible to apply to the Centre for research assistance.

Lectures and Seminars

The Centre's research grants are intended to assist doctoral candidates (who must be registered in the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Toronto and have completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree, except their thesis, by the commencement of tenure) in meeting the additional costs involved in research away from Toronto. They are grants in aid of research and are not intended to serve as substitutes for fellowship assistance. Eligible costs could include transportation, photocopying, and microfilming, and a subsistence subsidy while away from Toronto.

Applications are normally considered by the Awards Committee in November, February, and May of each year. Applications for small amounts in circumstances justifying an urgent decision can be considered any time. For further information and application forms please contact:

The Secretary,
Centre for International Studies
Room 208 Trinity College
Hoskin Avenue
Toronto Ontario M5S 1H8
Telephone (416) 978 3350 / 6498

Through a series of interdisciplinary committees (at present there are five area committees, dealing with Africa, East Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East; and one functional committee, the International Relations Committee) the Centre sponsors conferences as well as lectures and seminars by visiting scholars.

These activities are advertised in the *CIS Bulletin*, published weekly during term time. It is available on request via campus or IUTS mail, and at a nominal charge to cover postage if sent via Canada Post.

Graduate Faculty

1983-84

- *A Abouchar/ECONOMICS
RD Accinelli/HISTORY
JS Barker/POLITICAL SCIENCE
J Barros/POLITICAL SCIENCE
CE Beigie/MANAGEMENT STUDIES
WC Berman/HISTORY
RA Berry/ECONOMICS
***JR Blackburn/MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
P Blanchard/HISTORY
A Braun/POLITICAL SCIENCE
P de B Brock/HISTORY
*JC Cairns/HISTORY
FR Casas/ECONOMICS
NK Choudhry/ECONOMICS
MBE Clarkson/MANAGEMENT STUDIES
SHE Clarkson/POLITICAL SCIENCE
T Colton/POLITICAL SCIENCE
*JL Cranmer-Blyng/HISTORY
JHG Crispo/MANAGEMENT STUDIES
GS Day/MANAGEMENT STUDIES
M Donnelly/POLITICAL SCIENCE
IM Drummond/ECONOMICS
M Eksteins/HISTORY
VC Falkenheim/POLITICAL SCIENCE
NC Field/GEOGRAPHY
JE Floyd/ECONOMICS
JH Galloway/GEOGRAPHY
JJ Gerson/HISTORY
R Gregor/POLITICAL SCIENCE
FJC Griffiths/POLITICAL SCIENCE
GK Helleiner/ECONOMICS
A Hero, Jr./POLITICAL SCIENCE
Bissell Visiting Professor of Canadian-American Relations
JW Holmes/POLITICAL SCIENCE
SK Howson/ECONOMICS
M Israel/HISTORY
R Johnson/HISTORY
A Jwaideh/MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
JLH Keep/HISTORY
LM Kenny/MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
MA Klein/HISTORY
B Kovrig/POLITICAL SCIENCE
RB Lee/ANTHROPOLOGY
TO Lloyd/HISTORY
**H Makler/SOCIOLOGY
RA Manzer/POLITICAL SCIENCE
*MR Marrus/HISTORY
RO Matthews/POLITICAL SCIENCE
DE Moggridge/ECONOMICS
GL Morris/LAW
HI Nelson/HISTORY
***J Nun/POLITICAL SCIENCE
RC Pratt/POLITICAL SCIENCE
R Pruessen/HISTORY
D Raby/HISTORY
TG Rawski/ECONOMICS
D Rayside/POLITICAL SCIENCE
A Rossos/HISTORY
AE Safarian/ECONOMICS
*R Sandbrook/POLITICAL SCIENCE
*RM Savory/MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
DV Schwartz/POLITICAL SCIENCE
HG Skilling/POLITICAL SCIENCE
JE Smith/POLITICAL SCIENCE
PH Solomon/POLITICAL SCIENCE
J Spelt/GEOGRAPHY
RA Spencer (Director)/HISTORY
J Stein/POLITICAL SCIENCE
RE Stren/POLITICAL SCIENCE
M Stürmer/HISTORY
Visiting Professor of German and European Studies
AP Thornton/HISTORY
SG Triantis/ECONOMICS
NK Wagle/HISTORY
PCT White/HISTORY
J Whitney/GEOGRAPHY

Courses of Instruction

in the major departments associated with
the Centre include the following

International Relations

BUS 2305H	International Financial Management <i>LD Booth</i>	POL 2214Y	International Politics of the Middle East <i>J Stein</i>
BUS 2011H*	Environment of International Business	POL 2200Y†	International Politics <i>R Gregor, FJC Griffiths</i>
BUS 2100S	Management Economics <i>CE Beigie</i>	POL 2202Y†	Comparative Foreign Policy <i>R Gregor</i>
BUS 2501F	Comparative Marketing Systems	POL 2203Y†	Canadian Foreign Policy <i>JW Holmes, J Kirton</i>
BUS 2612F*	Comparative Industrial Relations <i>JHG Crispo</i>	POL 2204Y†	Problems of International Organization <i>J Barros</i>
ECO 2214Y	History of the International Economy since 1870 <i>SK Howson, D Moggridge</i>	POL 2208Y†	Third World Politics in International Affairs <i>RO Matthews</i>
ECO 2300F	International Trade Theory <i>FR Casas</i>	POL 2209Y†*	Problems of Supranational Integration
ECO 2301S	International Monetary Theory <i>JE Floyd</i>	POL 2210Y†*	Elements of U.S. Foreign Policy <i>JE Smith</i>
ECO 2304F,S	Advanced Topics in International Economics (Workshop)	POL 2211Y†	Arms Races and Arms Control <i>FJC Griffiths</i>
ECO 2305F	Economics of International Business <i>AE Safarian</i>	POL 2212Y†	Canada and the Third World <i>RC Pratt</i>
HIS 1146Y†	Canadian-American Relations <i>PCT-White</i>	POL 2213Y	Topics in International Politics <i>Staff</i>
HIS 1277F†	The Foreign Policies of Divided Europe <i>RA Spencer</i>	POL 2214Y†	International Politics of the Middle East <i>J Stein</i>
HIS 1440Y†	The British Empire 1850–1961 <i>AP Thornton</i>	POL 2300Y	Comparative Politics of Industrial Societies <i>D Rayside, P Solomon</i>
HIS 1530S†*	American Foreign Policy in the 20th Century <i>RD Accinelli</i>		
HIS 1615Y†*	Imperialism 1870–1914 <i>AP Thornton</i>		
HIS 1620Y†	Studies in International History before and after the First World War <i>HI Nelson</i>		
HIS 1625S†*	International Relations in 'The Era of Tyrannies' 1890–1945 <i>JC Cairns</i>		

Courses of Instruction

continued

Economic, Social and Political Development

ECO 2700Y	Economic Development <i>RA Berry, GK Helleiner</i>	HIS 1660Y*	Society and Government in Late 19th and Early 20th Century China <i>JL Cranmer-Byng</i>
ECO 2702S	Economic Planning: Principles and Practice <i>NK Choudhry</i>	HIS 1683Y	The Collapse of the Chinese Empire <i>JJ Gerson</i>
ECO 2707F	International Aspects of Development <i>GK Helleiner</i>	POL 2306Y	Politics and Government in Japan <i>M Donnelly</i>
ECO 2750Y	Political and Economic International Development <i>RA Berry, RC Pratt</i>	POL 2411*	Topics in Asian Politics
ECO 4012F	Regional Economics <i>SG Triantis</i>	JHA 1690Y	Topics in Modern Indian History: Nationalism before and after Interdependence <i>M Israel</i>
POL 2302Y	Topics in American Government and Politics <i>JE Smith</i>		
POL 2400Y	Politics of Third World Societies <i>JS Barker, J Nun, RC Pratt, R Stren</i>		
POL 2404F*	Public Administration in Developing Societies <i>J Nun</i>		
POL 2408Y	The Political Economy of International Development <i>RC Pratt</i>		

Africa

POL 2402Y	Topics in African Governments <i>JS Barker</i>		
HIS 1705Y*	Problems in the Economic and Social History of Black Africa <i>MA Klein</i>		

Asia

ECO 2738Y	The Economy of Modern China and Japan <i>TG Rawski</i>		
GGR 1706F	Studies in the Regional Development of China, 1850-Present <i>J Whitney</i>		

Europe

ECO 3000Y*	The Economy of the USSR <i>A Abouchai</i>		
GGR 1604Y	Economic Geography of The USSR <i>N Field</i>		
HIS 1261F*	Studies on the European Right <i>M Marrus</i>		
HIS 1268F	Social Foundations of Modernism in Europe 1870-1950 <i>M Eksteins</i>		
HIS 1273F*	Twentieth Century European Problems <i>JC Cairns</i>		
HIS 1276S	The Third Reich, 1933-1945 <i>RA Spencer</i>		
HIS 1282H	The Nationality Question in the Habsburg Empire, 1780-1914 <i>P de B Brock</i>		
HIS 1291H	Topics in Russian and Soviet History <i>R Johnson</i>		
HIS 1292S	Topics in the History of Muscovy <i>JLH Keep</i>		
HIS 1293F*	Russia from Reform to Revolution, 1856-1917 <i>JLH Keep</i>		
HIS 1294S*	Russia, 1917. From the Fall of the Monarch to Brest-Litovsk <i>JLH Keep</i>		

Courses of Instruction

continued

HIS 1295F*	Problems in Modern Russian History since 1870 <i>JLH Keep</i>	United States	
HIS 1296H†*	Problems in Russian & Soviet Foreign Policy <i>A Rossos</i>	HIS 1535Y	The Development of the American State in the 20th Century: From Progressivism to the Imperial Presidency <i>WC Berman</i>
HIS 1299Y*	Russian Revolution <i>JLH Keep</i>	POL 2302Y	Topics in American Government and Politics <i>JE Smith</i>
HIS 1446H	The Liberal Party and the Labour Party, 1914-1945 <i>TO Lloyd</i>		
POL 2304Y	Topics in Soviet Politics <i>PH Solomon, DV Schwartz</i>		
POL 2303Y*	Comparative Communism <i>HG Skilling, FJC Griffiths</i>		
POL 2308Y	Politics and Governments of Eastern Europe <i>B Kovrig</i>		

*not offered in 1983-84

**offered in alternate years

†courses available under the Collaborative Programme in International Relations

Latin America

GGR 1704Y	Historical Geography of Latin America <i>J Galloway</i>
HIS 1701S	Topics in Modern Latin American Social History <i>DL Raby</i>
POL 2405A	Topics in Latin American Politics <i>J Nun</i>

Middle East

MEI 2140Y	Political and Economic Development in the Arab World from the Tanzimat to 1914 <i>A Jwaideh</i>
MEI 2150Y	The Emergence of Modern Egypt <i>LM Kenny</i>
MEI 2155Y	The Emergence of Modern Iraq <i>A Jwaideh</i>
MEI 2230Y	The Emergence of Modern Iran <i>RM Savory</i>

Y full course extending into both terms (full session)

A half-course previously taught over two terms, now taught completely in the fall term

F half-course offered in fall term

S half-course offered in winter term

F,S half-course offered in either fall or winter term

H half-course extending into both terms (full session)



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SENSITIVE POINTS RELATING TO THE STATUS OF BERLIN DURING VISITS OF WESTERN OR OTHER NON-COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EASTERN SECTOR

Joint Communiqués and other documents

- a. In any joint communiqué or other document issued in connection with a visit the GDR hosts are likely to seek the inclusion of a mention of «Berlin» (ie East Berlin), designated as «capital» of the GDR or otherwise described in such a way as to suggest that it is part of the GDR;
- b. GDR drafts for such communiqués or other documents may also:
 - i. include references to the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September 1971 referring to it as the «Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin» (in the Western view it relates to the whole of Berlin) or in terms which seek to imply that the GDR, although a non-signatory, has a right to interpret the Agreement;
 - ii. refer to «West Berlin» or «Berlin (West)» in terms which suggest that the Western Sectors of Berlin constitute an independent political entity.

Viewing of the Wall

The GDR side may propose a viewing of the Wall. This can be intended to lend respectability to the Eastern propaganda line that the Wall is defensive and justified. It can also be used to imply that the visitor accepts the GDR claim that the Sector border constitutes part of the GDR «State border».

Military ceremonies in the Eastern Sector

Under quadripartite agreements, German military activities are prohibited in the whole of the city. The presence of uniformed GDR troops in the Eastern Sector of Berlin is thus in conflict with the demilitarised status of the city. It contrasts with the situation in the Western Sectors of Berlin, where this status is strictly respected. Attendance at military ceremonies and the attendance and presentation of the «City Commandant of Berlin» should therefore be avoided.

Visit to the Mayor of Berlin

The creation of a separate municipal administration for East Berlin was illegal and a call on the Mayor should preferably be avoided, as should any signature of the «Golden Book». Besides the legality aspect any such visit is liable to be accompanied by assertions regarding the claimed status of the Eastern Sector as capital of the GDR, with which the visitor may be implied to have agreed.

20 January 1984

**TRANSCRIPT OF A INTERVIEW GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE
EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 20,
1984**

**TRANSCRIPTION D'UNE ENTREVUE ACCORDÉE PAR LE PREMIER MINISTRE AU
CONSEIL DE RÉDACTION DU NEW YORK TIMES, À NEW YORK, LE VENDREDI 20
JANVIER 1984**

Q. I would like to kick off by asking you what seems this morning to be the most obvious question. We understand that you have received a communication from Andropov in connection with your peace initiative. I wonder if you could tell us something about the terms of that communication?

A. Well, two very simple points. First, President Andropov says that he is supportive and encourages me to pursue and that they are in general agreement with the thrust of my initiative. The second is that he wants to see me personally. He does not want me to see any of the other leadership. He put it that way because I had written him a couple of weeks ago saying: "Look, I have seen quite a few people now and if you are not well enough to see me, I can understand that, but I would be happy to meet with anyone of the leadership you want to delegate so to keep the momentum going." He answered: "No, I would rather not see anyone else, but I want to be discussing dates for seeing you in the not too distant future." I do not know exactly what the Russian means. Is it in a few weeks? We had our Soviet experts try and guess what the expression means in terms of weeks. No basis on the...

Q. How do you read or interpret the American position to what you are trying to do? Do you find it supportive or do you feel they remain polite and wish you would stop?

A. I guess some are the one and some the other. Some are being polite but barely, and some think that really the United States should move towards renewed dialogue. It is the two thrust tendencies of the people in the White House and I guess the hawks have dominated for most of the time, but judging by President Reagan's recent statement and by Mr. Shultz's approach in Stockholm there seems to be a willingness to let the more gentle line prevail for a while. But obviously, if you look at the President's most recent speech last Monday, and even Mr. Schultz's, there is the manichaestic fight within them, they want a new dialogue but they want to make it clear that those who still hate the Soviets are not too distressed by that decision. So I just interpret their feelings

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owards what Canada is doing now in that light. At the outset, there seemed to be a rather cool reception, but I have to say honestly that when I saw President Reagan in December he made all the right noises and, indeed, he had authorized Shultz in Brussels ten days before to sign a declaration, as you know, which was using a new language, a language of equality rather than superiority, a language of respecting the other side's security interests just as we want to respect ours, legitimate security interests I believe was the expression; and his statement this week talking about co-operative efforts and constructive co-operation I think with the Soviets was the expression. So, obviously, the American Administration has fenced the European allies and all the NATO allies, such as Canada. We are a little concerned with the stridency of the language and the tensions which seem to have existed since the beginning of the Reagan Administration between the two blocks and President Reagan seems determined to make sure that his peaceful intentions are well known and understood.

Q. Who are your major backers? West Germany, Great Britain? People who are willing to make the thrust with you, I mean who among our allies?

A. You know the essence of what we are trying to do is politicize the debate, get the politicians involved rather than leave it to the nuclear accountants as Carrington put it, and to the military. In that sense, the major backers of this idea are the people in the various countries. If the people seemingly are the backers of it, it means that the politicians are going to become the backers of it because most politicians like to jump in front of the parade.

Q. What do you suppose the process might be, political consequences in the United States and Canada and so on, but how do you judge or activate or whatever the political process of the Soviet Union.?

A. Well, one must assume that politicians whether they come from democracies or quasi-democracies or totalitarian countries are there to serve the people as they understand them according to their ideology or according to their desires, but I think it is self-evident that the Soviet people do not want war anymore than

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the American people want war. Indeed they are probably more afraid of war than we are over on this side and therefore there is a real constituency for peace in the Soviet Union. Add to that the fact that many of the articulate spokesmen in the Soviet Union, some in exile and some in periods of grace, now realize that the Soviet Union has to develop more of its consumer side of its society and it cannot afford to keep up the arm race. So there is a genuine desire for peace and a genuine desire to spend less on arms, and this is a constituency that politicians over there must serve. Now, how do we reach that constituency is, I suppose, what you mean. I think there should be contacts between the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries as is happening in Stockholm. I attach great importance to the five nuclear power meeting and I feel that it is our duty, the nuclear states which are in the NATO Alliance, that is the United States, and Great Britain, France on the edge of it, plus China, which is a third-world country and non-aligned supposedly. They have a duty because they are the five members of the Security Council and they have the duty and the possibility of influencing each other. So these are various ways in which you can reach the leadership.

Q. How would you define the success of your mission? The idea of the people just starting to talk again, is that it or do you have a longer range definition of success?

A. No, I guess success is always defined, by politicians anyhow, post-facto. Whatever happens is success and you declare victory and withdraw, whatever it is. But in this particular case, I think there are stages of success. I would say the first stage is getting political leaders involved. Even on the NATO side, there is no doubt as I was saying earlier that the peoples of our countries are concerned with the problem of nuclear war, but because of this decision in 1979, the two-track decision, there was a reluctance, I would say, on the part of our various governments to appear to weaken the Alliance by sort of raising questions or getting involved in a way which might seem to be interpretable as a splitting of the Alliance or of a departure from the line. The obsession of our side has been, I guess in the last eighteen months, to make sure that we did not renege on our ultimatum of December 1979, the two-track decision, that if we have not made progress we will deploy. There was great nervousness in handling it on the part of certainly the United States and probably Britain that there would be a weakening of that resolve in coming down to the wire in December. For that reason, the politicians were reluctant to involve themselves. Well, they have involved themselves now. They have

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decided that they would go to Stockholm at the ministerial level. So that political participation is a success. Then, of course, the objective of that is, as you put it, to resume the dialogue, to reduce the tensions, to end the megaphone diplomacy and that seems to be beginning to happen at our end. Now, so that's the second stage for measuring success. The third and real stage is whether the actions or the deeds follow the words. And I suppose that's the next question: Where do we go from here? There will be various tests of success. I am talking globally. Those individual things that are encouraging like the Chinese changed their stance even towards me, between what they were telling me in Peking in November and what they were telling me this week in Ottawa -- five powers, they had a very firm line on it in Peking, but now they are not rejecting the possibility that if, as members of the Security Council, they are invited to be present or to join in some group, they would consider joining, or accepting the invitation.

Q. Prime Minister, excepting the fact that the arms race is taking some deplorable turns, are you or do you think people you are talking to on all sides are really more afraid of war today than they were two years ago, or do you think that a lot of this come back, rhetorical and political, in fact springs from the sense that there is no particular danger of war? If there really were a danger, do you not think that we would be talking very fast?

A. Are you addressing the question to me personally or as a general feeling in the West?

Q. First, you, and then your perception of others, yes. Do you think that really everyone is talking in the rhetoric of war in terms of the arms race, but are you really more afraid today than you were three years ago?

A. I guess. Do you know about that article by Tom Powers on when you start packing your bags for New Zealand? You are asking if I started packing. The answer is no, but the Bulletin of atomic scientists has moved the clock forward by one minute now. So I guess the answer to the question is debatable. In my view, I cannot say that I feel that the danger of either of the major powers wanting a war is greater, it is probably lesser because the magnitude of the destruction each can impose on the other is appalling, but I think the danger is not from their willing to have war, the danger is from a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of whether the other side is preparing a pre-emptive strike or not. In this sense, I would answer unequivocally: When two sides in a dispute hate each other, insult

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each other and shout at each other, and when their technology is very, very highly developed, I would say the danger is greater than when they are sitting down, talking, progressing, keeping their guard up but trying to probe movement and trying to encourage movement. If we look at different periods in history, and certainly the twelve or thirteen years leading up to the Helsinki final accord, were a period of specific steps taken towards detente. When the thing was signed of course, detente was practically ended, that is the paradox. But there were all those treaties between '62 and '75 which were of real value. I do not want to elaborate too much on them, but it is interesting to go back to that inventive and creative period which paradoxically came after the Cuban missile crisis and perhaps everybody has been so afraid that they decided that they should make some compromise and sign some agreements, whether they be hot-line agreements, or sea-bed agreements, or outer space agreements, or nuclear test bans, partial test bans and so on. There was a whole area of, and that is what I would like to see out of our side, out of the United States particularly. They have the brains, they have the genius, they have the inventiveness and if they stopped being so bloody suspicious they would be tossing out suggestions for progress rather than saying: Well, we have got to continue to build up and once we are very strong and superior to you, then we can talk in confidence. That is the stuff of which wars are made.

Q. Prime Minister, you talk about the politicisation of the question. I have heard a lot of comments that the question has been politicized severely in the last few months, both in this country by the softline that you spoke about being dictated by this being an election year in the United States and I have also heard it said from Canadians that the effort on your part is dictated by a political situation at home. What are your feelings about or your answer to these, or your comments rather, of these observations that politicisation has come in terms of domestic problems both in Canada for you and in the United States for Mr. Reagan?

A. Insofar as you are saying that politicisation has come in the last few months, whether it has come in my heart or welled up in President Reagan's, I am happy. Maybe that is the definition of success that you are looking for. I have suddenly become politically preoccupied with the question of war and peace and so is President Reagan and so have others whose electoral deadlines are less close than ours. Do all the people sitting in Stockholm this week, all the ministers of democratically elected governments are they all suddenly seized with the fear of the electorate and therefore are moving

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this direction? If it is as elementary as that, so much the better. I do not think it is a bad thing that the politicians are suddenly seeing what people want: "They want peace and maybe I better stand for peace." That is what I described as jumping in front of a parade and sort of saying well I started it. I think it is a mug's game to try and invalidate a politician, particularly a democratically elected politician's motives by saying: Oh, he is trying to seek reelection, if that is what the people want.

Q. Prime Minister, aside from the theological elements of getting a critical mass of consciousness behind a peace effort, there seems to be a divergent approach here in that the issue has been brought to the control of the U.S. and the Soviet Union for so long. Presumably you are saying it ought not be. Others ought to be brought in. Is there any pragmatic rationale that makes that approach, of bringing in more players, somehow more satisfactory, who can assure a more satisfactory resolution than leaving it to two where there are less variables.

A. Well, let us start with the proposition that we will be all involved or endangered by the destruction if the two do not agree. In other words, it is true that the 90, 95 per cent of nuclear arms are in the hands of the two super-powers, but the use of them will not only have its effect on those two super-powers, you know. We will all go up. So in that sense, once again your question may be somewhat irrelevant if we all risk being blown up, I think we all have the responsibility of trying to prevent that. Now, is the best way of trying to prevent that to sit on your hands and let the super powers work it out? I would say that is certainly a valid approach. If you are in an alliance, you trust the leader of the alliance and you hope he will make progress and then you know you will not be at the bargaining table and, in a sense, you will never know who at one point spoiled the chances of progress. Why did the "Walk in the Woods" not... Who is responsible in the last analysis? If it is success or failure in Geneva, I guess we can only say well, the other side was wrong and we were right because we trust each other, but in reality we would never know. So in that sense, there was a long period of trust and confidence in the leader of the Alliance, but if, after a certain period of time, there are no results, I think it is the duty of the leaders of other countries to say: Hey, hey, our people are concerned with this and therefore I want to be involved in some way. Now, what does "in some way" mean and what kind of pressure do you exercise since you can only exercise on your side and not on the other, is the kind of question I have been attempting to solve with others in the past considerable time. Like when they ask

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lo you want to test the Cruise and all these things, you are asking these questions, how far do we go? As I say during that period the language of the United States frightened us somewhat and therefore I think we were entitled to ask that the tone be changed. And for whatever reason the tone has been changed. Take the MBFR talks in Vienna, they have been going on since 1971. Who is responsible for no progress there? I think we are all participants. We all have ambassadors there working at them. We know there is no progress. At some point, it is not just the super powers who call the shots. We can and do make judgment as to why are they taking so long to put a proposal forward and why it takes so long for the Soviets to answer and now why have we not answered their counterproposal? These are judgments that we can and do make. To get back to your question, if there is some way in which we can get greater results by a greater participation, I think you can as we did in getting movement in Brussels and hopefully by getting movement in Vienna, but also I think that the five nuclear powers who - and it is not a coincidence - happen to be the five permanent members of the Security Council can put pressure on each other. That is the argument I was making earlier. It is one way where I do not just say to Mrs. Thatcher who wishes me good luck with my five power thing or the Chinese who say: "You know we are with you and keep on your work". I would turn around and say: "Hey, but thank you for the good wishes, but what are you doing? You are a member of the Security Council, you see the Soviets, you have under the charter a military staff committee which has to meet regularly. You do meet and can meet. So in this forum you can put pressure on each other". It is like in a labour negotiation or any other negotiation. Two people bluffing away at each other, behave differently than if they have a couple of friends or enemies at the table or journalists who are taking notes. You know it is all going to be recorded and you can be judged by it. So more people at the table and, at this stage, I think makes it easier and more productive than just two.

Q. Prime Minister, one of the things that sometimes put people who are not hawks off as far as peace initiatives are concerned, maybe it should not but it does, is the feeling of double standards. You and others have talked a great deal about the American rhetoric, evil empire, etc. The fact is, however, that the Soviet Union's rhetoric towards the United States has been, I do not know what words to use, vicious, ever since the beginning of the cold war in

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1950's it has continued straight on that way except for brief periods... Pravda is full of it, the military is full of it, the UN is almost a cess pool of unpleasantness towards the United States. There is very little... Reagan gets up and says it is an evil empire. It may be accurate, but it is not a very pleasant phrase. He said the other day I think in kind of genuine astonishment: Why are you guys picking on me for? Why do you not go and pick on them who call us racists, imperialists, warmongers," and constantly fill their airwaves with it, fill the UN with it and when poor old Reagan says it is an evil empire or something like that everybody gets excited. The ambiance surrounding the peace movement is always how horrible the United States is and how horrible our rhetoric is, I bet if you took a vote outside the Soviet Union, the people would say its an evil empire.

A. Well, you made your case and I agree with it. I do not know who are indicting...

Q. You are worried about the increase in the rhetoric of the United States. Well, the rhethoric of the Soviet Union is pretty nasty most of the time.

A. Well, you are making your point. I understand it. I am just saying who are you indicting? I suggest maybe you are indicting a certain number of peaceniks but maybe the media too. I do not know. I can give you a chapter and verse, what I mean is, quote out of Hansard. When I said this to those who were saying why are you testing the Cruise and so on, you know, just looking ... If you want we will send you excerpts from Hansard where I say: "Look, yes I did say that the President was using excessive language". I suppose a year ago I was saying this. "But look at what the Soviets are saying and read Pravda and listen to their speeches in the UN". So I make your point. I made the point with the President when I came out from the White House last month, I made it inside and then outside. I am surprised that President Reagan's speech to the DIET has not been more reported. In that speech where he said: "Look, we are not looking for superiority. We do not believe that nuclear war can be won". He also says that he wants reduction of nuclear arms and he is prepared to make them. He said all these things and I did not see them screaming in the headlines here. And I asked President Reagan: How is it? He said: "I do not know". Maybe the media are not interested in reporting and so on. I had met with the church leaders in Canada a few days before coming to the White House and I made your point to them. "Do any of you know what President Reagan said in the DIET just three or four weeks ago?" They knew the general thing,

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but they had not read about these particular statements (inuadible). So maybe it is a self-indictment that you are drawing here. I may stand somewhat accused, but I think I could easily defend myself. I do think that we are not even-handed, but as my interlocutors answered to me in the House of Commons when I made this point, they said: " Yeah, yeah, but you know we cannot influence the Soviet Union, we can influence you Trudeau and we do not like the way you are deploying Cruise missiles", and so on.

Q. But I think that rhetoric aside, is there not a possibility that your group will be more powerful in trying to nudge the United States into a lesser position or into a different position in talks themselves, in technical talks whatever, without really evening it up by being able to nudge the Soviet Union as well. In other words, won't all your pressure ultimately fall on the United States rather than the Soviet Union?

A. Yes, and it is meant to be. We each only influence the people we can. If I were talking unilateral disarmament or something like that, then you might take the next step and say: Well, you know you are nudging your side and nudging in the wrong direction. I am not nudging towards unilateral disarmament. I am not nudging that Canada become neutral in world affairs. I stand up as a member of the Alliance. In other words, what you are saying it that it would be dangerous if we were all involved in a desire for peace and naively laid down arms, but certainly I have been very careful not to suggest that. That is why I began the Canadian initiative by visiting the main leaders of the Alliance and those who are called upon to deploy in particular and made it quite clear that I was not questioning the two-track decision, as I had to make it clear in Williamsburg last June when we had this big hassle over what we were going to say about war and peace. You know there were those who said: "Well, we have to make it clear that we will not blanch and we are going to deploy by December if the Soviets do not withdraw". And there were those who said: "yes we have to make that clear, but let us also say that we are going to negotiate to the very end and let us make sure that we do negotiate to the very end, because it is not just a question of machismo, of, you know, we are going to be tough bloody guys and we are going to deploy because in 1979 we said we would deploy and we are going to do it. We also said in 1979 that we were to negotiate and I guess it is a bit the danger of the situation today to refer to an earlier question. It is that we had - I guess that although I am not a military expert that I would venture to say that the Soviets did not really need the SS-20's when they had the 4's and 5's and I guess I would go further and I would say that militarily speaking we probably do not really need the Pershing II's

and the Cruise missiles, but they began modernizing in the middle or early 70's and we said that if you did not undo that modernization with the SS-20's we would not start modernizing in 1983 and they said: "Well, if you start modernizing in 1983, we will withdraw from the arms talks". So here were the two sides, me included on our side, sort of testing our political will. That is why, peacemaker or not, I could not support Papandreou's suggestion to give it another six months after December, because it had become a test of the strength and the unity and the political will of the Alliance to do what they said they were going to do, otherwise it would have been all huff and bluff. So here we were saddled with our own deadlines and our own two-tracks established in 1979 and if we broke ranks then I think that would have been a victory for the Soviets and then they would have pressed in and said: "Ah, ah, the peace movement is working politically against the Alliance. Let us hang tough". On the other hand, having said that they would get away from the table if we began deployment, they were stuck vis-à-vis their own members of the Warsaw Pact countries to do what they said they would do. It has begun... talking about politicizing the issue. Certainly, it had been politicized in the last six months in that sense, but each side had to carry through with their threats and by September, when we became active in this, we realized it was inevitable it was going to happen. We were going to deploy and that they would leave the table. I think rightly so Canadians began to say: "Well, what is the next step? Is it just pure escalation and are the talks out forever or do you want to get the politicians back at the table or away? How long are they going to continue hating each other until after the American elections or can they start right away?" I guess the thrust of Canada's initiative was to get them to start right away and that is why we said: "O.K., in Stockholm we must begin at the political level right away and not start a ten-year process as was started in Vienna in 1971."

Q. Prime Minister, intrinsic in your approach though, is by going NATO and multilateral rather than bilateral one of the points in the stalemate made right now is a question of what kind of a parity the Soviets are after and what kind of parity the U.S. is after. If the Soviet position is parity with NATO, collective parity, then does not your approach enhance their posture whereas the U.S. position, the bilateral parity and leaving the French and the Germans out. By bringing this new element into it, does not that bolster their hand?

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A. No, when I explained the 5 power forum, I set forth a certain number of principals which are debatable but which at least took into account that particular concern. What I've said is that the five-power meeting probably should be based on the notion of parity between the Soviets and the United States. They are the two with 95% of the stuff and they should negotiate towards parity. I even conceded a bit for the sake of logic not in the hope that it would necessarily happen, but with the knowledge that it was happening, that they could conceivably begin to meet and the French and the British continue with their "modernizations" which are planned and underway. And if the Chinese said the same thing, then I could say, "look I am not after you, I am not trying to get you to reduce your force de frappe in France and Mrs. Thatcher to withdraw her submarine plans, and so on. What I am saying is that there should be parity between the two and that means that we do not have to count the British and the French with the American warheads and for obvious reasons. In a sense they are marginal compared to the total strength, and also for reasons of political sovereignty it is not a good realistic start to say that the French will have to start reducing. The Chinese made the same point to me. "We have just got a symbolic capability, why pick on us?" I am not picking on you, you do not have to start reducing. But you have to put pressure on the two super powers to start reducing. And I think the American Congress will never, nor the President will ever say that we should be unequal to the Soviets because we have the British and the French, and certainly the Soviets they will, "we would like superiority to everybody", but they have to understand that that is not in the cards. The point is that everybody now has got the power to inflict unacceptable damage on each other. Even the minor ones with I guess their (inaudible) type of operation they can't win a war, they can inflict unacceptable damage to the other and that's no theory between the whole theory behind the force de frappe.

Q. The missiles in Europe aside, do you accept President Reagan's premise that as of 1981, parity had broken down and that the Soviets had spent a decade deliberately wanting it to break down?

A. You say the missiles aside?

Q. I mean missiles in Europe aside. One of Reagan's concern was that quite apart from the Euro-missiles that the Soviet Union had spent a decade, while we were "essentially standing still"...

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A. The so-called window of vulnerability. Look, I am not inclined to accept that. I am not, once again, a nuclear accountant but I can't accept that the United States was in a position where its' deterrents could not be used as a deterrent, in other words, I don't say it was equal, certainly it wasn't equal in terms of land-based ICBMs, and I think it was superior in other areas but I can't weigh those things and I think one of the falacies in Geneva is probably to try and weigh these various components. The whole notion of the deterrent was that you have enough to inflict unacceptable damage on the other side and I don't accept

Q. But that could be said of the Russians as of say 1972? Yet they didn't stop building.

A. Yes, that is true and that is the danger to the arms race. And now, they are saying President Reagan is not stopping either. So he will go up one and then they will go up another. And that is ...

Q. So isn't the essential problem one of accounting, unless and until we can somehow equate each other's arsenals on some agreed definition of parity, we are never going to get anywhere?

A. An agreed definition of parity, yes. But I would suggest that the thrust should be working towards the parity and not by erecting and reducing our arms rather than by saying: "well, in the meantime we must escalate". I don't accept that we were in a position so inferior that we couldn't accept honest proposals for reducing on our side. As I say, the politics of it are different than the military aspects of it.

Q. But that's my problem. When you get the politicians, even on both sides, to say yes, it can't be won and therefore we might as well stop and therefore, let us have parity. Then they turn to the experts and their experts tell them and they say: "we are not accountants", and the accountants then tell them that is breaking parity, so we better match them. And then the other side says, that's breaking parity. So unless, between the politicians and the accountants, you get some agreed sense of what parity means, we are not going to break out of this.

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A. I mean, that is the role of the politicians. And it is a godly role. They have to make a value judgement at one point, which the military perhaps in their cautiousness and their accountants in their exactitude cannot make. Maybe what you are arguing is that at some point you have to take a chance for peace. You have to make an initiative, not only say the words but make an initiative which will cause the other to decide whether he is going to follow that initiative now.

Q. To follow on that point. What you are implying and I think what Max is saying, that there is a need if there is to be progress to create some degree of mutual confidence, particularly given, as you have pointed out in the past, the fact that verification is becoming less and less a real possibility in terms of enforcement. If there is to be confidence, it would seem to me that confidence has to be built on a number of issues which relate to regional settlements of those specifics: Afghanistan, Central America, other questions. If a dialogue is to begin, do you see the dialogue encompassing the other questions or just being restricted to entirely to the question of arms control? And if it is to be restricted to the question of arms control, how do you achieve the kind of confidence that Max is speaking of that will encourage political leaders to turn their backs on the accountants and do what seems to be the sensible thing?

A. Well, I will perhaps deal with the second question first and the return to the former. The second is that there are two ways of responding to Max's question. One is to say, let's escalate by another step and meanwhile discuss sincerely which is a two track decision. Or, to deescalate by another step and then see if the other side will deescalate. When we go up, they go up. And when they go up, we go up and so on. Let us see if when we go down, they go down. And NATO took such a decision in its meeting at the end of October when it decided to withdraw 1,500 war-heads from Europe. It had made the same decision in 1979 when it reduced 1,000 in 1979. These are good steps.

But in the state where we are now, I am suggesting -- and that is getting back to your question, what is success? -- there will have to be some specific initiatives taken. It might be a ratification of SALT II, it might be a general treaty of non-aggression -- and I am not a believer of just general statements of disarmament -- but I believe that we have to and that was my

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gument about the period between 62 and 75. We have to put proposals on the table. There are certain treaties of 1970's -- 74 and 76 -- which haven't been ratified. There is the SALT II that hasn't been ratified. There is the answer to the MBFR Soviet position which was brought out last June or July which we haven't answered yet. There are several steps we can take without lowering our guard.

And I think that is what we must be looking to now. Now that we are using the right words, I think we must propose the right deeds. Really it is a difficult question but remember Newman's grammar of assent. At some point, you must take a leap of faith and say: "well, we are politicians, and we have got to have a feel for what...in negotiating. You do you do with your union... At some point you make a proposal which your shareholders would be mad at if it rings on the table and becomes a new basis for new demands by the unions. But you make your judgement at some point. And I say, time is right and I think that was the meaning of the President's speech. You know, "we have strengthened ourselves in the past eighteen months or two and a half years. We are now prepared to make some proposals". Good. Let's see what they are. And of course the other side is still screaming and using the rhetoric but they don't trust us and we don't trust them. And now, we are saying we are going to trust them. Let us see if the screaming stops. They did sign a lot of agreements in that period. And maybe they will sign some more.

Now, the earlier part of your question is yes. It is not only a question of nuclear war and, as I said at one stage, the proposal was not to suddenly make the world safe for war by conventional means. There are other areas of concern and preoccupation apart from the nuclear one and you named areas of tension on which ideally progress should be made. But I think even there we have made a distinct advance, at least the United States has -- when it has begun to say: "we have legitimate security interests but the other side has legitimate security interests which we must respect". And that was the word spelt out in Brussels in December. I think that is beginning to say, evil empire or not, we are going to co-exist with you. We realize that you have certain areas where you are justifiably concerned about us being in your backyard. We are getting you to understand that we have a backyard too. But, that is at least new language. And that language is necessary if you are going to begin talking about Afghanistan or Cambodia or Korea or Central America or Grenada.

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Q. Do you find the rhetoric in international affairs a little loud and noisy? How is it in bilateral affairs between Ottawa and Washington? Some mutual trust needed there, isn't there?

A. I honestly don't feel that, not now at any rate. I think there was a great feeling of tension in Williamsburg on this specific issue. It was mainly between Mrs. Thatcher and myself, rather than President Reagan and myself although she used words...

Q. There are some problems confronting our two countries...

A. I don't want to weaken our negotiating posture, but I don't think the Americans have really willfully attempted to do us in, in any area which is uncorrigible, or inredeemable. There are many grievances, some long-standing like the fisheries agreement on the East coast which now is before the international arbitration. There are other areas like acid rain and the application of the non-pollution treaty of the Great Lakes. I can go through the grievances but I think we are managing those grievances. We are not permitting them to develop into crises. I would say that the administration is motivated by good will in the approach to those. I wouldn't say as much for all the lobbies around Congress but that is their game, that is their bag. We have lobbyists too. I don't think we have any crisis in the management of our bilateral relationship. I think there is an agreement to try and manage it and pick-up the phone from time to time or go and see your opposite number as ministers are constantly doing from both sides.

Q. I would be remiss in my responsibility if I didn't ask you whether Mr. Andropov's suggestion that you come see him in an indeterminate near future conflicts with your own political (inaudible) domestic politics in your plans and...

A. Well, I guess what you are alluding to is do I have to get certain things done before either I call an election or before I call it quits. I would just say no election has to be called before February 1985. Although every person involved in public life whether he is a journalist or a politician has certain long-term goals, I think any good politician has short-term tactics. And in that sense, I guess we are like members of the press. You seize the moment and you -- at least I have always made my vital decisions about my future in the forty-eight hours when it had to be decided. It is the only way you can do it in politics when everything is so...

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Q. Were all those reports about Trudeau quitting wishful thinking then?

A. I think they are. It doesn't mean it won't happen but I think....Many of the people say: Well, after a long while, it is time for a change, let's get something new, new entertainment". I guess my answer to that is: "sure, I can understand people saying it is time for a change, but a change to what". And I think they have to see what the change would be. And that is when I make my speech saying, "well, if you think it is time for a change, don't plan to be sick or unemployed or poor because the change you are going to get is not...

Just returning to various subjects in your question about success, I would want to -- I haven't had time to expand on that -- but I want you to believe that whether I win an election or not is in a sense irrelevant. There are different stages to any move towards peace and I think what I would want to leave you with is that that we are saying the right words on our side, I think there are some initiatives that we can take, whether it be a five-power secret meeting at the UN, whether it be a move on the MBFR or a very vital agreement -- getting back to your earlier question about jockeying each other up -- I am very much concerned, not so much about the number of nuclear arms as I am about the will behind them, but I am also concerned that that will will translate itself into new technological developments in the use of arms in outer space. We haven't talked about that but I think we have to be much more concerned about that than the little moves on the chess board now. I think any side that is prepared to say that they are willing to discuss an agreement which would prohibit the use of the ASATS, the anti-satellite systems it will take a lot of courage to do so because I think the Americans think that they can make a technological end-run there and I am sure the Soviets are terrified of it in terms of expense but they know that they can eventually catch up if we do so and I think that is a quantum leap into a much more terrifying state of the world.

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for a Chinese Wire Service
Report
MA 20-01-84

-Draft by Q.
J. Cron
revised
by
JDDZ

Your government has been playing an active role in world issues. Could you make some comments on easing the world tension?

A. The responsibility for easing world tension belongs to all governments, for in the nuclear age, all nations will be affected by the consequences of nuclear war. Canada has been concerned that tensions in the international environment have been increasing. It is my belief that any and all efforts to affect this trend can contribute to the maintenance of peace.

no notion will
be spared the
Atlantic line

I have discussed this problem with many world leaders and statemen over the last few months and all agreed that without political will and a sense of urgency, suspicion and fear between East and West could only increase. Since beginning my endeavor, I have been heartened by assurance received from both major and minor powers that they wish to participate in efforts to improve the international environment.

an urgent
injection?

Indeed, I believe that 1984 will see a reduction of the international tensions which have so worried so many concerned citizens. The period of megaphone diplomacy, of super-powers shouting at and past each other, may be over. Foreign ministers of East and West are meeting in Stockholm this week to discuss how they can best build a framework of confidence and dialogue in Europe. While the major arms control issues of the day are not now under negotiation, I am optimistic that increased dialogue between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will lead to a breakthrough on these questions sometime this year.

IS EASING.

While Canada will continue to strive to encourage nations to resolve conflicts through peaceful means, it is my strongly held view that the nuclear powers, because they hold such destructive potential in their arsenals, have a special responsibility to help build the structure for peace. The People's Republic of China, as a nuclear power, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and as a country with great moral force throughout the world, must bring its strength to bear in harnessing the arms race and in working for the reduction of the world's nuclear arsenal. With these commitments, I am sure that a structure for peace can be built.

DIRECTLY

PKR and JDDZ

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UNC

PRIME MINISTER'S INITIATIVE
ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

BACKGROUND

The Prime Minister's central purpose is to try to stop and reverse the worsening trend in East-West relations, and thus reduce international tensions and risks of confrontation. His chief proposal addresses the need to restore confidence and re-establish high-level political dialogue between East and West, and particularly between the two superpowers. / In the wake of the KAL downing, East-West relations appeared to have touched a low point. There has been little genuine political dialogue between the two sides and no real political framework for arms control and other negotiations. The Prime Minister is interested in seeing if more propitious conditions can be created for building a constructive, working relationship between East and West.

The initiative involves a number of specific proposals - (a) a conference of the five nuclear weapon states to limit strategic nuclear arsenals (b) a concerted political effort to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime (c) a political impetus by the West to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks in Vienna to try to raise the ^{seuil nucl.} nuclear threshold in Europe by achieving a stable balance of conventional forces at lower levels (d) the inauguration of the Stockholm Conference at senior political level.

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Also related to the initiative are proposals for (a) a ban on the testing and deployment of high altitude anti-satellite systems (b) a requirement that future strategic systems be verifiable by *moyens tech. nat* National Technical Means and (c) restrictions on the mobility of ICBMs.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

1. Prime Minister's meeting with Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and senior officials; creation of Task Force (September 21)
2. Prime Minister meets at Meach Lake with Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence, senior officials and ambassadors (October 7)
3. Prime Minister's letters to all NATO Heads of Government (October 22-25)
4. Prime Minister's speech at Guelph University (October 27)
5. Prime Minister's letters to Soviet and Chinese leaders (early November)

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6. Prime Minister's meetings with President Mitterrand of France, Prime Minister Lubbers and Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, Prime Minister Martens of Belgium, His Holiness the Pope, Prime Minister Craxi of Italy, Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain (November 8-11)
7. Prime Minister's speech in Montreal (November 13)
8. Prime Minister's meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone (November 19)
9. Prime Minister's personal emissary (Geoffrey Peason) visits Peking (November 21-22) and Moscow (November 25-26)
10. Prime Minister participates in Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi (November 22-27)
11. Prime Minister's visit to Peking (November 28-29)
12. Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs participation in NATO ministerial meetings (December 8-9)

- 4 -

13. Prime Minister's meetings over six week period with leading experts on nuclear matters and East-West relations - Robert McNamara, General Rogers, General Brent Scowcroft, George Kennan, Members of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group, Georgi Arbatov. (October-November)
14. Prime Minister's visit to President Reagan in Washington (December 15)
15. Prime Minister's Meeting with U.N. Secretary General (January 11)
16. Visit of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang (January 16-20)

REACTIONS

The Prime Minister has received encouraging support for the broad political purposes of the initiative in his consultations with European allies, the Chinese leadership, President Nakasone of Japan and President Reagan. The Prime Minister has found general agreement with his analysis of the dangerous state of East-West relations and the need for the re-establishment of political dialogue.

- 5 -

Also, Commonwealth Heads of Government specifically endorsed Prime Minister Trudeau's initiative in the Goa Declaration on International Security which reflected the Prime Minister's analysis of the gravity of the current situation and the importance of applying political will to the quest for international security. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has commended and encouraged the Prime Minister's efforts.

RESULTS

The degree of support which the Prime Minister has garnered for the main purposes of his initiative is of itself a positive result insofar as it may have a beneficial effect on the climate of East-West relations. The decisions taken at the NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels in early December were particularly significant in furthering the purposes of the initiative:

- (a) an undertaking by NATO foreign ministers to attend the opening of the Stockholm Conference, followed by a decision by the Warsaw Pact to have its ministers attend.
- (b) an undertaking to review ^{the NATO position on} the MBFR negotiations;
- (c) the "Brussels declaration" which pledges NATO to work for "genuine détente" and constructive dialogue with the East in recognition of their mutual security interests and eschews any attempt to seek superiority.

- (d) a decision to review the state of East-West relations

*to find
search for ways in which they might be improved*

000097

INITIATIVE DU PREMIER MINISTRE TOUCHANT LES RELATIONS EST-OUEST
ET LA SÉCURITÉ INTERNATIONALE

HISTORIQUE

L'objectif central du Premier ministre est de tenter d'arrêter et de renverser la tendance à la détérioration des relations Est-Ouest et, par voie de conséquence, de réduire les tensions internationales et les dangers d'affrontement. Sa principale proposition concerne la nécessité de redonner la confiance et de rétablir un dialogue politique de haut niveau entre l'Est et l'Ouest, et plus particulièrement entre les deux superpuissances. Après l'incident de l'aéronef des KAL, les relations Est-Ouest ont semblé avoir atteint un creux. Il y a peu de véritables discussions politiques entre les deux parties, et aucun cadre politique concret pour le contrôle des armements et les autres négociations. Le Premier ministre est intéressé à voir si des conditions plus propices peuvent être instaurées en vue de permettre des contacts constructifs entre l'Est et l'Ouest.

L'initiative comporte un certain nombre de propositions spécifiques - a) une conférence des cinq puissances nucléaires en vue de limiter les arsenaux nucléaires stratégiques; b) un effort politique concerté pour renforcer le régime de non-prolifération nucléaire; c) un réengagement politique de l'Occident envers les Pourparlers de Vienne sur des réductions mutuelles et équilibrées des forces pour tenter de hausser le seuil nucléaire en Europe en stabilisant l'équilibre des forces classiques à des niveaux d'armement moindres; d) l'inauguration de la Conférence de Stockholm à un niveau politique élevé.

-2-

L'initiative comporte également des propositions visant

- a) l'interdiction de la mise à l'essai et du déploiement de systèmes antisatellite de haute altitude; b) l'exigence que les futurs systèmes stratégiques puissent être vérifiés par des moyens techniques nationaux; et
- c) des restrictions posées à la mobilité des missiles balistiques intercontinentaux (ICBM).

CALENDRIER DES PRINCIPALES ACTIVITÉS

1. Le Premier ministre rencontre le Vice-premier ministre, le ministre de la Défense nationale et des hauts fonctionnaires; création d'un Groupe spécial (21 septembre).
2. Le Premier ministre rencontre le Vice-premier ministre, le ministre de la Défense nationale, des hauts fonctionnaires et des ambassadeurs au lac Meach (7 octobre).
3. Le Premier ministre envoie des lettres à tous les chefs de gouvernement de l'OTAN (22-25 octobre).
4. Le Premier ministre prononce une allocution à l'université de Guelph (27 octobre).
5. Le Premier ministre envoie des lettres aux dirigeants soviétique et chinois (début novembre).

-3-

6. Le Premier ministre rencontre le Président Mitterrand (France), le Premier ministre Lubbers et la Reine Beatrix (Pays-Bas), le Premier ministre Martens (Belgique), Sa Sainteté le Pape, le Premier ministre Craxi (Italie), le Chancelier Kohl (Allemagne de l'Ouest) et le Premier ministre Thatcher (Grande-Bretagne) (8-11 novembre).
7. Le Premier ministre prononce une allocution à Montréal (13 novembre).
8. Le Premier ministre rencontre le Premier ministre du Japon, M. Nakasone (19 novembre).
9. Le représentant personnel du Premier ministre (Geoffrey Pearson) visite Pékin (21-22 novembre) et Moscou (25-26 novembre).
10. Le Premier ministre participe à la Rencontre des Chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth à New Delhi (22-27 novembre).
11. Le Premier ministre se rend en visite à Pékin (28-29 novembre).
12. Le Vice-premier ministre et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures participe aux réunions ministérielles de l'OTAN (8-9 décembre).
13. Le Premier ministre rencontre, sur une période de six semaines, d'éminents experts des questions nucléaires et des relations

-4-

Est-Ouest: Robert McNamara, le Général Rogers, le Général Brent Scowcroft, George Kennan, des membres du Harvard Nuclear Study Group, et Georgi Arbatov (octobre-novembre).

14. Le Premier ministre rend visite au Président Reagan à Washington (15 décembre).
15. Le Premier ministre rencontre le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies (11 janvier).
16. Visite du Premier ministre de la Chine, M. Zhao Ziyang (16-20 janvier).

RÉACTIONS

Le Premier ministre a reçu un appui encourageant pour les grands objectifs politiques de son initiative lors des consultations qu'il a eues avec les alliés européens, les dirigeants chinois, le Président Nakasone du Japon et le Président Reagan. Le Premier ministre a constaté que ses interlocuteurs partageaient généralement son analyse de l'état dangereux des relations Est-Ouest et qu'ils étaient conscients de la nécessité de rétablir le dialogue politique.

-5-

De plus, les Chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont spécifiquement endossé l'initiative du Premier ministre Trudeau dans la Déclaration de Goa sur la sécurité internationale, laquelle reflétait le point de vue du Premier ministre quant au sérieux de la situation actuelle ainsi qu'à l'importance de donner un nouvel élan politique à la recherche de la sécurité internationale. Le Secrétaire général Perez de Cuellar a loué et encouragé les efforts du Premier ministre.

RÉSULTATS

L'appui que le Premier ministre a reçu pour les grands objectifs de son initiative est en soi un résultat positif en autant qu'il peut avoir un effet bénéfique sur le climat des relations Est-Ouest. Les décisions prises à la Réunion ministérielle de l'OTAN tenue à Bruxelles au début de décembre ont appuyé tout particulièrement les objectifs de l'initiative; elles comprenaient notamment:

- a) un engagement des ministres des Affaires étrangères de l'OTAN d'assister à l'ouverture de la Conférence de Stockholm, suivi d'une décision du Pacte de Varsovie de demander à ses ministres d'y assister également;
- b) un engagement de réexaminer la position de l'OTAN sur les négociations MBFR;

-6-

- c) la "Déclaration de Bruxelles" qui engage l'OTAN à rechercher une "détente véritable" ainsi qu'un dialogue constructif tenant compte des intérêts de sécurité du bloc de l'Est et excluant toute tentative pour obtenir la supériorité;
- d) une décision de revoir l'état des relations Est-Ouest pour rechercher des moyens de les améliorer.

MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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TO/À

TO BUCST DELIVER BY 210900

INFO

DISTR

INFO PRGUE WSAW

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DISTR IFB RGB RBR RBD XDV

SUBJ/SUJ

---PM VISIT

GRATEFUL YOUR BEST EFFORTS TO OBTAIN EARLY READING ON INITIAL OUTLINE
OF PROGRAM. VISIT IS BILLED AS QUOTE STREAMLINED WORKING MISSION

UNQUOTE AND NOT/NOT OFFICIAL VISIT. ^{BILATERAL} CONVINING HOSTS OF THIS
CONCEPT IS NO EASY TASK.

2. WE ARE CURRENTLY LOOKING AT ARRIVAL TIME FROM EAST BERLIN OF 1215
HRS LOCAL WEDNESDAY 01FEB AND DEPARTURE SOMETIME DURING AFTERNOON OF
THURSDAY 02FEB. THIS MAY HAVE TO BE EARLIER IN AFTERNOON RATHER THAN
LATER DUE TO POSSIBLE ENGAGEMENT PRESSURES IN CDA. WILL ADVISE PRE-
CISE TIMES ASAP.

3. THERE WILL BE NO/NO ADVANCE DEL.

4. OFFICIAL DEL MAY BE 17/17 RATHER THAN 15. XDV WILL ADVISE EXACT
LIST AS APPROVED BY PM SOONEST. GOVT GUEST HOUSE OK. WILL IT ACCOMMO-
DATE ENTIRE DEL? QUESTION OF PRESS LODGING DEALT WITH PMDEL/NYC/
DURDIN TEL YIGR0563 19JAN.

5. FOR MTGS STANDARD CDN SIDE WILL INCLUDE PM, AMB SIMARD, FOWLER,
HANCOCK, AND SMITH AS WELL AS AXWORTHY IF HE COMES. IF NUMBERS PERMIT
WE WOULD ADD JOHNSON, COLEMAN AND EMB OFFICER. SHOULD TETE-A-TETE
DEVELOP, WHICH IS NOT/NOT OUR PREFERENCE AND WE ARE NOT/NOT REQUEST-
ING, AMB SHOULD ATTEND WITH PM.

...2

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG G.J. Smith sc

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG G.J. Smith

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6.DRAW YOUR ATTN TO OURTEL IDDZ0062 19JAN TO PRAGUE FOR CERTAIN
OTHER DETAILS,SUCH AS GIFTS.

7.WE WILL BE WORKING SATURDAY 21JAN.



MESSAGE

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21 JAN 84 05 272

SECURITY/SECURITE	C O N F I D E N T I A L CDN EYES ONLY	12	10
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TO/A	TO WSAW <u>DELIVER BY 211000</u>		
INFO	INFO PRGUE BUCST LDN BONN PARIS MOSCO STKHM/SCDEL BGRAD WSHDC BERLIN		
DISTR	BNATO PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CP		
REF	DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD XDV		
SUBJ/SUJ	REF BONN TEL ZQGR1019 20JAN		
	---PM VISIT TO EAST BERLIN		
	<u>EAST</u> SENSITIVITIES ON BERLIN VISIT ARE CLEAR AND RISING. AS FOLLOW-UP TO <u>DISCUSSION</u> <u>DECISIONS</u> IN BONN REFTEL BRIT CHARGE BAKER CALLED ON RGB (INSTRUCTED TO CALL ON QUOTE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL UNQUOTE) TO PRESENT SENSITIVE-POINTS PAPER IDENTICAL TO THAT IN REFTEL AND MAKE FOLLOW- ING ADDITIONAL POINTS: (A) AS <u>CURRENT</u> CHAIRMAN OF BONN GROUP ON BERLIN BRITS WISHED ON THEIR BEHALF TO QUOTE ENSURE THE SENSITIVE POINTS WERE <u>RESPECTED UNQUOTE PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO COMMUNICATIONS</u> <u>REQUESTED</u> (B) SCHOENFELD IS OUTSIDE BERLIN AND MILITARY GUARD OF HONOUR WAS QUOTE NOT/NOT UNACCEPTABLE UNQUOTE (C) SINCE VISIT WOULD SET PRECEDENTS FOR NATO HEAD OF GOVT IT SHOULD BE QUOTE UNIMPEACHABLY CORRECT UNQUOTE WITH REGARD TO STATUS OF BERLIN. 2. WE HAD IN ANY EVENT UPON RECEIVING REFTEL, OUR TELECON, AND PMS WISHES, PLUS CONSIDERABLE CONSULTATION IN DEPT, DECIDED THAT WE MUST COMMENCE FIRM <u>RESISTANCE</u> ASAP TO GDR USE OF VISIT TO SERVE THEIR BERLIN PURPOSES. IN LIGHT TIME DIFFERENCE AND YOUR DEPARTURE FROM BERLIN, RBD THEREFORE TELEPHONED GDR AMB HERDE <u>A</u> IN WSHDC TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS WHICH WE SHALL PASS TO WADE 1200 SATURDAY. ...2		

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
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3. HONOUR GUARD AND 21-GUN SALUTE ARE NOT/NOT DESIRED BY PM AS MUCH
ON GROUNDS OF NON-CEREMONIAL CHARACTER OF ALL PEACE INITIATIVE
VISITS AS UNEASINESS ABOUT HEAD OF STATE TREATMENT PLUS UNDESIRABLE
MILITARIZATION OF VISIT. GRATEFUL YOU DO BEST TO RESIST ~~FALLING~~ ^{FALLING} ~~BACK~~ ^{BACK}

~~IF NECESSARY~~ IF NECESSARY TO VERY MODEST HONOUR GUARD AND NO/NO
^{OR GUN SALUTE.}
REVIEW OF TROOPS. NOTE NO/NO HONOUR GUARD IN PRAGUE.

4. RE CITY HALL, MAYOR AND GOLDEN BOOK, THIS IS ABSOLUTELY OUT ON
GROUNDS QUOTE SENSITIVITY UNQUOTE.

5. ALSO REGRET WREATH-LAYING ON GROUNDS (A) NON-CEREMONIAL NATURE OF
PM VISIT, AND (B) CLEARLY FALLING IN CATEGORY PARA 3 OF SENSITIVITY
PAPER.

6. SAME FOR TOUR OF CITY ON GROUNDS (A) PM PREFERENCE, AND (B) PROBABLE
INVIDIOUS VIEWS OF WALL PLUS GENERAL CONFERRING OF LEGITIMACY ON

EASTERN SECTOR. ^{COULD IT BE REPLACED WITH WALK IN}
~~NON-CONTENTIOUS BUT INTERESTING AREA EG UNDER DEN LINDEN.~~

7. RE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT, WE TOLD AMB HERDEN ^R THAT PRINCIPLE WAS
ACCEPTABLE BUT WE HAD NEITHER TIME NOR INTENTION TO BECOME EMBROILED
IN BERLIN ISSUE ^{IN TEXT OR ADDRESS.}

8. NOT/NOT TO BE TOTALLY NEGATIVE WE PROPOSED AS ENTIRELY PERSONAL
SUGGESTION THAT PM MIGHT WISH TO VISIT PERGAMON MUSEUM AND VIEW
ANTIQUITIES. YOU SHOULD KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS BY NO/NO MEANS
CERTAIN THAT PM WOULD AGREE. ^{SHOULD WE RE-THINK CULTURAL EVENT?}

9. AMB HERDEN ^R AGREED TO CONVEY AND WE SAID YOU WOULD BE PURSUING

WITH BERLIN. ASSURE YOU THAT DECISION TO PROCEED TODAY NOT/NOT TAKEN

...3

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LIGHTLY OR IN ISOLATION. *FACT OF VISIT ITSELF SHOULD BE
IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO GDR TO BACK THEM OFF.*

10. FOLLOWING ARE PROGRAM COMMENTS FOR YOU OR WADE TO PURSUE IN
BERLIN.

11. ARRIVAL TIME NOW AT 1630 MONDAY JAN30 SCHOENFELD AIRPORT. MOST
GRATEFUL HONECKER *DECISION TO* MEET.

12. ACCOMMODATION AND PRIVATE CDN DINNER FINE. PROBABLE STROLL BY PM.

13. TUESDAY: PREFERENCE FOR DAY TO COMMENCE WITH TALKS AT 1000 HRS,
POSSIBLY PRECEDED BY NO/NO MORE THAN PRIVATE WALK. AGREE SESSION AS
OUTLINED AND ASK THAT YOU ATTEND TETE-A-TETE. CDN SIDE: PM, AMB, FOWLER,
HANCOCK, SMITH, COLEMAN AND JOHNSON. AXWORTHY POSSIBLE ADDITION. BY ALL
MEANS ADD WADE IF NUMBERS ON OTHER SIDE ARE EQUIVALENT.

14. AGREE PRIVATE LUNCH. AGREE SECOND SESSION. *BRIEF* ~~REAL~~ (15-20 MIN) PRESS
ENCOUNTER PREFERRED TO FORMAL CONFERENCE BUT EXPLORE AND ADVISE. IF
UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FOR CITY-RELATED EVENT AND TIME PERMITS TRY
PERGAMON BUT WITHOUT COMMITMENT. AGREE DINNER.

15. WEDNESDAY: PLANNED DEPARTURE 0900 WITH ETA BUCST 1215, ASSUMING
GROMYKO HAS LEFT *BUCST* BY THEN. OTHERWISE SOME SLIPPAGE POSSIBLE.

16. SEPARATE TEL ON AIRCRAFT LOGISTICS AND DEL LIST. LATTER NOT/NOT
YET FIXED BUT COULD BE 17/17.

MESSAGE

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SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

C O N F I D E N T I A L

21 JAN 84 05 25Z 10

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FM EXTOTT IDDZ0068 20JAN84

TO/À

TO PRGUE/HOP ONLY DELIVER BY 210900

INFO

DISTR

REF OURTEL TEL IDDZ0067 20JAN AND YOURTEL WDGR 0144 20JAN

REF

---PM S VISIT: PROGRAMME

SUBJ/SUJ

VISIT TO AUSTERLITZ IS INTENDED AS STRICTLY PRIVATE ONE BY PM (NO ¹/NO
PUBLICITY WANTED) AND SHOULD NOT/NOT APPEAR IN PROGRAMMES OR BE
GIVEN DISTRIBUTION. INCLUSION OF BRATISLAVA AND MEETING OF SLOVAK
OFFICIALS WOULD CHANGE NATURE OF AFTERNOON 26JAN AND GIVE OFFICIAL
BILATERAL SLANT WHICH WORKING VISIT ON PEACE INITIATIVE IS NOT/NOT
INTENDED TO HAVE. IT WLD ALSO CREATE SITUATION WHERE PLANE WLD ARRIVE
IN BRATISLAVA WITHOUT PM IN ORDER TO PICK HIM UP. PRESS ON BOARD WLD
RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT A) BEING EXCLUDED OR B) SOMETHING QUOTE SECRET
UNQUOTE HAVING OCCURED. ^RRESULT MIGHT BE UNWELCOME NEGATIVE PRESS
COMMENT. PM WOULD THEREFORE REQUEST FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:
1230 HRS DEPART PRGUE AIRPORT FOR BRNO BY CSSR PLANE, ACCOMPANIED BY
TED JOHNSON AND GEORGE CARTER (RCMP); (QUICK LUNCH ON BOARD
IF POSSIBLE) ~~OR UPON ARRIVAL~~
1320 HRS ARRIVE BRNO, CAR TO SLAVKOV;
1400 HRS ON SITE;
1600 HRS DEPART SLAVKOV;
1640 HRS DEPART BRNO AIRPORT FOR PRGUE
1730 HRS ARRIVE PRGUE AIRPORT; DEPARTURE CEREMONIES;

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DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

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FAIRWEATHER

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

G. J. SMITH

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1800 HRS DEPART PRGUE AIRPORT FOR ZURICH

CERTAINLY
2. WE RECOGNIZE FORCE OF ARGUMENTS FOR VISIT TO BRATISLAVA BUT
REGRET WE ARE UNABLE TO ACCEDE. MATTER WAS REFERRED TO PM. IN DISCUS-
SING SUBJECT WITH CZECHOS WE HOPE YOU WILL EMPHASIZE DEEP APPRECIAT-
TION OF PM FOR ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THEY ARE MAKING ON HIS BEHALF
FOR PRIVATE VISIT TO AUSTERLITZ SITE.



MGTC M. FILE DIARY
FILE/DOSSIER

MESSAGE

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SÉCURITÉ

CONFIDENTIAL

21 JAN 84 05 24 21Z 10

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SUBJ/SUJ

FM EXTOTT, IDDZ0067 20JAN84

TO PRGUE DELIVER BY 210900

INFO PC00TT/FOWLER WSAW BUCST

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XDV

REF YOURTEL WOGRO144 20JAN

---PMS VISIT:PROGRAMME

FOLLOWING ARE COMMENTS BY PARA ON DRAFT PROGRAMME OUTLINED REFTTEL;
SEPARATE TELS FROM PMO AND XDV FOLLOW ON PRESS AND LOGISTICS.

PARA 2:ARRIVAL PRGUE NOW SCHEDULED FOR 1030 HRS 25JAN.WE WELCOME
INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR ARRIVAL.

PARA 3:PROPOSAL AGREED.OCCUPANTS OF GUEST HOUSE WILL BE PM,GEORGE
CARTER (RCMP),TED JOHNSON (EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT),FOWLER,HANCOCK,SMITH,
CECILE VIAU (TO BE REPLACED BY T.AXWORTHY IF HE SHOULD ACCOMPANY
DEL).

PARA 4:AGREE FULL DEL CAVALCADE TO GUEST HOUSE,BUT NOT/NOT PRESS.

PARA 5:COMMENTS TO FOLLOW BY SEPARATE TELS.

PARA 6:AGREE LUNCH AT GUEST HOUSE,BUT WOULD PROPOSE IT BEGIN 1300HRS,
ATTENDED BY MEMBERS OF DEL STAYING AT GUEST HOUSE PLUS RALPH COLEMAN
(PMS.PRESS.SECRETARY) AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF EMB YOU HAVE SUGGESTED.

PARA 7:AGREE CONSULTATIONS AT 1500 HRS AS PROPOSED.CDN SIDE: PM,AMB,
FOWLER,HANCOCK,SMITH,JOHNSON,COLEMAN,AXWORTHY (ALTERNATE FOR AXWOR-
THY WLD BE MEMBER OF EMB) FOR TOTAL OF EIGHT.WE COULD AGREE TO SHORT

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TETE A TETE BUT WOULD NOT/NOT ENCOURAGE IT; IF SUCH A MEETING SHOULD OCCUR AMB MUST ATTEND.

PARA 8: AGREE OFFICIAL DINNER 1900 HRS AS PROPOSED. PM S VISIT IS INTENDED TO BE QUOTE STREAMLINED WORKING TRIP UNQUOTE AND WE COULD AGREE TO LIMIT CDN SIDE TO APPROX TEN, I.E. PM, AMB, FOWLER, HANCOCK, SMITH, COLEMAN, JOHNSON, AXWORTHY AND THREE MEMBERS OF EMB SHD PM STROUGAL WISH TO MAKE THIS WORKING SESSION. WE DO NOT/NOT HOWEVER INSIST ON SUCH RESTRICTION ~~CHECKED~~ ^{IF CZECHOS} WLD PREFER TO FETE WHOLE DEL AND EMB. AGREE PRESS DINNER IN ADJOINING ROOM WITH LIMITED PHOTO ACCESS. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PROVIDE TEXT OF TOAST ON ARRIVAL PRGUE. RETURN HOSPITALITY NOT ENVISAGED.

PARA 9: PM MAY WISH TO WALK AROUND OLD TOWN EARLY MORNING 26 JAN BUT WOULD PREFER TO DO SO ON INFORMAL PRIVATE BASIS. ALSO AS WE MUST TURN DOWN MEETING WITH MAYOR EAST BERLIN WE WOULD PREFER NOT/NOT TO CREATE PRECEDENT BY ACCEPTANCE OF VISIT TO TOWN HALL PRGUE.

PARA 10: PM WOULD PREFER IF AT ALL POSSIBLE TO HAVE CONSULTATIONS WITH PRES HUSAK MOVED UP TO 0930 HRS, DURATION APPROX TWO HRS. OUR PREFERENCE IS FOR PM PLUS FOUR: AMB, FOWLER, HANCOCK, SMITH.

PARA 11: WE WOULD PREFER SHORTER PRESS OPPORTUNITY OF 15-20 MINUTES FROM 1130 TO 1145 HRS APPROX.

PARA 12 TO 16: COMMENTS IN SEPARATE TEL. DEPARTURE FROM PRAGUE ENVI-SAGED FOR 1800 HRS 26 JAN.

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PARA 17: PLEASD AT AGREEMENT ON NO/NO COMMUNIQUE. AS SUBJ OF HONORARY DEGREE NOT/NOT RAISED BY CZECHOS WE WOULD PREFER TO LET PROPOSAL DROP. WE HAVE NOTED CZECH. INTENTION RE PRESENTATION OF GIFT TO PM.

PARA 18: RBD IS ^{most} GRATEFUL FOR OFFER OF WORKING LUNCHEON BUT WOULD PREFER INSTEAD POSSIBLE CALL ON CZECHO OFFICIALS AT MFA, PERHAPS FOR 45 ⁻⁶⁰ MINS. PLEASD IF AMB WLD WISH TO ACCOMPANY. PRESSURES OF REPORTING, PREPARING FOR NEXT COUNTRIES, ETC. ~~(REGRETTABLY)~~ PRECLUDE INVOLVEMENT IN FORMAL LUNCH. FOR SAME REASON WE WILL NOT/NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEDE TO SUGGESTION FOR BRIEFING OF NATO AMBS. WE WLD PREFER TO INFORM ALLIES LATER ONCE WE HAVE HAD TIME TO ASSESS VISIT AS A WHOLE.

PARA 19: AT PRESENT NOTIONAL DEL LIST IS 17 PERSONS. XDV WILL CONVEY ASAP.

PARA 20: ENGLISH FOR CONVERSATIONS.

PARA 21: ~~WILL~~ ^{ENTIRELY} SUPPORT DOING OUR BEST. ^{DONE VERY RARELY IN PAST} BUT IF ALL CONS AT AIRPORT ARRIVAL PM WOULD CERTAINLY GREET. OTHER: WE HAVE NOTED THAT YOU HAVE NOT/NOT INCLUDED GOLDBLOOM

RECEPTION IN PROGRAMME; BECAUSE OF PRESSURE OF SCHEDULE PM WOULD IN ANY EVENT BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT.



MESSAGE

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SÉCURITÉ

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TO BERN

DELIVER BY 230900

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INFO ST^{Khm} /SCDEL

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DISTR RGB RSD RSR IDA IDR

SUBJ/SUJ

REF OURTEL IDDZ 0065 20JAN

---PM INITIATIVE:MTG WITH FOREIGN MIN AUBERT

IN PREPARATION FOR THE PM S MTG WITH AUBERT, WE WILL BE ASKING RSR

FOR A BRIEF FOR THE PM ON SWISS VIEWS ON INTL SECURITY SITU, EAST ~~AND~~
WEST RELN AND EUROPEAN SECURITY IN PARTICULAR.2. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR THOUGHTS ON THIS AND ON WHAT POINTS AUBERT MIGHT
RAISE WITH PM. GRATEFUL YR CONTRIBUTION BY 24 1200.

YOU SEND

TO RSR

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J. McNEE

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

G. J. SMITH



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---PM MTG WITH AUBERT

TO CONFIRM REFTELCON, PM HAS AGREED TO MEET M. PIERRE AUBERT (FEDERAL COUNSELLOR AND HEAD OF SWISS MFA). SUGGESTED TIMING IS OVER LUNCH IN ZURICH MON JAN 30 BEGINNING AT 1230 HRS. (DEPARTURE FROM ZURICH IS FOR 1500 HRS). IF THIS NOT POSSIBLE APPEARS ONLY OTHER OPPORTUNITY CLD BE IN DAVOS 27-28-29.

2. GRATEFUL YOU ADVISE AUBERT S REACTION ASAP. PM DEPARTING OTT PM TUES 24 JAN FOR PRAGUE.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

G. J. SMITH

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

G. J. SMITH



MESSAGE

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---STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER OF GDR

SUBJ/SUJ

THANKS FOR CZECH,ROMANIAN AND GDR STATEMENTS.PLEASE FORWARD ANY
TRANSLATION OF GDR STATEMENT YOU MAY HAVE, FOR DELIVERY BY 23 ⁰⁹⁰⁰~~1500~~.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG S.Connack

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG G.J.Smith



MESSAGE

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SUBJ/SUJ

---PM INITIATIVE:MARTENSON LET TO PM

GRATEFUL YOU UNDERTAKE A FIRST DRAFT OF THE ARTICLE FOR QUOTE DISARMAMENT UNQUOTE WHICH UNDER-SEC GEN MARTENSON IN HIS LET TO PM, INVITED PM TO CONTRIBUTE. BASIC DOCUS AND STARTING POINT FOR DRAFT ARE PM S GUELPH AND MTL SPEECHES.

2. REGRET THAT LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN PM INITIATIVE MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR IDDZ TO TAKE THIS ON.

3. GRATEFUL FOR FIRST DRAFT BY 30JAN.

IMMEDIATE

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J. McNEE

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

G. SMITH

Government
of CanadaGouvernement
du Canada**ACTION FICHE DE
REQUEST SERVICE**

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File No. — Dossier N°

Date

From — De

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Prière d'appeler

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Vous a rappelé☐Will call again
Vous rappellera☐Wants to see you
Désire vous voir

Date

Time — Heure

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BACKGROUND

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Jan. 20, 87

PRIME MINISTER'S INITIATIVE
ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

BACKGROUND

The Prime Minister's central purpose is to try to stop and reverse the worsening trend in East-West relations, and thus reduce international tensions and risks of confrontation. His chief proposal addresses the need to restore confidence and re-establish high-level political dialogue between East and West, and particularly between the two superpowers. In the wake of the KAL downing, East-West relations appeared to have touched a low point. There has been little genuine political dialogue between the two sides and no real political framework for arms control and other negotiations. The Prime Minister is interested in seeing if more propitious conditions can be created for building a constructive, working relationship between East and West.

The initiative involves a number of specific proposals - (a) a conference of the five nuclear weapon states to limit strategic nuclear arsenals (b) a concerted political effort to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime (c) a political impetus by the West to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks in Vienna to try to raise the nuclear threshold in Europe by achieving a stable balance of conventional forces at lower levels (d) the inauguration of the Stockholm Conference at senior political level.

- 2 -

Also related to the initiative are proposals for (a) a ban on the testing and deployment of high altitude anti-satellite systems (b) a requirement that future strategic systems be verifiable by National Technical Means and (c) restrictions on the mobility of ICBMs.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

1. Prime Minister's meeting with Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and senior officials; creation of Task Force (September 21)
2. Prime Minister meets at Meach Lake with Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence, senior officials and ambassadors (October 7)
3. Prime Minister's letters to all NATO Heads of Government (October 22-25)
4. Prime Minister's speech at Guelph University (October 27)
5. Prime Minister's letters to Soviet and Chinese leaders (early November)

- 3 -

6. Prime Minister's meetings with President Mitterrand of France, Prime Minister Lubbers and Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, Prime Minister Martens of Belgium, His Holiness the Pope, Prime Minister Craxi of Italy, Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain (November 8-11)
7. Prime Minister's speech in Montreal (November 13)
8. Prime Minister's meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone (November 19)
9. Prime Minister's personal emissary (Geoffrey Peason) visits Peking (November 21-22) and Moscow (November 25-26)
10. Prime Minister participates in Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi (November 22-27)
11. Prime Minister's visit to Peking (November 28-29)
12. Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs participation in NATO ministerial meetings (December 8-9)

- 4 -

13. Prime Minister's meetings over six week period with leading experts on nuclear matters and East-West relations - Robert McNamara, General Rogers, General Brent Scowcroft, George Kennan, Members of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group, Georgi Arbatov. (October-November)
14. Prime Minister's visit to President Reagan in Washington (December 15)
15. Prime Minister's Meeting with U.N. Secretary General (January 11)
16. Visit of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang (January 16-20)

REACTIONS

The Prime Minister has received encouraging support for the broad political purposes of the initiative in his consultations with European allies, the Chinese leadership, President Nakasone of Japan and President Reagan. The Prime Minister has found general agreement with his analysis of the dangerous state of East-West relations and the need for the re-establishment of political dialogue.

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Also, Commonwealth Heads of Government specifically endorsed Prime Minister Trudeau's initiative in the Goa Declaration on International Security which reflected the Prime Minister's analysis of the gravity of the current situation and the importance of applying political will to the quest for international security. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has commended and encouraged the Prime Minister's efforts.

RESULTS

The degree of support which the Prime Minister has garnered for the main purposes of his initiative is of itself a positive result insofar as it may have a beneficial effect on the climate of East-West relations. The decisions taken at the NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels in early December were particularly significant in furthering the purposes of the initiative:

- (a) an undertaking by NATO foreign ministers to attend the opening of the Stockholm Conference, followed by a decision by the Warsaw Pact to have its ministers attend.
- (b) an undertaking to review the MBFR negotiations;
- (c) the "Brussels declaration" which pledges NATO to work for "genuine détente" and constructive dialogue with the East in recognition of their mutual security interests and eschews any attempt to seek superiority.
- (d) a decision to review the state of East-West relations.

MASTER FILE

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---PM INITIATIVE:VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

THIS WILL CONFIRM REF TELCON:FCO DEFENCE DEPT WERE GRATEFUL TO
BE ADVISED OF PMS EAST EUROPEAN VISIT.ON QUESTION OF INCLUDING
EAST BERLIN IN TOUR,OFFICIALS TOLD US THAT THEY WOULD LEAVE IT
TO WEST GERMAN AUTHORITIES TO BRIEF US ON PITFALLS AND MEANS
OF AVOIDING THESE.WE ASSURED THEM THAT YOU WERE ALREADY WELL
AWARE OF THESE DIFFICULTIES,AND WOULD TAKE NECESSARY PRECAUTIONS.

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DISCOURS DE TCHECOSLOVAQUIE, ROUMANIE ET RDA.

ROBERT VANIER

000125

Unofficial Translation
Check against Delivery

Statement delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Bohuslav Chňoupek,
at the Conference on Confidence - and Security - building Measures
and Disarmament in Europe

January 17, 1984

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Mr. Chairman,

Let me in the first place express my thanks to the Swedish Government for the efforts and attention it has undertaken to create excellent conditions for this significant international forum which will undoubtedly enter into history as the Stockholm Conference, as a natural continuation of the process initiated a decade ago by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation at which we have solemnly committed ourselves "to promote better relations among ourselves and ensure conditions in which our people can live in true and lasting peace free from any threat to or attempt against their security".

The fulfilment of this idea has not, by far, been a simple one in recent years. Yet those who remember Helsinki know that already at that time they harboured no illusions that everything will proceed smoothly. And indeed, the opponents of the policy of détente have accumulated many obstacles, traps and wolf's holes on this road. Yet the Madrid Meeting has made a wise decision: to convene this Conference.

It proved how deep are the roots of political realism, how high is the feeling of responsibility of those who are concerned about the further destiny of the world; how attractive continues to be the policy of détente, the only alternative in this nuclear age, which has found enough power to withstand the attacks of its adversaries. Its reserves have not been used.

We expect from the Stockholm Conference that it will become an important contribution to transferring the process of détente also into the military sphere. We have a clear mandate for it. It is contained in the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting. It commits us to the duty to undertake new, effective and concrete actions to strengthen

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confidence and security and to achieve disarmament.

As for us, we have come to the Swedish Capital determined to contribute, to the maximum extent, to a constructive course and positive results of this forum, being determined to concentrate on the vital interests of our presence and not losing energy on minor questions. In this, we see one of the ways to better the tense international atmosphere.

So that - as said by President Gustáv Husák in his New Year's speech - "mankind might achieve a better lot than to live in a world shaken by conflicts and under the threat of nuclear weapons".

Our common task is the more difficult due to the fact that we are meeting in an extraordinarily complicated international situation. What is more, owing to the deployment of new U. S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, which has started, it has become acute to an extent that it is rightly called to be worst in the post-war period.

The growing aggressivity of imperialism expresses itself not only in Europe but also in other areas of the world, ^{especially} in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon, in the South of Africa and in Central America, as has been fully shown by the armed aggression into Grenada.

The imperialist circles, especially in the United States, are escalating a new dangerous round of arms race. Due to their fault, the Geneva talks on nuclear weapons have been marred. They have brought to a standstill the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. And all this is because they systematically reject the peaceful proposals of the USSR and the socialist countries with the aim to gain military superiority.

The idea that the newly installed nuclear weapons may become an "argument" in disarmament talks is an untenable and erroneous self-deceit.

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Attempts of the United States to act in such a way lead only to one result : to blocking the talks and escalating tensions. The same as pretending as if nothing, after all, has changed by deploying the Pershing missiles. Do not the Governments of the countries on whose territory new U.S. missiles are being deployed understand this ? How is it possible to tell the people who are worried by such a development that the new U.S. missiles have not harmed the relations between the East and the West, that they have not endangered European security ? That they are not against the spirit of the treaties concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist countries ? How is it possible to appeal to the Soviet Union to resume the Geneva talks regardless of the deployment of U.S. missiles which has started and which upsets the military and strategic balance ? To spread illusions as if perhaps Stockholm and bilateral contacts taking place during the Conference might replace the Soviet - U.S. talks on nuclear disarmament?

Or to hide through ^(seemingly) soft rhetorics the real essence of the policy of imperialist aggression?

As for really returning to the negotiating table, we support the position of the USSR expressed by its highest representative, Yuriy Andropov, on November 24, which is a very clear one: if the U.S.A. and other NATO countries are willing to return to the situation which had existed before the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will be willing to do the same.

We, in Czechoslovakia, cannot remain indifferent to this situation. All the more due to the fact that we are facing an increased threat of nuclear missiles to our country from the immediate vicinity of our western border. That is from the direction to which we are rightly particularly sensitive owing to our historical experience. We shall never admit Munich and its consequences to be repeated. We really are not naive. Therefore in this qualitatively absolutely new military and strategic situation we have taken necessary defensive measures. That is the starting of preparatory works to deploy missile complexes of operational and tactical destination. With a sufficient range so that they might

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reach most of the positions of new U.S. missiles deployed in West European countries and to neutralize the superiority to be gained due to a short time of flight of the Pershing missiles.

Czechoslovakia, as well as our allies in the Warsaw Treaty, has neither in the past nor today identified itself with the concept of the "balance of fear" and of "armed peace" on ever higher piles of nuclear weapons. An approach like this in our epoch would mean to provoke sound reason. Especially if we realize - as has been said in the recently approved United Nations Declaration condemning nuclear war - that "such a war could lead to extinction of civilization upon Earth". In a nuclear age the idea that battles are won by one of the fighting countries is really no more valid.

It would be a loss of time to reflect on what steps to take to gain victory in a war. On the contrary. It is necessary to think about how to prevent an armed conflict in time and effectively. To survive a nuclear war is possible only if it is averted.

Czechoslovakia takes an explicit attitude to these cardinal questions of today. It consists in our lasting adherence to the policy of preserving peace, eliminating the danger of war, strengthening international security, reducing tensions, and expanding mutually advantageous co-operation. Within this framework on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, our relations have been developing with most of the participating countries of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

We take no less consistent attitude to such vitally important questions, such as halting the arms race and transfer to disarmament, especially the nuclear one, the strengthening of the principle of respecting

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the national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of borders, non - interference into internal affairs, renunciation from the use or threat of force, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny and other generally recognized principles in the relations among States.

This was firmly confirmed by us on all significant international occasions of the last period. At the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, at the Moscow meeting of the highest Party and State officials of seven European Socialist countries, at the platform of the Prague World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War as well as at the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

This is also proved by the proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member States of January last year, especially the proposal to conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Renunciation of the Use of Military Force and on the Maintenance of Peaceful Relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO Member States. Czechoslovakia which was entrusted to distribute this document handed it over to 134 Governments of the United Nations Member States, to its Secretary - General, to many political parties, social movements and international organizations. We were explaining its essence and clarifying the questions asked. It is possible to say that the document was accepted with interest and with a broad response in a number of countries, although the NATO States, to which it was primarily addressed, have not yet answered it.

We are convinced that especially in this international situation of existing tension the very fact of starting talks on such a Treaty would be an undeniable manifestation of good will of States to seek a way towards averting the danger of war, reviving détente and preserving peace. It is this very proposal which further concretizes and develops

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the generally valid prohibition of the use of force and the threat of force contained in the U.N. Charter. It concretizes and develops it in a way which the Charter not only admits but also presumes. In a similar way this principle is embodied in the mandate of our Conference anchoring the duty of States to refrain in mutual relations from the use of threat of force.

The obligation of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO Member States not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and neither against third States could become its core. It could be supplemented by concrete obligations of the States of the two groupings aimed at averting the danger of a sudden attack, at strengthening mutual confidence and at the talks on the limitation of armaments and on disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security.

Yet the proposal of the Treaty may go essentially farther than a number of attempts known from history to exclude war in the law as a means of international policy. It contains not only the binding norm - to refrain from the use of military force as first. It claims much more: an active co-operation in the most important spheres of strengthening international security, the duty to strengthen peaceful relations. In this very respect its adoption would mean an important contribution to the implementation of Helsinki agreements. It is as clear as the day that the contractual expression of the obligation would have a much greater political and legal importance than a mere declaration of States that they shall not use their weapons, save as an answer to an attack. The Treaty would be open also to other States, and not only in Europe.

Hence, there is no doubt that it is a proposal of a far-reaching significance. It is not merely a declarative act. It is, on the contrary, a concrete binding measure the implementation of which would lead to the strengthening of confidence and an increased stability and security in Europe.

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A further very important step to protect the Continent from a nuclear catastrophe would be the commitment of nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The creation of nuclear-weapons-free zones or corridors as they are considered in the North, in the South East and in the centre of Europe would contribute to attaining the same objective.

The elimination of chemical weapons would undoubtedly be of great importance, from the point of view of confidence and security, for the densely populated Continent of Europe. A gradual creation of zones without chemical weapons as proposed in the latest significant proposal of the Warsaw Treaty States to the NATO States of January this year could become a step to achieve this goal. In order to discuss it we consider it useful to call a meeting of plenipotentiary representatives already this year.

It can be said with absolute certainty of all measures of this kind, expressed in the words of the mandate of the Conference, that they are militarily significant and in this sense fully correspond to its authorization. It is, however, evident that negotiations particularly on these questions require a corresponding will to achieve an agreement.

We consider it important to negotiate a whole further scale of confidence and security building measures. We shall not start negotiating on them, so to speak, from a zero. The participating States have at present already a certain experience from the implementation of these measures as they were embodied in the Final Act of Helsinki, be it the preliminary notification of large exercises, the exchange of observers, etc.

We think that in this respect further steps can be made which would reduce the possibilities of military confrontation and would contribute to the strengthening of security, confidence and peace in Europe.

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Mr. Chairman,

Permit me to express my conviction that it is within our power to bring the Conference to the results which the European nations rightly expect from it. This, however, requires an equal degree of responsibility from all its participants.

The Czechoslovak delegation will do its utmost that the mandate given to the Stockholm Conference by the Madrid Meeting be fulfilled. Our course of policy is unalterable. The initiatives which we shall propose in its spirit proceed from the same political denominator. It is a consistent orientation towards peace, security and co-operation among the nations of Europe and of the whole world.

I thank you for your attention.

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DISCOURS PRONONCE PAR
M. STEFAN A. ANDREI
MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES DE LA
REPUBLIQUE SOCIALISTE DE ROUMANIE

A LA

CONFERENCE SUR LES MESURES DE CONFIANCE
ET DE SECURITE ET SUR LE DESARMEMENT EN
EUROPE

S T O C K H O L M

Le 20 janvier 1984

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Monsieur le Président,

La Conférence sur les mesures de confiance et de sécurité et sur le désarmement en Europe représente un événement politique d'une grande portée pour le processus de l'édification de la sécurité et de développement de la coopération sur le continent, dans le cadre duquel l'arrêt de la course aux armements, l'empêchement d'une nouvelle guerre et le passage au désarmement constituent le problème cardinal, la garantie du renforcement de la paix et de la collaboration. Agissant sur la base du consensus réalisé à la Réunion de Madrid, les représentants des 35 Etats signataires de l'Acte final se réunissent, pour la première fois, au sein d'un forum spécialement convoqué pour discuter et s'accorder sur des mesures visant à raffermir la confiance et la sécurité en Europe, afin d'ouvrir la voie, dans une étape ultérieure, à l'examen et à l'adoption, dans le même cadre, de mesures concrètes de désengagement militaire et de désarmement sur le continent européen.

"Nous attachons une grande importance à la Conférence de Stockholm - soulignait récemment le président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceaușescu - car nous estimons que, dans les circonstances internationales actuelles et vu la situation qui s'est créée en Europe, cette réunion peut jouer un

rôle très important pour adopter des mesures concrètes en direction de la confiance et du désarmement, ce qui pourra exercer une forte influence sur l'évolution générale. Dans cet esprit, nous participerons à la Conférence animés du désir d'apporter toute notre contribution au raffermissement de la confiance, de la coopération et de la paix sur le continent."

La Conférence revêt une signification exceptionnelle dans les circonstances internationales actuelles, où le rétablissement et le développement du dialogue et de la confiance réciproque, ainsi que le renforcement de la sécurité de chaque nation, deviennent des exigences fondamentales pour assurer la paix, la détente et la coopération dans notre région et dans le monde.

En effet, la Conférence se déroule dans une situation internationale qui en est arrivée à une tension d'une gravité extrême. On peut même dire que jamais après la seconde guerre mondiale l'humanité ne s'est trouvée dans une situation aussi grave. C'est le résultat direct de la poursuite et de l'intensification de la course aux armements, en premier lieu de la course aux armements nucléaires, de l'approfondissement des contradictions entre différents Etats et groupements d'Etats, de l'aggravation des anciens conflits et de l'apparition de nouveaux autres, de la politique de maintien et de repartage des sphères d'influence, de recours à la force et à la menace de la force et d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'autres Etats. En même temps, la tension dans les relations internationales a été stimulée par la crise économique et par la politique financière et des taux d'intérêts excessivement élevés, qui ont

conduit à la détérioration considérable de la situation de tous les pays, et en particulier de ceux en voie de développement, à l'agrandissement des écarts entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres.

La situation s'est aggravée tout particulièrement dans la dernière période par suite du commencement du déploiement des missiles nucléaires américains à portée intermédiaire ^{dans} certains Etats de l'Europe occidentale, ce qui a déterminé le retrait de l'Union Soviétique des négociations de Genève et l'annonce de contre-mesures, y compris le déploiement de missiles nucléaires dans quelques pays socialistes européens, ainsi que dans d'autres zones du monde. Tout cela ouvre la voie à une intensification de la course aux armements et crée de nouveaux dangers de voir éclater une nouvelle guerre mondiale, qui serait inévitablement un conflit nucléaire et qui aurait des conséquences catastrophiques pour tous les peuples de l'Europe et du monde et mettrait en péril l'existence même des peuples et la vie sur notre planète.

La Roumanie estime que le déploiement des nouveaux missiles ne peut et ne doit pas être accepté comme une fatalité et qu'il n'y a aucune justification pour passer à l'escalade de la course aux armements nucléaires.

Dès lors que c'est en Europe que s'est déjà accumulée la plus grande partie des armements nucléaires et aussi classiques et que se trouvent face à face les deux blocs militaires opposés, la Roumanie a, dès le début, affirmé que les négociations de Genève entre l'Union Soviétique et les Etats-Unis devraient

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aboutir à un accord qui conduise à l'arrêt du déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire, au retrait et à la destruction de ceux déjà en place, en vue de libérer le continent de n'importe quelles armes nucléaires. La Roumanie a déployé une intense activité et le président Nicolae Ceausescu a personnellement avancé une série de propositions destinées à aider à trouver des solutions, et a adressé des messages aux deux parties, ainsi qu'à d'autres Etats, leur demandant de tout mettre en oeuvre pour parvenir à un accord qui réponde aux intérêts de la sécurité de tous et de la paix.

Devant la gravité de la situation à laquelle on est parvenu après le déploiement des nouveaux missiles, l'interruption des négociations et l'annonce des contre-mesures, la Roumanie a entrepris de nouvelles actions visant à arrêter la nouvelle escalade des armements nucléaires.

Récemment, le président Nicolae Ceausescu s'est adressé à nouveau, conjointement avec le premier ministre de Grèce, Andreas Papandreu, aux dirigeants de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats-Unis pour leur demander d'agir sans retard en vue de dépasser la grave situation qui s'est créée.

Etant donné que les problèmes qui se posent en Europe se conditionnent l'un l'autre, il est clair que tout pas qui mène à l'aiguïsement de la tension, à l'intensification des armements, tel que le déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires, ne peut ne pas influencer négativement le développement des rapports entre les Etats du continent et ne pas nuire au climat de confiance de compréhension et de détente.

. / .

La confiance et la sécurité en Europe peuvent être réalisées seulement dans un climat de détente et de compréhension réciproque, de large coopération internationale, de respect des principes d'indépendance et de souveraineté nationales, de pleine égalité des droits et de non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures, de l'élimination de la force et de la menace de la force, du respect du droit qu'a chaque peuple d'organiser sa vie selon sa volonté et ses aspirations.

Certes, la phase actuelle de la Conférence a des objectifs spécifiques conformément au mandat établi par la Réunion de Madrid. Elle peut et doit jouer un rôle positif dans le renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité et dans la diminution de la confrontation et de la tension dans la vie internationale. En même temps, nous ne devons pas susciter d'illusion que la paix pourrait être ainsi garantie, car cela signifierait une dissimulation de la vérité aux peuples. Il est évident que l'on ne peut pas parler de sécurité quand, en fait, la course aux armements continue. Nous devons dire ouvertement aux peuples que la sécurité réelle ne peut se réaliser que par l'initiation et la promotion constante de mesures effectives de désarmement et, en premier lieu, d'élimination du danger de la nouvelle escalade des armes nucléaires sur le continent européen.

La présente phase de la Conférence répondra aux attentes des peuples dans la mesure où elle mettra pleinement en valeur les possibilités dont nous disposons pour ouvrir la voie d'accords sur l'arrêt de la course aux armements et le désarmement.

✓ Monsieur le Président,

Dans cet esprit, en partant des réalités actuelles et de la nécessité d'enrayer le cours dangereux des événements en Europe et dans la vie internationale et en donnant expression à la

volonté de paix et de coopération du peuple roumain, le président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceaușescu, le gouvernement roumain estiment qu'à présent il s'impose d'agir fermement selon les directions suivantes:

I. L'arrêt des travaux de déploiement des nouveaux missiles nucléaires américains, la mise en dépôt de ceux qui ont déjà été apportés sur le continent européen et la cessation de l'apport par les Etats-Unis de nouveaux missiles en Europe. Dans le même temps, l'Union Soviétique devrait annuler ou ne pas appliquer les contre-mesures annoncées. Sur cette base, les négociations de Genève devraient reprendre, pour parvenir à un accord qui assure l'arrêt du déploiement de missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire, la réduction et la destruction de ceux déjà en place, comme autant de pas sur la voie de la libération de l'Europe de toutes armes nucléaires, qu'elles soient à portée intermédiaire ou tactiques.

La Roumanie estime que les pays sur le territoire desquels il est prévu d'installer les nouveaux missiles ont une grande responsabilité, mais peuvent également jouer un rôle important pour dépasser l'impasse où l'on se trouve, en ce sens que ces pays peuvent demander l'ajournement du déploiement des missiles jusqu'à la réalisation d'un accord. Cela représenterait une insigne contribution à la cause de la paix, de la détente et de la coopération, répondrait aux intérêts des peuples concernés et serait apprécié et salué par tous les peuples du monde.

En vue de dépasser le moment critique actuel, une grande responsabilité incombe, certes, aux deux grandes puissances

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nucléaires: l'URSS et les Etats-Unis. C'est pourquoi le p. si-
dent de la Roumanie a suggéré une rencontre entre les ministres
des affaires étrangères de l'Union Soviétique et des Etats-Unis
et la préparation d'une rencontre au sommet entre ces deux pays.

Etant donné que les armes nucléaires sont déployées dans
des pays européens et que la guerre où l'on ferait usage de
missiles nucléaires à portée intermédiaire se déroulerait en
Europe et affecterait directement la vie de toutes les nations
européennes, les pays européens ne peuvent pas se tenir à l'écart
et laisser seulement aux deux grandes puissances nucléaires le
soin de décider des destinées de l'Europe. Bien au contraire, il est
nécessaire que tous les Etats européens apportent leur contri-
bution active à l'identification des voies permettant de
dépasser la situation actuelle, à l'arrêt de la course aux
armements nucléaires sur le continent, à la réalisation de
l'équilibre des forces non pas par l'accroissement, mais par la
réduction des stocks nucléaires existants.

Compte tenu de l'existence des blocs militaires, les pays
qui en font partie doivent avoir un rôle plus actif et participer
plus directement aux négociations, aider ainsi les deux
grandes puissances nucléaires à parvenir à un accord approprié.
C'est dans ce sens que la Roumanie a suggéré une rencontre des
ministres des affaires étrangères des Etats participants au
Traité de Varsovie et des Etats membres de l'OTAN, en vue de
discuter de la situation que s'est créée, d'aider à dépasser
le moment critique actuel et à reprendre les négociations. La
Roumanie estime qu'une fois reprises les négociations de
Genève entre l'Union Soviétique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique,

il serait nécessaire de faire fonctionner, parallèlement, une Commission Consultative des pays membres des deux pactes militaires, à laquelle participeraient aussi les autres Etats européens, y compris les pays neutres et non-alignés, et qui aurait pour tâche d'analyser les propositions et de contribuer à la réalisation d'un accord entre les deux parties. En tout cas, les pays des deux blocs militaires doivent participer activement, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à la réalisation d'un accord adéquat.

D'une façon générale, la Roumanie considère que l'Europe devrait agir plus unie et avec plus de fermeté pour défendre et promouvoir les intérêts vitaux des nations européennes et assumer directement la responsabilité pour l'existence, la paix et la vie de ses peuples. Cela répond aux aspirations des peuples européens, lesquels ont vigoureusement exprimé, par des manifestations d'une grande ampleur, leur opposition à la course aux armements nucléaires et ont démontré leur volonté de défendre leur droit fondamental à la vie, à une existence libre.

II. L'adoption de mesures concrètes et efficaces pour faire cesser la course aux armements et passer à la mise en oeuvre d'un programme effectif de désarmement, en premier lieu nucléaire, sous un contrôle international efficient,

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qui assurent la cessation de la production d'armes nucléaires et le passage à la réduction totale et l'interdiction définitive de toutes les armes nucléaires, ainsi que des autres armes de destruction massive. En ce sens, il s'impose de rendre plus dynamiques les travaux de la Conférence de Genève sur le désarmement, afin de parvenir à des accords sur les problèmes inscrits dans son ordre du jour et à la finalisation dans les plus brefs délais du Programme global du désarmement.

La mesure radicale pour renforcer la confiance et accroître la sécurité en Europe consiste dans la cessation de la course aux armements sur le continent et dans le désarmement réel en ce qui concerne aussi bien l'armement nucléaire que l'armement conventionnel.

Afin que chaque Etat ait la pleine garantie de se trouver à l'abri de tout acte d'agression et que la force et la menace de la force soient exclues des relations interétatiques, les efforts doivent porter vers la réalisation d'une sécurité des Etats à un niveau aussi bas que possible des armements, vers l'établissement de l'équilibre militaire non pas par l'augmentation, mais par la réduction des effectifs, des armements et des dépenses militaires.

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III. Le passage à la réduction des armements classiques dans le cadre d'un processus énergique de désarmement, selon une vision de perspective qui conduise, en fin de compte, au désarmement général et complet.

En ce sens, la Roumanie se prononce pour la reprise des négociations de Vienne afin d'aboutir, le plus tôt possible, à des accords sur la réduction des forces armées et des armements en Europe centrale.

IV. Le gel des dépenses militaires et la passage à leur réduction de 10 à 15%, dans une première étape, sur la base d'accords négociés et efficaces.

Le gel des dépenses militaires par tous les Etats, et en premier lieu, par les grands Etats puissamment armés, et la réduction ensuite de ces dépenses auraient une grande importance pour la limitation de la course aux armements et le passage au désarmement. Ces mesures rendraient disponibles d'importantes ressources qui pourraient être utilisées pour la solution des problèmes économiques et sociaux de chaque pays, pour appuyer les efforts des pays en voie de développement.

V. La création de zones dénucléarisées en vertu d'accords conclus entre les Etats des régions respectives, les puissances nucléaires s'engageant à ne pas utiliser l'arme nucléaire et, en général, la force contre ceux-ci.

Etant donné l'importance de la création de telles zones dans différentes régions de l'Europe, pour le renforcement de la sécurité et pour la réalisation du désarmement, la Roumanie s'est prononcée et agit pour la création de zones dénucléarisées dans les

Balkans, au Nord de l'Europe et en d'autres parties du continent.

VI. L'adoption de mesures efficaces capables de conduire au renforcement de la confiance entre Etats et de la sécurité internationale.

Bien que les mesures de confiance et de sécurité qui font l'objet de la phase actuelle de la Conférence soient collatérales elles ont, néanmoins, leur importance pour l'élimination des sources génératrices de méfiance, de tension et de confrontation, pour la reprise de la politique du dialogue et des négociations.

Notre Conférence est appelée à discuter et à se mettre d'accord sur des mesures effectives qui soient une expression concrète de l'obligation assumée par les Etats de s'abstenir de l'emploi et de la menace de la force. Pour sa part, la Roumanie estime que les mesures suivantes peuvent contribuer à renforcer la confiance et la sécurité: la réduction et l'élimination du danger des confrontations militaires par la diminution des activités militaires dans les zones de frontière et dans d'autres régions sensibles; l'élimination des suspicions provoquées par les activités militaires; la diminution et le renoncement aux activités militaires qui engendrent méfiance et tension; le rétrécissement continu de l'aire géographique de la compétition militaire et, en particulier, des zones où sont déployées des armes nucléaires; l'extension de l'information et de la consultation réciproques dans le domaine militaire, notamment en cas de situations de crise; la garantie que les obligations qui seront assumées au titre des accords conclus durant la Conférence seront strictement remplies.

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En vue de réaliser ces objectifs, la Roumanie présente les suivantes propositions concernant les mesures à examiner et à adopter dans la première phase de la Conférence:

→ 1. Le renoncement aux manoeuvres militaires multinationales au long des frontières entre les Etats.

→ 2. La création, au long des frontières entre les Etats, de zones de 50 - 100 km où ne doivent pas avoir lieu des manoeuvres des déplacements et des concentrations de forces armées et d'armements ou la mise en état d'alerte d'unités importantes de ceux-ci et où soient limités les forces armées, les armements et les activités militaires, comme un pas vers l'établissement de zones démilitarisées.

→ 3. L'établissement, au long des frontières entre les pays membres de l'OTAN et les pays participants au Traité de Varsovie, d'un couloir libre d'armes nucléaires et d'autres armes de destruction massive et, à plus longue échéance, de tous armements et forces militaires, à l'exception des forces de l'ordre et frontalières.

→ 4. L'interdiction de l'exécution de manoeuvres ou déplacements de navires ou d'avions ayant à bord des armes nucléaires, au long des frontières terrestres et maritimes avec les autres Etats, sur une zone de 50 - 100 km.

→ 5. La limitation des forces armées qui participent aux manoeuvres militaires.

→ 6. La notification préalable obligatoire des manoeuvres et des mouvements militaires d'envergure des troupes de terre, aériennes et navales.

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7. La notification obligatoire de la mise en état d'alerte des forces armées nationales ou étrangères se trouvant sur le territoire d'autres Etats, ou d'importantes unités de celles-ci.

8. L'établissement d'un système d'information réciproque et de consultations systématiques sur des problèmes intéressant la sécurité des Etats et du continent européen, aux fins de prévenir et de dénouer les situations de crise.

9. L'adoption concertée de mesures visant à prévenir un conflit nucléaire par erreur ou accident.

10. La conclusion d'un Traité général européen de non-recours à la force ou à la menace de la force, qui contienne des stipulations et des mesures de nature à rendre effectif le respect de la sécurité, de l'intégrité territoriale, de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté nationales de chaque Etat participant.

11. Le non-déploiement de nouvelles troupes et la non-installation de nouvelles bases militaires sur les territoires d'autres Etats de l'Europe et la cessation de l'extension et de la modernisation de celles déjà en place.

12. Le gel des dépenses militaires des Etats participants à la Conférence de Stockholm, au niveau de l'année 1984, jusqu'à la conclusion d'un accord de réduction de celles-ci.

13. L'encouragement et l'appui des efforts visant la création de zones de coopération pacifique et de bon voisinage, sans armes nucléaires, dans les Balkans, le nord de l'Europe et dans d'autres parties du continent.

14. L'interdiction de la propagande de guerre et l'encouragement par les médias de la confiance réciproque entre

les Etats, l'assurance du droit des peuples à la paix,
à la vie, à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

15. L'information par la Conférence de l'opinion publique,
après chacune de ses étapes, sur les progrès obtenus dans les
négociations sur le renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité
en Europe.

En présentant ces propositions, nous sommes, en même temps,
prêts à examiner, dans un esprit constructif, les propositions
et les considérations des autres Etats participants, toute
suggestion de nature à favoriser la réalisation du mandat de la
Conférence, l'instauration d'un climat de confiance et de coopération.

Monsieur le Président,

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, notre Conférence est appelée
à jouer un rôle particulièrement important, tant par les mesures
concrètes qu'elles adoptera, que par la contribution qu'elle
doit apporter au relâchement de la tension dans la vie internationale,
à la reprise de la politique de paix, de désarmement,
de détente, et de coopération en Europe et dans le monde entier,
de respect de l'indépendance nationale de tous les peuples. Le
fait même pour les Etats, pour les gouvernements, d'avoir
désigné les ministres des affaires étrangères pour participer
à l'ouverture de cette Conférence peut fournir l'occasion d'un
dialogue politique en vue d'arrêter le cours dangereux des
événements, de mettre fin à la course aux armements et de passer
au désarmement, ce qui créerait, vraiment, une base réelle pour
accroître la confiance et la sécurité sur le continent.

Les intérêts vitaux des peuples du continent imposent d'oeuvrer pour une Europe unie, dans laquelle des Etats indépendants et souverains, sans distinction de leur système social, puissent développer largement leurs rapports et contribuer au renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité, au progrès général de l'humanité. Une Europe de la paix et de la coopération impose d'agir pour le démantèlement des bases militaires installées sur le territoire d'autres Etats, pour le retrait de toutes les troupes à l'intérieur de leurs frontières nationales, pour la liquidation de la politique de bloc et pour la réduction des activités militaires des deux blocs jusqu'à leur dissolution simultanée et à l'élimination de la division de l'Europe.

L'Europe peut et doit jouer un rôle encore plus important et devenir un participant toujours plus actif à la vie internationale. L'Europe, qui, au long des siècles, a enrichi le patrimoine de la culture et de la civilisation de l'humanité, ne peut et ne doit pas oublier, en même temps, que c'est à partir de son territoire que deux conflagrations mondiales ont éclaté. Pour le présent et l'avenir des peuples du continent, il est nécessaire pour les Etats européens de développer entre eux une large coopération, de discuter et résoudre en commun les problèmes du continent et d'apporter une contribution toujours plus substantielle à la solution démocratique et juste de grands problèmes internationaux auxquels se trouve confrontée l'humanité.

La solution adéquate des problèmes fondamentaux de la paix, du désarmement, de la sécurité et de la coopération sur le continent, ainsi que tout pas concret en direction du renforcement de la confiance et la sécurité en Europe auraient

des effets positifs sur l'assainissement du climat international. D'autre part, la solution pacifique, par des négociations, des conflits et des foyers de tension qui existent dans d'autres parties du globe, la réalisation de progrès substantiels sur la voie de l'élimination du sous-développement et de l'instauration du nouvel ordre économique international, l'exclusion de la politique de force et de menace de la force seraient d'une importance particulière pour la situation politique sur le continent européen.

Dans le cadre de sa politique générale, la Roumanie a largement développé ses rapports avec tous les Etats signataires de l'Acte final d'Helsinki, a participé activement à la promotion du processus inauguré par la Conférence générale européenne et apporte toute sa contribution à la mise en oeuvre des stipulations de l'Acte final, à la solution, dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples, de grands problèmes du monde contemporain.

Monsieur le Président,

Le Roumanie estime que le mode de déroulement de la Conférence de Stockholm et toute son activité devront traduire dans les faits le mandat établi par la Réunion de Madrid et refléter l'esprit du Document de cloture de celle-ci. Etant donné l'objectif de la Conférence et l'importance de celle-ci pour l'assainissement du climat politique en Europe, nous estimons que les premières mesures concrètes devront être négociées et adoptées de manière à pouvoir entrer en vigueur jusqu'à la fin

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de l'année 1984. La Roumanie considère également que la première phase de la Conférence devra jeter les fondements solides du renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité sur le continent, de sorte que la prochaine réunion des Etats participants à la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, qui se tiendra en 1986, puisse décider de passer à la phase suivante, consacrée à la négociation et à l'adoption de mesures réelles de désarmement.

Etant donné que les problèmes ayant trait au renforcement de la confiance et de la sécurité et au désarmement en Europe touchent les intérêts vitaux de tous les peuples du continent, ils ne peuvent trouver de réponse réelle, que par des solutions élaborées de façon démocratique, avec la participation directe de tous les 35 Etats. La Roumanie estime comme étant d'une importance primordiale la mise en application et le respect rigoureux des règles de procédure et des méthodes de travail démocratiques de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe.

En ces moments de tension extrême, de graves dangers à l'adresse de la paix et de la sécurité internationales, la Roumanie considère que la présente Conférence peut contribuer, grâce aux efforts constructifs de tous les Etats participants, à l'arrêt du cours actuel des événements vers l'affrontement et la méfiance, à la reprise de la détente. Nous estimons que les gouvernements de tous les Etats participants, les forces politiques ont la responsabilité de tout mettre en oeuvre pour que ce nouveau moment dans la vie du continent soit mis à profit dans un esprit de coopération, afin de s'accorder sur des mesures aussi amples et efficaces que possible de confiance et de sécurité et, par la suite, de désarmement.

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C'est dans cet esprit que la Roumanie est fermement décidée à apporter, de concert avec les autres Etats participants à la Conférence, toute sa contribution à cette action d'importance historique visant à renforcer la confiance et la sécurité sur le continent et à assurer les conditions requises pour passer à des mesures effectives de désengagement militaire et de désarmement, en vue d'édifier une Europe sans armes nucléaires, une Europe de la coopération et de la paix.

Pour conclure, je ne saurais mieux exprimer les sentiments du peuple roumain à l'égard de notre réunion qu'en citant le président de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Nicolae Ceausescu, qui soulignait récemment: "Nous espérons que la Conférence agira de manière à répondre aux attentes de tous les peuples de l'Europe et qu'elle marquera un moment nouveau sur la voie de la réalisation d'une coopération pacifique, du renforcement de la sécurité et de l'amitié entre tous les Etats de notre continent".

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Hr. O. FISCHER (Minister für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Deutsche Demokratische Republik): Herr Präsident, meine Damen und Herren!

Erlauben Sie mir, der Regierung des Königreiches Schweden für die Gastfreundschaft sowie ihre Bemühungen um einen guten Ablauf der Konferenz herzlich zu danken.

Ich verbinde dies mit den besten Wünschen für eine erfolgreiche Tätigkeit des Exekutivsekretärs der Konferenz, Herrn Botschafter Jan af Sillén, und seiner Mitarbeiter.

Die Konferenz über vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildende Massnahmen und Abrüstung in Europa findet in einer schwierigen internationalen Lage statt. Die Gefahren für den Frieden in Europa und der ganzen Welt sind mit dem Beginn der Stationierung neuer US-Nuklearwaffen auf westeuropäischem Boden um ein vielfaches gewachsen.

Die Völker erleben eine der schwersten Belastungsproben der Nachkriegszeit: Sie sehen heute ihre physische Existenz bedroht und setzen sich dagegen mit aller Kraft zur Wehr. Dies veranschaulicht die Aufgaben dieser Konferenz und erlegt den Teilnehmerstaaten eine ausserordentliche Verantwortung auf.

Es gilt in der Tat, alles zu tun, diese die Menschheit bedrohende Entwicklung aufzuhalten und dazu beizutragen, dass die internationalen Beziehungen in die ruhigen Bahnen friedlicher Koexistenz und gegenseitig nützlicher Zusammenarbeit zurückgeführt werden. Die 70er Jahre waren ein Jahrzehnt der Hoffnung und Ermutigung der Völker, ihnen dürfen keine Jahre der Resignation und wachsenden Kriegsfurcht folgen.

Dies ist der Auftrag, der dieser Konferenz durch die Abschlusserklärung von Madrid erteilt ist; und die Deutsche Demokratische Republik ist bereit, an seiner Erfüllung mit gutem Willen mitzuarbeiten.

Die Stockholmer Konferenz ist Ergebnis langjähriger intensiver Bemühungen all jener, denen Frieden und Sicherheit in Europa am Herzen liegen.

Friedliche, gedeihliche Beziehungen zwischen den europäischen Staaten als Grundlage kollektiver Sicherheit auf diesem Kontinent zu entfalten, ist Wesenszug sozialistischer Politik.

Von den Vorschlägen der sozialistischen Staaten dazu aus den 50er Jahren, - also inmitten einer Zeit, die von "kalten Krieg" gegen die sozialistischen Staaten geprägt war - , vom Vorschlag für eine europäische Sicherheitskonferenz aus dem Jahre 1966 und dem dringenden Appell, diese noch im Jahre 1969 einzuberufen, bis zu ihrer Initiative für diese heute hier beginnende Tagung führt ein gerader Weg.

Dieser - wer wollte es bestreiten - hat sich bewährt und ist zu begehnen. Sein wichtigstes, für die europäischen Völker wohltuendes Ergebnis war die Wende der internationalen Beziehungen hin zu Entspannung und friedlichem Miteinander. Die Schlussakte von Helsinki, das europäische Vertragssystem und das breite Netz politischer wie ökonomischer und kultureller Kontakte zwischen den europäischen Staaten und Völkern bewiesen, dass die Entspannung in unserer Zeit nicht nur nötig, sondern auch möglich ist. Das alles ist Beweis dafür, dass die nationale Sicherheit von der internationalen Sicherheit nicht abzukoppeln ist und Sicherheit überhaupt nur erreicht werden kann, wenn

- Vernunft und Sinn für Realitäten;
- Gleichheit und gleiche Sicherheit, d.h. die Achtung der legitimen Sicherheitsinteressen aller Beteiligten;
- Verzicht auf Streben nach militärischer Überlegenheit und
- der politische Wille zur Zusammenarbeit, schliesslich zum erspriesslichen Miteinander im Interesse des Friedens Leitlinien der Politik sind.

Unser Kontinent gab so ein anerkanntes Beispiel für die politische Lösung von Konflikten und entspannte zwischenstaatliche Beziehungen.

Der weitere Gang der internationalen Entwicklung bestätigte aber auch, dass die internationale Sicherheit letztlich nur stabil ist, wenn die politische Entspannung durch die militärische ergänzt wird.

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Die imperialistische Hochrüstung und das Streben nach militärischer Überlegenheit, die Politik der Gewalt und der Kurs der "glaubwürdigen Abschreckung" sind begleitet von Konzeptionen, nach denen ein Kernwaffenkrieg zur "Enthauptung" der Sowjetunion führbar, auf Europa begrenzbare und gewinnbar sei. Dies richtet sich direkt gegen die Schlussakte von Helsinki und muss Vertrauen abbauen und zu Konfrontation, ja zur Bedrohung des Friedens führen. So ist es nun auch.

Die DDR wird die Stockholmer Konferenz - wie der Generalsekretär des Zentralkomitees der SED und Vorsitzende des Staatsrates der DDR, Erich Honecker, erklärte - "aktiv nutzen, um die militärische Konfrontation auf unserem Kontinent zu verringern und die Beziehungen zwischen den Staaten politisch wieder berechenbar zu machen".

Unser Konzept dazu ist vernünftig, weil an den Gegebenheiten wie Erfordernissen der Lage auf unserem Kontinent orientiert. Es wurde der Öffentlichkeit vor gut einem Jahr in Gestalt der Prager Deklaration der Mitgliedsstaaten des Warschauer Vertrages sowie der Moskauer Erklärung führender Repräsentanten sozialistischer Staaten vom Juni 1983 bekannt. Dieses komplexe Programm zur Festigung des Vertrauens und zur Minderung der Spannungen in der Welt, vor allem zur Abwendung einer nuklearen Katastrophe, umfasst Massnahmen gegen die Nuklearrüstung ebenso wie Vorschläge zur Begrenzung der konventionellen Rüstungen, militärischen Aktionen und Aktionsbereiche.

Es weist auf möglich und notwendig werdende Verhandlungen zur Verminderung der Kriegsgefahr sowie zur Begrenzung der Rüstungen ebenso hin wie es Wege zu messbaren Fortschritten in den bestehenden Gremien zeigt, in denen über Rüstungsbegrenzung und Abrüstung trotz einseitiger Vorleistungen und signalisierender Schritte der sozialistischen Staaten zum Teil schon seit über zehn Jahren leider erfolglos verhandelt wird.

Es ist nicht logisch und nicht einzusehen, warum zum Beispiel die anderen Kernwaffenmächte nicht längst wie die Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken

auf den Ersteinsatz von Kernwaffen völkerrechtlich verbindlich verzichtet haben, wenn sie doch selbst immer wieder vorgeben, Kernwaffen nur als Antwort auf einen Angriff einsetzen zu wollen. Ihre Bereitschaft zu diesem Verzicht wäre doch endlich ein glaubwürdiger Schritt in Richtung auf Vertrauens- und Sicherheitsbildung. Nicht zuletzt würde die Gefahr gebannt, dass die Stockholmer Konferenz unter dem Damoklesschwert nuklearer Erstschlagkonzeptionen und Enthauptungsstrategien ernststen Schaden nimmt.

Politische Verantwortung und Vernunft setzen unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen auch den Abschluss eines Vertrages über den gegenseitigen Verzicht auf Anwendung militärischer Gewalt und die Aufrechterhaltung friedlicher Beziehungen zwischen den Staaten des Warschauer Vertrages und denen der NATO auf die Tagesordnung. Er würde völkerrechtlich verbindlich den Verzicht auf den Ersteinsatz von Kernwaffen und konventionellen Waffen fixieren und könnte Verpflichtungen für gemeinsame praktische Massnahmen zur Abwendung der Gefahr eines Überraschungsangriffes enthalten.

Wer seine Ablehnung dieses Vorschlages damit begründet, das Verbot, Gewalt anzuwenden, sei schon in der UNO-Charta hinreichend fixiert, muss sich fragen lassen: Wem schadet heute, in einer Zeit, in der sich NATO und Warschauer Vertrag als grösste Militärkoalitionen gegenüberstehen, die ausdrückliche vertragliche Bekräftigung ihrer allgemeinen Verpflichtung, sich der Gewaltanwendung gegeneinander zu enthalten, zumal auch andere interessierte Staaten zum Beitritt aufgerufen sind? Die UNO-Charta würde dadurch nicht geschwächt, im Gegenteil, ihre Autorität würde wachsen. Wer könnte dies einleuchtend bestreiten?

Oder: Haben die bekannten Ideen und Initiativen zur Schaffung von atomwaffenfreien Zonen etwa an Aktualität eingebüsst? Im Gegenteil! Sie sollten unverzüglich und ernsthaft erörtert werden. Ich möchte deshalb die Bereitschaft der DDR bekräftigen, in Zusammenhang mit dem bekannten Vorschlag der schwedischen Regierung für einen von nuklearen Gefechtsfeldwaffen freien Korridor in Mitteleuropa bei Beachtung des Prinzips der Gleichheit und der gleichen

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Hr. Fischer

Sicherheit das gesamte Territorium der DDR zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Das könnte ein Gebiet sein, das ganz Europa, vom Norden bis zum Süden durchquert. Dies wäre gewiss nicht viel, aber ein Schritt in die richtige Richtung, eben eine Massnahme, die Vertrauen zutiefst begründet.

Es sofort wirkendes, Vertrauen schaffendes Element wäre auch die Befreiung unseres Kontinents von chemischen Waffen, wie die Teilnehmerstaaten des Warschauer Vertrages am 10. Januar dieses Jahres vorgeschlagen haben.

Solch eine Vereinbarung nähme den Völkern nicht nur die Angst vor einer grausamen Waffenart, sondern würde zugleich ein beflügelndes Beispiel für andere verheerende Waffen wie auch für andere Regionen der Welt geben. Eben solchem Herangehen fühlt sich die DDR, sollten sich alle Teilnehmerstaaten dieser Konferenz verpflichtet fühlen.

Wie alle sozialistischen Staaten, ist auch die DDR an alle den Frieden, internationale Sicherheit und Abrüstung betreffenden Fragen stets mit Initiative und Entgegenkommen, mit Kompromissbereitschaft, d.h. mit dem politischen Willen herangegangen, Ergebnisse zu erreichen.

Auf manche berechnete eigene Forderung haben wir im Interesse einer allgemeinen Übereinkunft verzichtet. Auch das gehört zu friedlicher Koexistenz. Solch eine Haltung erwarten wir von allen Teilnehmerstaaten. Wir hatten nicht übersehen, dass im Vorfeld der Stockholmer Konferenz der Stockholmer Konferenz so mancher seinen Willen beteuert hat, für Vertrauensbildung und Abrüstung zu wirken. Man will künftig sogar nicht mehr vom "Reich des Bösen" sprechen, anderen entgegenkommen. Der Wert dieser verbalen Bekenntnisse wird sich rasch erweisen, ist er doch messbar an der Bereitschaft, zu einem konstruktiven Miteinander zurückzukehren. Aus Hochrüstung kann kein Vertrauen wachsen, wie nichts das Misstrauen aufwiegen kann, das unweigerlich entsteht, wenn immer neue Raketen das Leben der Völker bedrohen.

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Hr. Fischer

Kaum wurden die ersten Raketen einsatzbereit gemeldet, wird erneut lauthals die Fortsetzung des Hochrüstungskurses und eine "Politik der glaubwürdigen Abschreckung" propagiert. Neben der Modernisierung der sogenannten nuklearen Triade und Plänen für die Militarisierung des Weltraumes fordert man den zügigen Ausbau der konventionellen Streitkräfte.

Die Strategie der Abschreckung aber ist kein Fundament für Vertrauen und Sicherheit zwischen den Staaten. Vertrauen und Sicherheit schaffen heisst heute vor allem,

1. die Stationierung weiterer US-Nuklearraketen in Westeuropa zu stoppen,
2. die bereits stationierten Raketen sofort wieder abzubauen.

Es muss zur Lage vor Beginn der Stationierung zurückgefunden werden. Und dies ohne Umschweife und Winkelzüge, damit unsererseits keine militärischen Gegenmassnahmen erforderlich werden. Ist es nicht lohnend, sich für ein atomwaffenfreies Europa zu engagieren? Dagegen ist es nicht nur politisch leichtfertig, sondern Überaus gefährlich, sich oder anderen einzureden, die neuen US-Raketen hätten die Lage nicht verändert, alles ginge - wie auch diese Konferenz zeige - unverändert weiter, weil es die Tatsachen negiert. Denn, wie diese zeigen, wichtige Verhandlungen wurden blockiert, weil ihnen die Grundlage entzogen wurde. So werden diese Konferenz wie die bilateralen Beziehungen der Betroffenen mit Problemen befrachtet, die eine auf die notwendigen Ergebnisse orientierte Zusammenarbeit zumindest behindern. Auch die bilateralen Beziehungen können heute mehr denn je zur Stärkung des Vertrauens beitragen. Jeder Staat muss dies durch strikte Einhaltung seiner in der Schlussakte von Helsinki und dem europäischen Vertragswerk eingegangenen Verpflichtungen nachweisen. Nur so, nur gemeinsam lässt sich in der gegenwärtigen Lage der eingetretene Schaden begrenzen.

Lässt man sich von politischer Vernunft und Realismus leiten, so wird es möglich sein, in der ersten Phase der Konferenz solche vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildenden Massnahmen zu vereinbaren, die eine gegenseitige Reduzierung

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militärischer Aktivitäten beinhalten, die Masstäbe militärischer Übungen herabsetzen und insbesondere dazu beitragen, die Gefahr eines Überraschungsangriffs zu vermindern.

Wir können natürlich nicht übersehen, dass nicht alles, was für diese Konferenz als "vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildend" angeboten wird, tatsächlich diese Erwartung erfüllt. So kann z.B. die blossе Ankündigung von Manövern oder grösseren militärischen Bewegungen allein noch kein Vertrauen schaffen. Ebenso wäre es mit dem Anliegen der Konferenz nicht zu vereinbaren, wollte man sich darauf beschränken, die Teilnehmerstaaten lediglich über neue Rüstungsvorhaben zu informieren. Und es würde keiner Prüfung standhalten, weil es neues Misstrauen begründet, ja schliesslich sogar die Unsicherheit vergrössert, wollte man Vorstellungen in den Mittelpunkt rücken, deren einziger Zweck offensichtlich darin besteht, sich auf diesem Wege militärische Vorteile zu verschaffen.

Ein solches Herangehen müsste die Konferenz in die Sackgasse führen.

Dauerhafte Sicherheit kann sich logischerweise nur auf Abrüstung gründen. Jeder effektive Schritt in dieser Richtung schafft von sich aus mehr Vertrauen als alles, was vereinbart wird, wenn das Wettrüsten nicht aufgehalten wird. Davon lassen wir uns in beiden Phasen dieser Konferenz leiten.

Die Konferenzen von Helsinki, Belgrad und Madrid haben gezeigt:

Gegenseitiges Verständnis, friedliches Miteinander und internationale Sicherheit wurden immer dann gestärkt, wenn sich die Staaten von der Achtung der Gleichheit und der gleichen Sicherheit leiten liessen.

Herr Präsident, das Madrider Treffen konnte nicht zum Scheitern gebracht werden, weil die an seinem Gelingen Interessierten die nachdrückliche Unterstützung der Menschen unterschiedlichster Auffassung in den Ländern Europas spürten.

Eben das macht uns zuversichtlich, dass das internationale Geschehen wieder zum Guten gewendet werden kann. Die Stockholmer Konferenz kann ihren Beitrag

dazu leisten. Sie wird dabei um so erfolgreicher sein, je stärker die internationale Öffentlichkeit realistisches Handeln erzwingt. Denn niemand, niemand, der wachen Sinnes verfolgt hat, mit welcher Intensität und welchem Aufwand die Raketenstationierung betrieben wurde, kann ernstlich glauben, man sei freiwillig bereit, diese Raketen, von denen man sich militärischen Vorteil verspricht, jemals wieder zurückzunehmen. Es bleibt das vorrangige Ziel der Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik der DDR, ihren Beitrag so zu leisten, damit ein nukleares Inferno verhindert und der Weltfrieden gesichert wird. Das entspricht dem prinzipiellen, also unveränderlichen Kurs sozialistischer Friedenspolitik, für die sich auch die DDR seit ihrer Gründung vor nunmehr 35 Jahren einsetzt.

Kollektive Sicherheit in Europa auf der Grundlage eines von Atomwaffen freien Kontinents, eines immer geringeren militärischen Potentials, auf der Grundlage der politisch-territorialen Realitäten ist ein lohnendes Ziel.

Es entspricht der historischen und humanistischen Verantwortung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, zugleich als deutscher Staat alles zu tun, damit von deutschem Boden nie wieder ein Krieg ausgeht.

Ich fasse die Vorschläge zusammen, die nach Auffassung der DDR am wichtigsten, weil am dringlichsten sind:

- Völkerrechtlich verbindlicher Verzicht auf den Ersteinsatz von Kernwaffen durch jene Nuklearmächte, die eine solche Verpflichtung noch nicht übernommen haben;

- Vertraglicher Verzicht auf die Anwendung militärischer Gewalt und die Aufrechterhaltung friedlicher Beziehungen zwischen den Staaten des Warschauer Vertrages und der NATO unter Einbeziehung der interessierten neutralen und nichtpaktgebundenen Staaten;

- Einfrieren der Kernwaffenarsenale;

- Schaffung kernwaffenfreier Zonen oder Korridore in verschiedenen Teilen Europas;

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Hr. Fischer

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- Befreiung Europas von chemischen Waffen;
- Einfrieren und Reduzierung der Militärhaushalte aller Teilnehmerstaaten;
- Ergänzung und Ausbau der vertrauensbildenden Massnahmen, wie sie in der Schlussakte von Helsinki enthalten sind, mit dem Ziel, die militärischen Aktivitäten der Staaten zu reduzieren und die Gefahr eines Überraschungsangriffs zu vermindern.

Damit erschöpfen sich unsere Vorstellungen keineswegs. Wir sind selbstverständlich bereit, alle Ideen und Vorschläge anderer Teilnehmerstaaten zu prüfen, die geeignet sind, die zugespitzte Lage zu entschärfen, Vertrauen zu bilden und die Sicherheit zu erhöhen.

Der sozialistische deutsche Staat wird - wie immer und überall - auch in Stockholm ein berechenbarer Partner sein.

Ich danke für die Aufmerksamkeit.

m F

Division Phoned 5-5912
Person CF
Local Time 9:58

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

C O N F I D E N T I E L

DE PARIS WIGR3171 20JAN84

A EXTOTT/IDDZ LIVRAISON 200900

INFO BONN LDN WSHDC PRGUE WSAW STKHM/SCIEL/DELVOIF MOSCO BNATO
BPEST BGRAD BUCST NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWOPHY/
COLEMAN

DISTR MINA USS IMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XDV

REF VOTRETF IDDZ 0057 18JAN

---INITIATIVE DU PM - VISITE EN EUROPE DE L'EST

SUITE VOTRETEL AVONS INFORME RICHARD (DIR ADJ EUROPE DE L'EST) DE
VISITE SOUS RUBRIQUE DE MEME QUE CHASSARD (DIR ADJ EUROPE CENTRALE)
RESPONSABLE POUR RDA ET BERLIN EST.

2. CHASSARD ETAIT DEJA BIEN INFORME DE SEJOUR PROJETE A BERLIN
EST QUI NE SOULEVE NI OBJECTION NI DIFFICULTE MAIS QUI SELON LUI
NECESSITE CUELQUES PRECAUTIONS D'ORDRE MECANIQUE ET SYMBOLIQUE.
IL NOUS A INDIQUE A CE SUJET QUE MEMOIRE NOUS AVAIT ETE REMIS
HIER A BONN CONSISTANT EN UN RECENSEMENT DES PIEGES CONNUS ET A
EVITER GENERALEMENT UTILISES PAR RDA EN PAREILLES CIRCONSTANCES
(GARDES MILITAIRES) SIGNATURE DE LIVRE D'OR, ETC...). INTERLOCUTEUR
A AJOUTE QUE SI VISITES DE MAE DES PAYS DE L'OTAN SONT PLUS
FREQUENTES (CHEFSSON SERA EN RDA SEMAINE PROCHAINE) CELLE D'UN
PM OCCIDENTAL EST MOINS FREQUENTE. IL ATTIRE CEPENDANT NOTRE
ATTENTION SUR VIGILANCE A ADOPTER CONCERNANT BERLIN-EST.

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PAGE DEUX WIGR3171 CONF

3. CHASSARD A INDIQUE QUE FRANCE N'AVAIT D'AILLEURS AUCUNE RAISON D'AVOIR REACTIONS NEGATIVES A CE SUJET D'AUTANT QUE RDA EST UN PAYS RECONNU ET AVEC LEQUEL FRANCE ENTRETIENT DES RELATIONS. CELA DIT, NOTRE INTERLOCUTEUR A AJOUTE, A TITRE PERSONNEL, QUE SI VISITE DU PM MAUROY N'Y ETAIT PAS PREVUE, IL FAUDRA BIEN UN JOUR OU L'AUTRE L'ENVISAGER.

4. CHASSARD NOUS A REITERE ENTIERE DISPONIBILITE POUR DISCUTER SI NECESSAIRE DE CERTAINS POINTS TECHNIQUES (RE PIEGES) QUI DEMANDERAIENT PRECISIONS ADDITIONNELLES FORT DE LEURS PROPRES EXPERIENCES.

CCC/035 201139Z WIGR3171

UNCLASSIFIED

FM WSHDC UNGR1068 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT URR

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR DDDZ IFB IDR IDA UGB

---VISIT OF RT HON JOE CLARK

PROGRAM FOR MR CLARK VISIT TO WSHDC IS NOT/NOT FINAL. HOWEVER MAIN
PARTS SEEM TO BE IN PLACE. FOR YOUR INFO, PROGRAM IS AS FOLLOWS:

MON, 30JAN:

09:30: BRIEFING ON CURRENT STATE OF ARMS CONTROL NEGS, JOHN HAWES,
DIR, OFFICE OF SECURITY AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS, EUROPEAN BUREAU,
STATE DEPT

10:00: KENNETH ADELMAN, DIR, ACDA

10:30: RICK BURT, ASST SEC, EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, STATE DEPT

11:30: ADMIRAL JONATHAN HOWE, DIR, BUREAU OF POLITICO-MILITARY
AFFAIRS, STATE DEPT

12:30: LUNCH WITH JOHN STEINBRUNER, DIR, FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES,
BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

15:00: GROUND ZERO, ROGER MOLANDER, CHAIRMAN; THEO BROWN, EXECUTIVE
DIR (TENTATIVE) EVENING: CULTURAL EVENT

16:00: PENTAGON THREAT BRIEFING

16:30: DR FRED IKLE, UNDERSEC OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

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PAGE TWO UNGR1068 UNCLAS

2.TUE,31JAN:

09:30:ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION,GERRARD SMITH,CHAIRMAN;BILL
KINCAIDE,EXECUTIVE DIR,AND POSSIBLE OTHER BOARD MEMBERS

10:45:NSC,JACK MATLOCK,SPECIAL SST TO PRES,EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
RON LEHMAN,SPECIAL ASST TO PRES,ARMS CONTROL.

12:30:LUNCH WITH LESLIE GELB,NATIONAL SECURITY CORRESPONDENT,NYT

AFTERNOON:A SERIES OF APPOINTMENTS ON THE HILL WITH A CROSS SECTION
OF SENATORS AND REPS

EVENING:DINNER AT THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE

3.WED,01FEB:

09:30-12:00:MTGS WITH TWO EXPERTS ON EAST/WEST RELS AND USA/USSR
RELS.THESE ARE NOT/NOT CONFIRMED,BUT WE ARE CONTACTING JAMES
BILLINGTON AND BILL HYLAND IN FIRST INSTANCE.WE ASSUME MR CLARK
WILL BE DEPARTING ON THE 1330 DIRECT FLIGHT FROM DULLES.

4.YOU MAY WISH TO PASS ABOVE TO MR CLARK ASST PEGGY MASON.WE ARE
OF COURSE ALSO IN DIRECT TOUCH ON PROG DETAILS.

UUU/230 202212Z UNGR1068

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

Division Phoned

Person

Local Time

CF

11:00

C O N F I D E N T I E L

DE BONN ZQGR1019 20JAN84

A EXTOTT UDDZ LIVRAISON 200900

INFO PRGUE WSAW STKHM/SCDEL/DELVOIE LDN PARIS WSHDC MOSCO

BNATO BPEST BGRAD BUCST NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP PCOOTT/FOWLER

PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XDV

PEF VOTRETEL IDDZ57 18JAN

---INITIATIVE DU PM-RDA

AVONS INFORME GROUPE DE BONN SUR BRLIN(G-B,FR,USA ET
DIRECTION SUR BRLIN ET ALLEMAGNE AU MIN AFF ETR)DE VISITE
POSSIBLE DU PM EN RDA ET PLUS PRECISMENT A BRLIN-EST.

REACTIONS UNANIMES FURENT QUE TELLE VISITE ACCEPTABLE MAIS
DEVRAIT RESPECTER CERTAINES REGLES(VOIR PARA 3 INFRA)CAR RDA
TENTERA EVIDEMMENT DEXPLOITER VISITE SUR PLAN PROTOCOLAIRE
ET CEREMONIEL AFIN DE SERVIR SA THESE SUR BRLIN IF
CAPITALE DE RDA.

2.INTERLOCUTEUR ALLEMAND DU GROUPE DE BONN A APPRECIE
FAIT QUE VISITE SINSERE DANS CONTEXTE PRECIS D'INITIATIVE
DE PAIX ET NE SERA PAS UNE VISITE OFFICIELLE TENDANT A
MOUSSER RELATIONS BILATERALES CDA-RDA.SELON LUI,RFA

NE VOIT PAS NEGATIVEMENT CETTE VISITE THEMATIQUE SURTOUT
SI MINIMUM DE FONCTIONS OFFICIELLES ONT LIEU.CARACTERE
DE VISITE PM,QUI SE DEROUlera SANS DOUTE SELON SCENARIO
SEMBLABLE A VISITE PM A BONN DE NOV83(VISITE DE TRAVAIL-SANS
CEREMONIAL PERMETTRA CERTES AU PM DE VITER DE SERVIR

...2

PAGE DEUX ZQGR1019 CONF

PROPAGANDE DE RFA ET NAFFECTERA PAS/PAS STATUT DE BRLIN.

3.VOICI TEXTE REMIS PAR GROUPE DE BONN SUR POINTS A EVITER
A BRLIN-EST.CES LIGNES FURENT SUIVIES PAR MAE DANOIS ET
NORVEGIEN LOES DE LEURS VISITES A BRLIN-EST.

SENSITIVE POINTS FOR VISITS IN EAST-BERLIN

1.JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

(A)IN ANY JOINT COMMUNIQUE OR OTHER DOCUMENT ISSUED IN
CONNECTION WITH A VISIT THE GDR HOSTS ARE LIKELY TO SEEK THE
INCLUSION OF A MENTION OF QUOTE BERLIN UNQUOTE(IE EAST
BERLIN),DESIGNATED AS QUOTE CAPITAL UNQUOTE OF THE GDR
OR OTHERWISE DESCRIBED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SUGGEST THAT IT IS
PART OF THE GDR.

(B)GDR DRAFTS FOR SUCH COMMUNIQUE OR OTHER DOCUMENTS MAY ALSO:

(I)INCLUDE REFERENCES TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF
03SEP71 REFERRING TO IT AS THE QUOTE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT
ON WEST BERLIN UNQUOTE(IN THE WESTERN VIEW IT RELATES TO THE
WHOLE OF BEPLIN)OR IN TERMS WHICH SEEK TO IMPLY THAT THE GDR,

...3

4. THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION FOREAST
BERLIN WAS ILLEGAL AND A CALL ON THE MAYOR SHOULD
PREFERABLY BE AVOIDED, AS SHOULD ANY SIGNATURE OF
THE QUOTE GOLDEN BOOK UNQUOTE. BESIDES THE LEGALITY
ASPECT ANY SUCH VISIT IS LIABLE TO BE ACCOMPANIED
BY ASSERTIONS REGARDING THE CLAIMED STATUS OF THE EASTERN
SECTOR AS CAPITAL OF THE GDR, WITH WHICH THE VISITOR MAY BE
IMPLED TO HAVE AGREED.
FINCIT.

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ALTHOUGH A NON/NON-SIGNATORY, HAS A RIGHT TO INTERPRET THE AGREEMENT.

(II) REFER TO QUOTE WEST BERLIN UNQUOTE OR QUOTE BERLIN(WEST) UNQUOTE IN TERMS WHICH SUGGEST THAT THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN CONSTITUTE AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ENTITY. VIEWING OF THE WALL.

2. THE GDR SIDE MAY PROPOSE A VIEWING OF THE WALL. THIS CAN BE INTENDED TO LEND RESPECTABILITY TO THE EASTERN PROPAGANDA LINE THAT THE WALL IS DEFENSIVE AND JUSTIFIED. IT CAN ALSO BE USED TO IMPLY THAT THE VISITOR ACCEPTS THE GDR CLAIM THAT THE SECTOR BORDER CONSTITUTES PART OF THE GDR QUOTE STATE BORDE UNQUOTE.

MILITARY CEREMONIES IN THE EASTERN SECTOR

3. UNDER QUADIPARTITE AGREEMENTS, GERMAN MILITARY ACTIVITIES ARE PROHIBITED IN THE WHOLE OF THE CITY. THE PRESENCE OF UNIFORM GDR TROOPS IN THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN IS THUS IN CONFLICT WITH THE DEMILITARISED STATUS OF THE CITY. IT CONTRASTS WITH THE SITUATION IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN, WHERE THIS STATUS IS STRICTLY RESPECTED. ATTENDANCE AT MILITARY CEREMONIES AND THE ATTENDANCE AND PRESENTATION OF THE QUOTE CITY COMMANDANT OF BERLIN SHOULD THEREFORE BE AVOIDED.

VISIT TO THE MAYOR OF BERLIN

External Affairs
Canada

Affaires extérieures
Canada

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER
MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

WDC 005/20

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

UNCLASSIFIED - FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

12

10

FM/DE

FM WSHDC POLO765 20JAN84

TO/A

TO EXTOTT/IDDZ

INFO

DISTR

—PMS INITIATIVE - 2 PAGES

REF

SUBJ/SUJ

FOR TOP
COMMUNICATIONS
JAN 20 19 32 84
CANADIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

288

SIG

[Signature]
R. J. LYSYSHYN/th

000171

**Justice
and Peace Office**

**Maryknoll Fathers & Brothers
Maryknoll, New York 10545
(914) 941-7550**

2/2

January 12, 1984

Canadian Embassy
1746 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to applaud the initiatives taken by Prime Minister
Pierre Trudeau on behalf of peace in the world!

I am delighted that Mr. Trudeau is attempting to bring some sanity
into the relationships between the governments of my own country and
the Soviet Union, and particularly pleased that he is attempting to
do so within the context of the United Nations.

I urge Mr. Trudeau and the Canadian government to lead our government,
not to follow it.

Sincerely,

Daniel P. Driscoll, M.M.

Rev. Daniel P. Driscoll, M.M.
Director

DD:ed

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

MF

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

C O N F I D E N T I A L CDN EYES ONLY

FM GENEV YTGR0392 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO BNATO WSHDC PCOOTT/FOWLER NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD/DNACPOL

DISTR IDA IDR

REF OURTEL YTGR0342 19JAN

---PM INITIATIVE:MEASURES

IN REFTTEL WE INDICATED THAT QUESTION OF MODALITIES OF PRESENTATION
WOULD BE CENTRAL ELEMENT RELATED TO SUCCESS OF THIS OPERATION.

2. IN TOUR DE TABLE OF WESTERN COLLEAGUES IN CD AS USUAL PROCEDURE
PREPARATORY TO OPENING SESSION, MOST DELS HAD NOT/NOT YET
RECEIVED DEFINITE INDICATION OF LEVEL REPRESENTATION FROM CAPITALS FOR
OPENING STATEMENTS OR NATIONAL INITIATIVES, BUT MANY THOUGHT MINISTER-
IAL ATTENDANCE POSSIBLE. UK ANTICIPATED THAT MINISTER LUCE COULD
PRESENT UK POSITION ON CW; FRG EXPECTS MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIONS;
AND USA AMB FIELDS THOUGH THERE WAS GOOD CHANCE THAT USA CW DRAFT
TREATY WOULD BE PRESENTED BY VP BUSH QUOTE WHEN TIME CAME UNQUOTE
(FIELDS CANNOT/NOT ESTIMATE WITH ANY PRECISION WHEN USA WILL BE
READY TO TABLE PAPER).

3. FOR SUBSTANTIVE AND OPTICAL REASONS, THERE MAY INDEED BY MERIT
IN CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY THAT EITHER DPM/SSEA OR PM PRESENT THREE
PAPERS REFTTEL TO CONFERENCE. APPEARANCE BY DPM/SSEA WOULD BE HIS
SECOND BEFORE CD (HE GAVE OPENING CDN STATEMENT IN 1983 AND SET
PRECEDENT FOR HIGH LEVEL WESTERN REPRESENTATION), AND WOULD PROVIDE
OCCASION TO BUILD UPON THEME OF MUTUAL SECURITY THAT WAS DEVELOPED

...2

PAGE TWO YTGR0392 CONFD CEO

THEME OF MUTUAL SECURITY THAT WAS DEVELOPED THEN BUTISNOW OF SPECIAL RELEVANCE OF PMS INITIATIVE. APPEARANCE OF PM BEFORE THIS MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING BODY WOULD HAVE OBVIOUS MERIT AND WOULD SERVE TO UNDERLINE IN STRONGEST POSSIBLE FASHION IMPORTANCE OF PMS INITIATIVE, CDN COMMITMENT TO MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND ROLE OF CD IN THIS PROCESS: PERSONAL APPEARANCE BY SSEA/DMP OR PM WOULD OF COURSE GIVE MAXIMUM IMPACT TO PAPERS THEY WOULD BE PRESENTING.

4. TIMING. SHOULD YOU BE CONSIDERING SUCH A RECOMMENDATION, PERHAPS SUITABLE WINDOW COULD BE FOUND EARLY IN SESSION WHICH CONVENES TUESDAY, 07 FEB. (BY WAY OF REFERENCE, DAVOS SYMPOSIUM DATES ARE 25 JAN TO 02 FEB). EARLY PRESENTATION WOULD IN ANY EVENT BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN LATER IN SESSION.

5. GRATREFUL YOUR VIEWS IN DUE COURSE.

CCC/221 201902Z YTGR0392

C C N F I D E N T I A L

FM BUCST UYGP0160 20JAN84

TO FXTOTT RBR DFLIVER BY 211000

INFO NDHQCTT/ADMPOL/PPP PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN

DISTR RBP RBT RBD RBRD ZSI IDIZ

REF YOURTEL 0092 13JAN

---VISIT OF FM STEFAN ANDREI-BRIEFS

FOLLOWING ARE TWO OF THE THE BRIEFS HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA AND REFLECTIONS ON ROMANIA REQUIRED IN YOUR REFTL IN PREPARATION FOR VISIT OF FM STEFAN ANDREI. WE ARE SENDING THEM NOW SINCE THEY MIGHT ALSO BE OF USE IN PREPARATION OF PMS VISIT. AS YOU SUGGESTED, WE HAVE UPDATED PIECES CONTAINED IN BRIEFING BOOKS FOR GOVGENS VISIT. THINGS DO NOT/NOT CHANGE THAT MUCH OR THAT FAST IN ROMANIA. OTHER MATERIAL REQUIRED WILL FOLLOW ASAP BUT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT PREPARATIONS FOR PMS VISIT HAVE SOMEWHAT DISTURBED OUR WORK SCHEDULE.

1. QUOTE REFLECTIONS ON ROMANIA

CDA-ROMANIA COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

PARA CDAS IMMEDIATE INTEREST IN ROMANIA IS PREPONDERANTLY COMMERCIAL AGMTS UNDER WHICH WE ARE HELPING ROMS DEVELOP A NUCLEAR POWER CAPABILITY AND BRINGING SUBSTANTIAL BUSINESS TO CDN FIRMS AT A TIME WHEN THEY HAVE FEW ORDERS ON THE BOOKS. INSPITE OF CONSIDERABLE ADDED SALES CANDU PROJECT WILL GENERATE FOR CDA, PARTICULARLY IF TEN CANDU REACTORS ARE BUILT AS INTENDED, WE ARE UNLIKELY TO DISPLACE ANY OF ROMANIAS MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS SUCH AS SOVIET UNION, FRG, USA OR

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FRANCE. AS ROMS HOWEVER BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO DEALING WITH US THROUGH CANDU PROJECT THERE WILL BE ROOM FOR GROWTH IN OTHER AREAS AS WELL. INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY WITHIN WSAW PACT

PARA OUR LONGER TERM INTEREST IN ROMANIA IS BASED ON SAME REASONS THAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN ANY COUNTRY WHICH SHARES OUR VIEWS OR HAS POSITIONS SIMILAR TO OURS ON MANY INNATL ISSUES. WITH A POPULATION ABOUT SAME AS OURS, WITH SOME GEO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN COMMON, WITH COMPELLING NEED TO DEVELOP EXPORT MARKETS, WITH URGENT REQUIREMENTS FOR ENERGY SOURCES ABROAD, ROMS PUT EVEN MORE EMPHASIS IP THEIR FOREIGN POLICY THAN WE DO ON DISARMAMENT, CONFIDENCE BLDG, PEACFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, AND ABOVE ALL DETERENCE OF GREAT-POWER INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS OF OTHERS.

PAPA CTA, LIKE ITS ALLIES, ALSO HAS A STRATEGIC INTEREST IN ROMANIA. FOR A LONG TIME, PERHAPS FROM BEGINNING OF FIRST SOV-DOMINATED REGIME UNDER PETRU GROZA, ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP HAS SOUGHT TO LOOSEN RUSSIAN GRIP. BY FOLLOWING A POLICY OF QUOTE REASON OVER PASSION UNQUOTE, AND SUPPRESSING WHAT FEW MEMORIES THERE ARE IN THIS COUNTRY OF DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY, THEY HAVE GOT FURTHER IN THEIR CHOSEN DIRECTION THAN ANY OF THEIR MORE TEMPESTUOUS EAST EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURS. THEIR GREATEST TRIUMPH CAME IN 1956, UNDER ONE OF STALINS MOST DEVOTED ADMIRERS, GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ, WHO BROUGHT ABOUT WITHDRAWAL OF SOV FORCES FROM ROMANIA. SECOND TRIUMPH, FOR WHICH CEAUSPSCU MUST GET MOST OF THE CREDIT, IS TO HAVE KEPT THOSE AND ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES OUT EVER

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SINCE ROMS HAVE USED LIBERTY THUS OBTAINED TO DEVELOP A WORLD VIEW OF THEIR OWN, OF WHICH CENTERPIECE IS QUOTE NON-INTERFERENCE UNQUOTE, AND PRACTICAL RESULTS A SHARP LOOKOUT FOR SOV ATTEMPTS TO REPLACE THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE WITH ECONOMIC, POLITICAL OR OTHER FORMS OF LEVERAGE.

PARA LIMITS OF ROMANIAS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE FOLLOW FROM ITS GEOGRAPHIC SITU AND NATURE OF ITS REGIME. SELF-DISCIPLINE IS FAR BETTER THAN IMPOSED-DISCIPLINE, AND FROM SOV POINT OF VIEW, ROMANIAN SELF-DISCIPLINE REMAINS COMMENDABLY THOROUGH.

ASPECTS OF INTERNAL REGIME

PARA QUITE RIGHTLY, RUSSIANS SEEM TO HAVE NO/NO FEAR OF COMMUNISM PUTTING ON A HUMAN FACE IN ROMANIA. THERE IS NO/NO DETECTABLE DESIRE ON PART OF CEAUSESCU OR THOSE AROUND HIM TO DO ANYTHING OF THE SORT. RATHER, THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS ABOUT ENTIRE LEADERSHIP BASED ON A GENUINE BELIEF IN VALUES THEY ARE PURSUING. LEADERSHIP, ALTHO CHANGING FROM TIME TO TIME, IS ONE OF THE MORE STABLE IN EASTERN EUROPE. PEOPLE MOVE FROM JOB TO JOB BUT FEW ARE DISPLACED ENTIRELY. DESPITE IRRITATION RUSSIANS MUST FEEL WITH CEAUSESCUS FLOURISHES IN FOREIGN FIELD, THEY PROBABLY REALIZE SOV SYSTEM AND ITS VALUES ARE SAFER IN ROMANIA THAN IN ANY OTHER BLOC COUNTRY EXCEPT BULGARIA.

PARA WE HAVE AMPLE EVIDENCE IN THE EMBASSY, EVERY DAY, OF INHUMANITY OF REGIME TOWARDS ITS OWN CITIZENS-ALL DISMAL AND FAMILIAR

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TOTALITARIAN APPARATUS OF PRISON, DEPRIVATION OF CIVIL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS-APPLIED AGAINST PEOPLE WHO HAVE USUALLY DONE NO/NO MORE THAN EXPRESS A DESIRE TO GO ELSEWHERE.

PARA PERHAPS MOST DEPRESSING ASPECT OF INTERNAL REGIME IS THAT ROMANIAN PEOPLE APPEAR TO TAKE IT, IF NOT/NOT LYING DOWN, THEN CERTAINLY NOT/NOT STANDING UP. IF THERE IS A DISSIDENT MOVEMENT HERE, IT IS INVISIBLE. PHILOSOPHY OF ROMS SEEMS TO BE TO KEEP THEIR HEADS DOWN AND MAKE A LITTLE SPACE FOR THEMSELVES. IT IS A POPULAR BELIEF AMONG ROMS THAT ONE IN FIVE CITIZENS IS EITHER A POLICEMAN, AN AGENT, AN INFORMER OR A STOOL-PIGEON. OUR INFO AND OBSERVATION SUGGESTS THAT FIGURE IS NOT/NOT TOO HIGH. CONFRONTED WITH THIS REALITY, AND NOT/NOT BEING HOT-BLOODED BY TRADITION OR NATURE, ROMS HAVE CHOSEN PATH OF COMPLIANCE AT LEAST OUTWARDLY.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU QUOTE CULT OF PERSONALITY UNQUOTE

PARA IN HIS 19 HRS AS HEAD OF STATE AND PARTY, NICOLAE CEAUSESCU HAS PUT HIS OWN STAMP ON THE COUNTRY. HE HAS CONTINUED POLICY OF DE-SOVIETIZATION PURSUED BY HIS PREDECESSOR IN A MORE DETERMINED WAY. CEAUSESCU, UNLIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, GIVES NO/NO SIGN OF ADMIRING ANY SOV LEADERS, PAST OR PRESENT. UNDER HIM THERE HAS BEEN A RETURN TO ROMANIAN WAYS OF DOING THINGS. ROMANIAN NATIONALISM IS ONCE AGAIN FLOURISHING. BEING ANTI-RUSSIAN IS FASHIONABLE AND SAFE, AS IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN HERE EXCEPT FOR IMMEDIATE POST WAR YRS. NATIONALISM, BORDERING OFTEN ON CHAUVINISM HAS BEEN BEGINNING OF CEAUSESCU'S SUCCESS

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AND KEY TO DEGREE OF POPULAR ACCEPTANCE HE HAS IN ROMANIA.

PARA HE IS AN INCREDIBLY HARD WORKER.HIS FOREIGN TRAVEL ARE
PRODIGIOUS.HE RECEIVES ALMOST ANYONE OF CONSEQUENCE WHO ASKS TO
SEE HIM.HE CARRIES FULL LOAD OF CEREMONY AS HEAD OF STATE,AND
DERIVES HIS POWER FROM HIS JOB AS HEAD OF PARTY.HE IS TO BE SEEN
DAILY ON TV AND IN PAPERS,TRUDGING(IN APPROPRIATE GARB)THROUGH BEET
FIELDS,TRACTOR PLANTS AND COAL MINES.HE PARTICIPATES IN WORKING
SESSIONS NOT/NOT ONLY OF CENTRAL CTTEE,BUT ALSO OF PLANTS AND FARMS,
OFFERING ADVISE OFF-THE-CUFF,CHIDING PEOPLE FOR THEIR PROFESSIONAL
SHORTCOMINGS,HE IS 66 YRS OLDNBUT LEADS A LIFE THAT WOULD KILL MOST
YOUNGER MEN,ALTHO HE NOW TAKES REGULAR PERIODS OF REST.

PARA CEAUSESCUS FACE OFTEN OCCUPIES TV SCREEN FOR SOMETHING LIKE
HALF OF TOTAL BROADCAST HRS.IT IS NOT/NOT UNUSUAL FOR 25 MINUTES
OF 30 MINUTE EVENING NEWS TO BE TAKEN UP BY HIS ACTIVITIES.DAILY
PARTY NEWSPAPER SCINTEIA NEARLY ALWAYS HAS AT LEAST ONE PHOTOGRAPH
OF HIM IN ITS FOUR TO SIX PAGES,USUALLY TWO OR THREE,AND QUITE OFTEN
MORE.HIS NAME AND PICTURE ARE EVERYWHERE IN PUBLIC PLACES THROUGHOUT
THE COUNTRY.HE IS CALLED BY EPITHETS THAT WOULD EMBARRASS ANYONE
ELSE-QUOTE MOST BRILLIANT SON OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE UNQUOTE,AND MANY
MORE OF SAME KIND.HIS NAME IS INVOKED AS SOURCE OF ULTIMATE
AUTHORITY AND WISDOM ON EVERY CONCEIVABLE SUBJECT,FROM HISTORY TO
POTATO FARMING.HIS QUOTE WRITINGS UNQUOTE HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN
18 FAT VOLUMES,AND CONTINUE TO APPEAR.AT MASS MTGS WHERE HE IS

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PRESENT-THERE ARE CONTRIVED DISPLAYS OF MASS ADULATION WHICH IS
EXTREMELY HARD TO RECONCILE WITH GOVERNING OF A MODERN STATE.

PARA YET,DESPITE ALL THIS,DESPITE CLEAR SIGNS THAT A CEAUSESCU
DYNASTY MIGHT BE IN THE MAKING,DESPITE ARBITRARY WAY IN WHICH PEOPLES
LIVES ARE DISRUPTED,HE IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED BY PEOPLE.HIS ANTI-
RUSSIAN STANCES AND AN INCLINATION OF PEOPLE TO BLAME MANY OF HIS
SUBORDINATES HAS HELPED HIM ESCAPE MUCH DIRECT CRITICISM.ONE CAN
HOWEVER PERCEIVE A CERTAIN EROSION OF POPULAR SUPPORT,MAINLY DUE TO
INCREASE IN DAILY HARDSHIP FOR POPULACE.HE IS CREDITED FOR
MAINTAINING PRIORITY FOR HEAVY INDUSTRY AND MEGA-PROJECTS INSPITE
OF PRESENT DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES AND THUS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR
MARKED DETERIORATION OF STANDARD OF LIFE OF ORDINARY CITIZEN,WHICH
WAS ALREADY QUOTE LOW.

ROMANIAS HOPES FOR FUTURE

PARA FUTURE OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE IS PRETTY BLEAK,EVEN BLFAKER THAN
THAT OF POLES OR CZECHS.FUTURE OF ALL EAST EUROPEANS DEPENDS
ULTIMATELY ON WHAT HAPPENS IN RUSSIA AND IN RELNS BETWEEN RUSSIA
AND WEST.

PARA BEST HOPE FOR ROMANIA LIES IN APPLYING LESSONS THAT ALL EAST
EUROPEANS HAVE LEARNED SINCE END OF THE WAR:SUPPRESSION BY SOV AND/OR
INDIGENOUS FORCES OF POPULAR MOVEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE IN EAST GERMANY
AND POLAND,AND SOV INVASION AND PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF HUNGARY AND
CZECH.SO WATCHWORD REMAINS PRUDENCE,ESPECIALLY IN ONLY WSAW PACT

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COUNTRY WHICH IS FREE OF SOV FORCES.EVEN WITHIN LIMITS OF PRUDENCE THERE IS ROOM FOR MOVEMENT,AND WE SHOULD BE AWARE OF EFFECTS OF OUR RELNS WITH ROMANIA.USA,FRANCE AND ITALY PUT(BY OUR STANDARDS) MASSIVE RESOURCES INTO THEIR CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP.FRG IS SECOND TRADING PARTNER(AFTER USSR)AND FOLLOWS WITH INTENSE INTEREST AFFAIRS OF GERMAN MINORITY.USA CONTINUES TO BE EFFECTIVELY BENEVOLENT IN ALL ITS DEALING WITH ROMANIA.PERHAPS WHAT WILL MAKE MOST DIFFERENCE ARE VERY LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIAL-COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS,SUCH AS CANDU PROJECT,WHICH ROMS HAVE ENTERED INTO WITH A NUMBER OF WESTERN COUNTRIES.THESE PROJECTS,TO SUCCEED,WILL REQUIRE SYSTEM TO LOOSEN SOMEWHAT AND ALLOW SOME DEGREE OF DECENTRALIZATION.CEASESCU AND THOSE AT THE CENTRE ARE SLOW TO LET GO OF DECISION-MAKING,INCLUDING ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING.HOPE REMAINS THAT IN STRIVING FOR EFFICIENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,POLITICAL CHANGES WILL ALSO OCCUR AS A CONSEQUENCE.UNQUOTE.

2.QUOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

PARA ROMANIAS MORE INDEPENDENTLY-MINDED FOREIGN POLICY HAS NOT/NOT LET IT TO IMPLEMENT A MORE LIBERAL INTERNAL RULE THAN ITS WSAW PACT ALLIES.IN FACT ROMANIA REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST ORTHODOX,OPPRESSIVE AND STALINIST COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE.PARTY THROUGH SECURITY POLICE MAINTAINS STRICT CONTROL OVER SOCIETY AND RIGOROUSLY REPPRESSES ANY DISSENT THAT EMERGES.ALTHO ROMANIA SIGNED HSNKI ACCORD,IT OPENLY DISCOURAGES CONTACTS BETWEEN ITS CITIZENS AND FOREIGNERS,RESTRICTS

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EMIGRATION AND GENERALLY LIMITS AND CONTROLS ALL POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

PARA CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS SUCH AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF PRESS AND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY ARE IN THEORY GUARANTEED BY ROMANIAN CONSTITUTION. THESE FREEDOMS ARE HOWEVER MEANINGLESS SINCE OTHER MORE GENERAL PROVISIONS OVERRIDE THEM. MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE RELATE TO DEFINITION OF NATURE OF ROMANIAN POLITICAL PROCESS AND PRIMACY OF COMMUNIST PARTY. IN ADDITION, UNDER ARTICLE 166 OF CRIMINAL CODE, ANY QUOTE ANTI-STATE PROPAGANDA UNQUOTE IS PUNISHABLE BY IMPRISONMENT FOR FIVE TO FIFTEEN YRS. ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE SOCIALIST SYSTEM CARRIES SAME PENALTY. ROMANIANS WHO QUOTE SYSTEMATICALLY REFUSE TO TAKE UP WORK AND LEAD A PARASITIC LIFE UNQUOTE ARE SUBJ TO FORCED LABOUR. INDIVIDUALS CHARGED UNDER THESE STATUTES FIND LITTLE RECOURSE THROUGH COURT SYSTEM. IT IS ALSO A CRIMINAL OFFENSE TO ATTEMPT TO LEAVE COUNTRY WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION. THESE STATUTES COMBINED WITH COMPLETE STATE CONTROL OVER EMPLOYMENT, MEDIA, EDUCATION AND HOUSING RESULTS IN A STRONG FRAMEWORK FOR DICTATORSHIP, INTOLERANCE AND ARBITRARY EXERCISE OF POWER.

PARA ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP HAS REPEATEDLY STATED THAT RIGHT TO LIFE AND SECURITY OF THE PERSON IS MOST FUNDAMENTAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WHILE THERE IS NO/NO EVIDENCE THAT TORTURE IS PRACTICED IN ROMANIA, BEATINGS OF ORDINARY AND POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE NOT/NOT UNCOMMON. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS REPORTED, IN 1983, TWO CASES WHERE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN

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CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL BELIEFS.

PARA WHILE THOSE WHO OPPOSE REGIME ARE SUBJ TO ARREST UNDER ROMANIAN LAW, SECURITY FORCES PREFER TO STIFLE CRITICISM BY OTHER MEANS INCLUDING DEMOTIONS, FIRINGS, TRANSFERS TO ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY AND HARASSMENT OF MEMBERS OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS. SHOULD AN INDIVIDUAL BE ARRESTED HE MAY BE CONFINED IN A CONVENTIONAL PRISON, ASSIGNED TO A LABOUR CAMP OR BE SUBJ TO INTERNAL EXILE IN ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY. IN 1992, AMNESTY INTL WORKED FOR RELEASE OF 50 PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE BUT BELIEVED THAT TOTAL NUMBER WAS MUCH LARGER.

PARA ROMS REQUIRE RESIDENCE PERMITS WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND ARE NOT/NOT FREE TO CHANGE THEIR RESIDENCE WITHOUT APPROVAL BUT ARE FREE TO TRAVEL WITHIN THE COUNTRY. EVEN IF INFAMOUS DECREE 402 HAS BEEN SUSPENDED, EMIGRATION IS OFFICIALLY CONSIDERED ALMOST SYNONYMOUS WITH TREASON AND APPLICANTS ARE CERTAIN TO FACE MANY FORMS OF OFFICIAL HARASSMENT. FREQUENTLY INDIVIDUALS END UP IN SITU IN WHICH, HAVING BEEN STRIPPED OF THEIR ROMANIAN CITIZENSHIP AND UNABLE TO OBTAIN AN IMMIGRATION VISA FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY, THEY ARE REFUGEES WITHIN THEIR COUNTRY OF BIRTH. AFTER AN INDIVIDUAL APPLIES FOR EMIGRATION THE STATE CAN TAKE UP TO FIVE YRS TO GRANT AN EXIT VISA OR PASSPORT DURING WHICH TIME PERSON CAN BE FIRED FROM HIS JOB AND GENERALLY OSTRACIZED.

PARA ALTHO STATE IS OFFICIALLY ATHEISTIC, IT HAS RECOGNIZED FOURTEEN
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RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS. OTHER RELIGIOUS GRPS ARE NOT/NOT PERMITTED
AND MEMBERS OF SUCH GRPS ARE HARASSED AND JAILED FOR THEIR BELIEFS.
DEPT OF CULTS, WHOSE DIRECTOR IS OF MIN LEVEL, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR
MONITORING WORK OF CHURCHES AND WITH OTHER STATE ORGANS IS ABLE TO
KEEP A FIRM GRIP ON DIRECTION OF CHURCH POLICY. WHERE IT HAS
EXPERIENCED DIFFICULTY IN DOING THIS, AS IN CASE OF JEWISH AND
BAPTIST COMMUNITIES, IT HAS ENCOURAGED EMIGRATION OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS
OR RESORTED TO JAILING THEM. HOWEVER, MAIN CHURCH, ROMANIAN ORTHODOX
CHURCH, WHICH COUNTS ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF POPULATION AS ITS MEMBERS,
HAS BEEN DOCILE AND HAS HAD A HISTORY OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THE STATE.
PARA FOR REASONS ELABORATED ON ABOVE, HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES HAVE
CONTINUED TO BE MAJOR SORF SPOT IN OUR DEVELOPING RELNS WITH
ROMANIA. AS ROMANIA IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE ITS POLICY CONCERNING HUMAN
RIGHTS AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION THIS PROBLEM WILL LIKELY AFFECT OUR
RELNS FOR MANY YRS TO COME. UNQUOTE.

CCC/181 211430Z UYGR2160

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BUCST UYGR0154 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT RBR DELIVER BY 200900

INFO PRGUF WSAW STKHM/SCDEL/DELVOIE BONN MOSCO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO
BPEST BGRAD NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN
DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RBG IDDZ RBD RBP XDV
REF TEL IDDZ0047 17JAN OURTEL UYGR0144 19JAN

---PMS VISIT TO ROMANIA:TOAST

FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINT COULD ALSO BE INCLUDED IN TOAST WHEN
RECALLING ROMANIAN COOPERATION WITH CDA IN FIELD OF DISARMAMENT:
ROMANIA WAS ONLY WSAW PACT COUNTRY TO GIVE SUPPORT TO SPECIFIC
ELEMENT OF PM TRUDEAUS QUOTE STRATEGY OF SUFFOCATION UNQUOTE STATED
DURING FIRST SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT IN 1978 THAT WE PURSUED
IN FOLLOWING YEARS. IN FALL 79, ROMANIA WAS AMONG CO-SPONSORS OF CDN
RESOLUTION ON PROHIBITION OF PRODUCTION OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL FOR
WEAPONS PURPOSES. ROMANIAS SUPPORT OF THIS RESOLUTION WAS NOTEWORTHY
SINCE REST OF WSAW PACT VOTED NO/NO ON RESOLUTION.

CCC/181 201310Z UYGR0154

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BUCST UYGR0151 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT RBR DELIVER BY 200900

INFO PRGUE WSAW STKHM/SCDEL/DELVOIE BONN MOSCO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO
BPEST BGRAD NDHQOTT/ADM POL/CPP PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/COLFMAN
DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RBG RBP RBD IDDZ XDV

REF TEL IDDZ0047 17JAN

---PMS VISIT TO ROMANIA:BILATERAL THEMES

FURTHER TO OURTEL UYGR0149 19JAN,ROM INTERLOCUTORS HAVE INFORMALLY ADVISED US THAT PRES MAY RAISE TWO BILATERAL ISSUES ALTHO THEY ARE FULLY COGNIZANT OF OUR DESIRE TO KEEP FOCUS FIRMLY ON PMS PEACE INITIATIVE.THESE TWO SUPPLEMENTARY ISSUES FOLLOW:1)INVITATION TO CDA-PRES WOULD PROBABLY APPRECIATE HAVING REITERATED INVITATION FOR HIM TO VISIT CTA.(NO/NO TIME FRAME OR OTHER SPECIFICS WOULD BE DISCUSSED.)2)TRADE BALANCE-IN CONTEXT OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION THEME, PRES WILL UNDERLINE REQUIREMENT FOR CDN COMPANIES TO BUY FROM ROMANIA AS WELL AS SELL TO ROMANIA WITH TARGET BEING TRADE BALANCE BETWEEN PARTNERS.

2.FOR PURPOSES OF PMS DISCUSSION OF ISSUE 2)WE WOULD SUBMIT FOLLOWING FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION:-CDN COMPANIES,AS ROMANIAS COMMERCIAL PARTNERS,UNDERSTAND ROMANIAN DESIRE TO SELL AS WELL AS BUY.IN APPROX DLRS 76 MILLION IN EQPT ORDERS SIGNED IN LATE 1983,THERE WERE CONTRACTUAL PROVISIONS TO BUY SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF ROMANIAN GOODS. IN ORDERS CURRENTLY PENDING(PERHAPS A FURTHER DLRS 75 MILLION)THERE ...2

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ARE SIMILAR PROVISIONS.

-ADDITIONAL ROMANIAN EXPORTS THAT RESULT FROM NUCLEAR COOPERATION PROJECT MAY NOT/NOT ALL ENTER CDN MARKET BUT THEY WILL EARN FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND WILL SUPPORT A MORE BALANCED TRADE FOR ROMS ON AN OVERALL BASIS.(NOTE:OF CONCLUDED OR PENDING CONTRACTS,WE THINK FEW COUNTERTRADE GOODS WILL END UP IN CDA.)

-CDN IMPORT MARKET IS VERY LARGE AND OPEN AND THERE ARE A MULTITUDE OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR AGGRESSIVE ROMANIAN COMPANIES SELLING INNATLY COMPETITIVE GOODS AND SERVICES.

3.WHILE THERE IS WIDE RANGE OF ARGUMENTS TO MARSHAL IN COUNTERPOINT TO OFFICIAL ROMANIAN TRADE POLICY POSN,(A POSN WHICH IS INSPIRED BY PRESIDENTS PERSONAL ANALYSIS),ABOVE BRIEF POINTS COULD FORM PART OF A RESPONSE THAT IS NON-CONFRONTATIONAL AND DESIGNED TO LIMIT DIGRESSION FROM MAIN PURPOSE OF PMS VISIT.

CCC/181 201130Z UYGR0151

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM BUCST UYGR0150 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT RBR DELIVER BY 200900

INFO PRGUF WSAW STKHM/SCTEL/DFLVOIE BONN MOSCO WSHDC LDN PARIS BNATO
BPEST BGRAD NDH00TT/ADMPOL/CPP PC00TT/FOWLER PMO0TT/AXWORTHY/COLEMAN
DISTR MINA USS TMF IFB RBG RBP RBL (IDDZ XDV
RFF TEL IDDZ0047 17JAN

---PMS INITIATIVE:ROM-SOV RELNS

PMS VISIT TO ROM WILL BE TAKING PLACE AS YOU KNOW JUST AFTER TWO-DAY
VISIT TO BUCST BY FM GROMYKO. BACKGROUND OF GROMYKO'S VISIT IS NOT/NOT
KNOWN BUT HE WILL BE COMING AT A TIME WHEN SOV-ROM RELNS SEEM TO
HAVE REACHED NEW LOW AND PROBABLY REPRESENTS AN EFFORT BY BOTH SIDES
TO IMPROVE THEM.

2. FROM WHAT ROM AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN SAYING PRIVATELY THEY OBVIOUSLY
DID NOT/NOT EXPECT AND DID NOT/NOT BET ON ANDROPOV AS REPLACEMENT
FOR BREZHNEV. THEY THOUGHT THAT HIS CAREER AS HEAD OF KGB WOULD PREVENT
HIM FROM BEING SELECTED AS NEW SECTY GEN. THEIR SUSPECTED HOSTILITY
TO ANDROPOV MIGHT DATE FROM PERIOD WHEN ANDROPOV WAS IN CHARGE OF
RELNS WITH EAST EUROPEAN PARTIES. CONSTANT FRATERNAL DISAGMTS FROM
ROMS MIGHT WELL HAVE MADE HIS TASK MORE DIFFICULT AND EXASPERATED
HIM. SO ROM AUTHORITIES PROBABLY SAW HIS ASCENSION TO SUPREME CHARGE
AS OF BAD AUGUR FOR THEM.

3. SINCE 1968 ROMANIA HAS NEVER PARROTED THE KREMLIN. EVEN WHEN THEY
AGREED WITH SUBSTANCE OF SOV LINE, THERE ARE OFTEN IMPORTANT NUANCES.

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MOREOVER, ROMANIA HAS EXPRESSED DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON SUBSTANTIAL ISSUES FUNDAMENTAL TO SOV FOREIGN POLICY. FOR EXAMPLE, ROMANIA HAS CONDEMNED INVASION OF CZECH, OF AFGHAN AND OF CAMBODIA. ON ECONOMIC LEVEL THEY HAVE ALSO DISAGREED WITH SOV PLANS FOR EASTERN EUR. THESE DISAGREEMENTS DID NOT/NOT PREVENT SOME CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN BOTH POWERS SINCE ROMANIA BELONGS TO COMECON AND WSAW PACT. HOWEVER IMPORTANT ARE THEIR DISAGREEMENTS, ROMANIANS NEVER FORGOT THEIR GEO-POLITICAL SITUATION AND WHEN THEY HAVE NO/NO PROBLEMS WITH SOV POLICIES THEY DO NOT/NOT HESITATE TO ENDORSE THEM WARMLY.

4. THIS SUPPORT OFTEN APPEARS TO NUMBER OF OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, AS SOMEWHAT ARTIFICIAL AND MANY DETAILS MAKE APPARENT THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO STATES ARE NOT/NOT THAT FRIENDLY. FEW RECENT EXAMPLES WHICH ARE UNTHINKABLE FROM OTHER WSAW PACT COUNTRIES SHOW IT. PAST FALL WHEN COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF WSAW PACT CAME TO ROMANIA, HE WAS NOT/NOT RECEIVED BY CEAUSESCU WHEN HE WAS RECEIVED BY ALL OTHER HEADS OF STATE IN OTHER WSAW PACT COUNTRIES. IN DEC ROMS REFUSED TO SEND REP TO MTG IN MOSCOW OF ALL WSAW PACT MEMBERS TO DISCUSS IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS AND CURRENT WORLD SITUATION. OF COURSE ALL CEAUSESCU'S PEACE INITIATIVES, WHICH INCLUDE SOV MISSILES AS WELL AS OTHERS ARE ALSO SUBJECT OF IRRITATION FOR KREMLIN. IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT IT IS ROMANIAN DIVERGENCE WHICH PREVENTS LONG-AWAITED HEADS OF STATE MTG OF COMECON FROM TAKING PLACE.

5. GROMYKO'S VISIT MUST THEREFORE HAVE AS MAIN OBJECTIVE TO PATCH UP
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AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE RELNS, TO TRY TO PERSUADE ROMS THAT SOV APPROACH
TO EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP IS WELL FOUNDED AND MAYBE TO CLEAR WAY FOR
COMECON HEAD OF STATE MTG. COMING AT THIS DELICATE JUNCTURE IN SOV-ROM
RELNS, THERE IS NO/NO DOUBT THAT VISIT IS QUITE IMPORTANT FOR FUCST
AND ITS ECHO COULD BE OF INTEREST TO PM.

CCC/181 201120Z UYGR0150

ACTION

SUITE A DONNER

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Division Phoned

Person

Local Time

FM PRGUE WOGR0144 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT/IDDZ DELIVER BY 201500

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER WSAW BUCST

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XCV

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0062 19JAN

---PMS VISIT:PROGRAM

OFFICE OF PM STROUGAL HAS PROPOSED FOLLOWING PROGRAM.

2.ARRIVAL 0800 PRGUE OLD RUZYNE AIRPORT.TARMAC PARTY
WILL BE PM STROUGAL,DEPUTY PRIME MINS AND SOME CABINET MEMBERS
PLUS EMB OFFICERS.SINCE VISIT IS NOT/NOT OFFICIAL THERE WILL
BE NO/NO ANTHEMS,HONOUR GUARDS OR SPEECHES.EXPECT ONLY
INTROS AND PRESENTATION OF FLOWERS.CONFIRM ETA.

3.0815-PM ACCOMPANIED BY PM STROUGAL TO GOVT GUEST
HOUSE ON GOGOLOVA SQUARE.ELEGANT BLDG ON PARK BORDER OVER-
LOOKING OLD PRGUE AND WITHIN THREE BLOCKS OF FMB.CAN
ACCOMODATE UP TO 7/7 IN SEPARATE BEDROOMS.ADVISE OCCUPANTS
WHEN KNOWN.SITE INSPECTION AT 1200 ON 23JAN.

4.AFTER BRIEF REVIEW OF PROGRAM PROPOSALS PM STROUGAL
AND SUITE WILL WITHDRAW.THEY HAVE PROPOSED FULL DEL CALVALCADE
WITH PM TO GUEST HOUSE BEFORE WITHDRAWING BUT YOU MAY PREFER
REMAINDER OF CANDEL PROCEEDS DIRECTLY FROM AIRPORT TO HOTEL
PRAHA.

5.ON ARRIVAL,PROVISIONS FOR PRESS TO BE FIRST OFF

PLANE TO COVER ARE ANTICIPATED.PROPOSE PRESS NOT/NOT COVER

...2

pm
- *some suite*
- *reports*
- *AXW/...* (via)
- *...*
- *...*
- *CARRER*
- *F.*
- *H.*
- *J.*

PAGE TWO WOGRO144 CONF

GUEST HOUSE ARRIVAL BUT PROCEED FOLLOWING DEL DEPARTURE TO
ACCOMMODATION AT INTERCONTINENTAL (ADDRESS-NAMESTI
CURIEVICH, TELEPHONE-2899; TELEX 121353.) PRESS
ARRANGEMENTS IN SEPARATE TEL. FLIGHT CREW WILL BE ACCOMODATED
IN PRGUE AT HOTEL INTERNATIONAL. (ADDRESS-6 NAMESTI DRUZBY,
TELEPHONE 32-10-51; TELEX-121055.) TRANSPORT WILL BE PROVIDED
FROM AIRPORT. WE AWAIT TELEX RE AIRCRAFT ENTRY REQUIREMENTS FOR
NOTE TO MFA.

6. LUNCH FOR PM AND CANDEL CAN BE CATERED AT GUEST HOUSE FOR 1230 TO
1430. DO YOU SIERS FULL DEL? COULD WE ADD AMB, MACKENZIE, THORPE,
SINCLAIR?

7. 1500-CONSULTATIONS BEGIN WITH PM STROUGAL AT
HRZANSKY PALACE, FIVE MINS FROM GUEST HOUSE. SOME FLEXIBILITY
ON NUMBERS. THEY HAVE SAID UP TO TEN EACH SIDE WOULD POSE NO/NO
DIFFICULTY. WE SUGGESTED PREFERENCE FOR APROX SEVEN WHICH
IS ALSO ACCEPTABLE. CANDEL NAMES REQUESTED. THEY SUGGESTED
LEADERS MAY AGREE TO BREAK-OFF FOR TETE A TETE; WE DID NOT/NOT
ENCOURAGE.

8. 1900-OFFICIAL DINNER HOSTED BY PM STROUGAL IN CERNIN
PALACE (MIN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS). PRESIDENT HUSAK NOT/NOT IN
ATTENDANCE. MEMBERS OF GOVT PLUS ALL CANDEL AND EMB OFFICERS.
THEY PROPOSE PRESS DINNER IN ADJOINING ROOM WITH LIMITED PHOTO
ACCESS ONLY TO DINNER. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT TEXTS OF

...3

*streamlined meeting
trip*

10

pm - 7.
am - 3.
Ax - 50 - 00 - 3
Am - 304

d. Nis under.

20 min.

replied to file.

*if you are
not in.*

000192

PAGE THREE WOGF0144 CONF

TOASTS BE MADE AVAILABLE SUFFICIENTLY IN ADVANCE TO PERMIT
AVAILABILITY OF TRANSLATED COPY FOR GUESTS. SPEECHES WOULD
THEN NOT/NOT BE TRANSLATED-CAN WE COMPLY?

9.26JAN-0900-VISIT TO OLD TOWN HALL WITH MAYOR
AS HOST HAS BEEN PROPOSED. THIS IS INDEED VERY INTERESTING
PART OF PRGUE AND PROPOSAL WORTH ACCEPTING. LOCATION IS ALSO
SHORT WALK FROM HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL IF PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
DESIRED. ADDITIONAL SIGHTSEEING POSSIBLE.

10.1030-CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT HUSAK(1030 TO
1230?). CUSTOM IS TO KEEP NUMBERS AS SMALL AS POSSIBLE.

PRESIDENT PREFERS TO BE ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY PM STROUGAL AND CHIEF
OF STAFF SALDA PLUS INTERPRETER. HAVE SUGGESTED MTG BEGIN AT
1000. REQUEST NAMES OF CDN SIDE. RECOMMEND MAX PM PLUS THREE.

9.30

11.1230(?) -THIRTY MIN PRESS OPPORTUNITY WITH PM.
LUNCH FOR PM PROBLEMATIC BUT PERHAPS ON PLANE.

15-20 min

12.1330-PM DEPARTS PRGUE AIRPORT FOR BRNO BY CSSR
PLANE. SEEN OFF BY PM STROUGAL. COMPOSITION OF PARTY AS DETERMINED
BY PM. WE HAVE UNDERLINED PRIVATE NATURE. ADVISE.

leave it

1200

just. I
think.

13.1420-ARRIVE BRNO, CAR TO SLAVKOV(30 KM).

14.1500-GUIDED TOUR AS REQUESTED.

separate - no press

15.1600-DEPART SLAVKOV.

16.OFFICIALS HAVE PRESSED FOR PM TO TRAVEL TO
BRATISLAVA TO BE RECEIVED BY SLOVAK REPUBLIC PM COLOTKA.

...4

PAGE FOUR WOGR0144 CONF

SLAVKOV-BRATISLAVA TRAVEL TIME ABOUT SAME AS SLAVKOV-PRGUE.

(80 MINS).PROPOSAL IS FOR 45 MIN AIRPORT RENDEZVOUS BEFORE

DEPARTING ON CDN PLANE TO ZURICH.PLANE WOULD HAVE DEPARTED

PRGUE FOR BRATISLAVA APROX 1600 ARRIVAL 1645.WE DETECT

PM
5:41
1600
STRONG LOBBY OF AMB BUZEK IN THIS PROPOSAL.ALTERNATIVE IS PM

RETURN TO PRGUE FOR DEPARTURE.SYMBOLIC BRATISLAVA STOP IS PRESENTED

ALMOST AS PRICE TO BE PAID FOR AUSTERLITZ BUT IS UNDERSTANDABLE

IN FEDERAL STATE.YOUR COMMENTS.

17.IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT NO/NO COMMUNIQUE WILL BE

ISSUED.SUBJ OF HONORARY DEGREE NOT/NOT RAISED.YOUR POINT

RE GIFTS WELL TAKEN.HOSTS INTEND TO PRESENT CUT CRYSTAL TO

PM.

18.IF PM PROCEEDS TO SLAVKOV POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR

WORKING LUNCHEON(UP TO 16)AT RESIDENCE FOR RBD AND PART OF

CANDEL WITH CZECHOSLOVAK COUNTERPARTS.IS THIS OF INTEREST?

WOULD ALSO REQUEST SENIOR DEL MEMBER OR TWO GIVE SUMMARY

BRIEFINGS TO NATO AMBASSADORS AT APROX 1430.THIS COURTESY

WOULD PAY FUTURE DIVIDENDS HERE.ADVISE.

19.AWAIT DEL LIST FOR TRANSMITTAL.

20.HOSTS HAVE ASKED IF PM PREFERS ENGLISH OR FRENCH

FOR CONVERSATIONS.THEIR CHIEF INTERPRETER IS CAPABLE IN

BOTH BUT HER STANDBYS ARE NOT/NOT.

21.IF PM AGREES TO MEET EMB STAFF HE COULD PERHAPS

DROP IN DURING WALK WEDNESDAY MORNING;EMB IS ABOUT FIVE

MINS FROM GUEST HOUSE.

CCC/175 201930Z WOGR0144

MASTER FILE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PRGUE WOGRO144 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 201500

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER WSAW BUCST

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBD RBP XCV

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0062 19JAN

---PMS VISIT:PROGRAM

OFFICE OF PM STROUGAL HAS PROPOSED FOLLOWING PROGRAM.

2.ARRIVAL 0800 PRGUE OLD RUZYNE AIRPORT.TARMAC PARTY
WILL BE PM STROUGAL,DEPUTY PRIME MINS AND SOME CABINET MEMBERS
PLUS EMB OFFICERS.SINCE VISIT IS NOT/NOT OFFICIAL THERE WILL
BE NO/NO ANTHEMS,HONOUR GUARDS OR SPEECHES.EXPECT ONLY
INTROS AND PRESENTATION OF FLOWERS.CONFIRM ETA.

3.0815-PM ACCOMPANIED BY PM STROUGAL TO GOVT GUEST
HOUSE ON GOGOLOVA SQUARE.ELEGANT BLDG ON PARK BORDER OVER-
LOOKING OLD PRGUE AND WITHIN THREE BLOCKS OF FMB.CAN
ACCOMODATE UP TO 7/7 IN SEPARATE BEDROOMS.ADVISE OCCUPANTS
WHEN KNOWN.SITE INSPECTION AT 1200 ON 23JAN.

4.AFTER BRIEF REVIEW OF PROGRAM PROPOSALS PM STROUGAL
AND SUITE WILL WITHDRAW.THEY HAVE PROPOSED FULL DEL CALVALCADE
WITH PM TO GUEST HOUSE BEFORE WITHDRAWING BUT YOU MAY PREFER
REMAINDER OF CANDEL PROCEEDS DIRECTLY FROM AIRPORT TO HOTEL
PRAHA.

5.ON ARRIVAL,PROVISIONS FOR PRESS TO BE FIRST OFF
PLANE TO COVER ARE ANTICIPATED.PROPOSE PRESS NOT/NOT COVER

...2

1030

PM Genl
RCMP Cante
T.F.
Fowler
Hawthorn
Gauthier
(Agriculture)
Vian

Depe

PAGE TWO WOGRO144 CONF

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most unlikely
hope on count
over

doubtful

maybe
drop 0930 -
0900

PM
Peel
Foster
Smith/PH?

T

PAGE THREE WOGR0144 CONFID

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CCC/175 201930Z WOGR0144

1120

UNCLASSIFIED

FM PRGUE WOGR0143 20JAN84

TO PMOOTT/COLEMAN IMMED

INFO EXTOTT XDV IDDZ RBD PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/DURDIN/COPELAND
PMDELNY

REF YOURTELS YIGR0563 19JAN IDDZ0062 19JAN

---PMS VISIT:MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS

AT ORGANIZATION MTG THIS PM WITH REPS OF MFA AND PMS
OFFICE WE WERE ABLE TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS RE MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS.

2.REF YIGR TEL PARA1-EMB OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR
MEDIA COORDINATION WILL BE SECOND SECRETARY JILL E SINCLAIR
HOME TEL 29-46-05/29-46-05.LES SECTY LIANA SVATOSOVA
HOME TEL 7653-893/7653-893.HAVE TO CONSIDER ALL DEMANDS ON TWO
CDA-BASED SECTYS BEFORE NAMING ONE EXLUSIVELY FOR MEDIA.

3.ACCOMMODATION:30/30 ROOMS(SWB)FOR MEDIA WILL BE
RESERVED AT HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL(CENTRALLY LOCATED,FIRST
CLASS HOTEL),ADDRESS:NAMESTI CURIEOVYCH,PRAHA 1,TELEPHONE
2899/2899,TELEX 121353/121353 IHCC.WILL ADVISF COST IN CDN
DLRS.FIVE ADDITIONAL ROOMS ALSO RESERVED FOR PM AND EMB MEDIA
STAFF.PMS DEL WILL BE STAYING IN SEPARATE HOTEL.INCIDENTALLY
WHAT INITIAL TEL?

4.HAVE REQUESTED FACILITIES YIGR TEL PARA4 AND
WILL BE DISCUSSING TOMORROW WITH HOTEL MANAGEMENT.WILL
ADVISE AS SOON AS WE HAVE DETAILS.SOME PRELIMINARY ANSWERS,
(A)LONG DISTANCE CALLS TO CDA CAN BE MADE FROM HOTEL ROOM

...2

PAGE TWO WOGR0143 UNCLAS

THROUGH HOTEL OPERATOR(NO/NO DIRECT DIAL TO CDA).LENGTH OF TIME TO SECURE CONNECTION VARIES ACCORDING TO DEMAND PLACED ON LIMITED OVERSEAS CABLES TO CDA,HOWEVER,UNDER NORMAL CONDITIONS ANYWHERE FROM 5-30 MINUTES.(B)HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL ACCEPTS MAJOR INNATL CREDIT CARDS(EG AMERICAN EXPRESS,VISA, MASTERCARD);TRAVELLERS CHEQUES AND ANY CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY-YIGR TEL PARA6).CARDS AND CASH CAN BE USED TO PAY HOTEL AND TELEPHONE CHARGES.

5.REF YIGR TEL PARA7:CSSR SIDE HAS AGREED TO GIVE BRIEF ACCESS TO MEDIA AT BEGINNING OF FORMAL MTGS FOR PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES.NUMBER LIMITED TO FOUR OR FIVE.UPON ARRIVAL AT AIRPORT CSSR SIDE ENVISAGES 10/10 MIN WELCOMING CEREMONY (NO/NO SPEECHES OR HONOUR GUARD INSPECTION)WHERE COVERAGE WOULD HAVE TO BE POOLED TO FOUR OR FIVE PEOPLE.ALL JOURNALISTS WILL OF COURSE DISEMBARK A/C AND BE ON TARMAC(SIDELINES)FOR CEREMONY.

6.CZECHOSLOVAKS AGREE TO LIMITED(IE POOLED)ACCESS TO BEGINNING OF MTG WITH PM STROUGAL 1500 JAN25 AND TO DINNER HE WILL HOST THAT EVENING.CSSR SIDE HAS PROPOSED THAT PRESS BE INVITED TO DINNER IN SAME PALACE(CERNIN PALACE-HOUSES MFA), THOUGH IN DIFFERENT ROOM.GRATEFUL YOU ADVISE WHETHER THIS WOULD BE WELCOMED BY ACCOMPANYING MEDIA.

7.IT IS NOT/NOT USUAL PRACTISE TO PERMIT PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES DURING DINNER BUT CZECHOSLOVAKS HAVE AGREED TO PERMIT TWO OR THREE CAMERAS FOR FEW MOMENTS DURING TOASTS.

...3

PAGE THREE WOGR0143 UNCLAS

PM STROUGALS TRANSLATED SPEECH WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE DURING DINNER.)

8.YIGR TEL MAKES NO/NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO PM TRUDEAU MTG WITH PRESS DURING VISIT.HOWEVER,RE IDDZ TEL APROX HALF HOUR SET ASIDE FOR MTG WITH PM TRUDEAU AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH PFES HUSAK AM 26JAN.

9.VOLTAGE IS 220/220.PLUGS ARE STANDARD ROUND EUROPEAN THREE PIN PLUGS-TWO PIN EUROPEAN PLUG CAN ALSO BE USED.

10.IN PRGUE WE HAVE CZECHOSLOVAK AP STRINGER(MRS IVA DRAPALOVA)AND AFP RESIDENT CORRESPONDENT(M BERNARD NICHOLAS). BOTH HAVE LIMITED FACILITIES.AFP REP HAS OFFERED USE OF HIS TELEX MACHINE IF REQUIRED BUT WOULD NEED EXTRA OPERATOR.

11.OTHER DETAILS AS SOON AS WE HAVE INFO.

UUU/175 201900Z WOGR0143

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PRGUE WGR0142 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT RBR DELIVER BY 201500

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR RBD RBRD (IDDZ

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0047 17JAN

---PMS VISIT:BRIEFS:APPROACH TO LEADERS

YOUR REQUEST FOR ADVICE ON HOW PM SHOULD BEST

APPROACH CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS REQUIRES MORE OF A CONSIDERED

RESPONSE THAN I WAS ABLE TO MAKE TIME FOR YESTERDAY IN PRESS

TO MEET YOUR DEADLINE FOR OTHER BRIEFS.YOURTEL RBD0011

19JAN NOW MAKES MY RESPONSE EASIER FOR IT SETS OUT MAIN ELEMENTS

OF APPROACH I THINK MOST APPROPRIATE.IT IS IMPORTANT TO DEAL

WITH CZECHOSLOVAKS IN THEIR OWN RIGHT,EVEN THOUGH WE KNOW THEY

ARE THE MOST UNLIKELY OF ALL EAST EUROPEANS TO EXPRESS A VIEW

THAT DOES NOT/NOT CONFIRM TO MOSCO LINE.THIS IS ONE OF EUROPE'S

SAD REALITIES.

2.THIS WILL BE FIRST TIME PM HAS TAKEN HIS INITIATIVE

TO MEMBER OF OPPOSING ALLIANCE.CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS OBVIOUSLY DO NOT/

NOT SHARE OUR UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS,LET ALONE

OUR ANALYSES OF PRESENT SITUATION.THEY DO,HOWEVER,SHARE

SOME OF OUR CONCERNS ABOUT IT AND DANGERS IT POSES.BUT WHILE

WE CAN ATTEMPT OBJECTIVE VIEW AND SEE THAT SOME OF BLAME RESTS

ON EACH SUPERPOWER,EVEN THAT BOTH HAVE MADE MISTAKES,LEADERS

HERE SEE ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CURRENT TENSION AS RESTING WITH

...2

PAGE TWO W0GR0142 CONF

USA AND NATO.THEY WILL NOT/NOT BE SHY ABOUT SAYING SO.INDEED,THEY WILL HAVE TO SAY SO.IT WOULD THUS BE IMPORTANT FOR PM IN OPENING STATEMENT TO DO EVEN MORE THAN USUAL TO FOCUS DISCUSSION ON FUTURE.

3.PMS HOSTS WILL BE VERY PLEASED THAT HE HAS COME TO PRGUE.THEY WILL UNDERSTAND WHY BUT WILL DERIVE SOME SATISFACTION FROM THE RECOGNITION VISIT GIVES THEM(THIS IS NOT/NOT A FANTASY; THE QUESTION OF LEGITIMACY OF EAST EUROPE'S COMMUNIST REGIMES STILL BOTHERS THEM.)THEY WILL NOT/NOT,HOWEVER,BE LIKELY TO LET THIS SATISFACTION DEFLECT THEM FROM PUTTING THEIR CASE.THEY WILL PROBABLY FOCUS ON INF AND HOW DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE AND PERSHING MISSILES HAS CHANGED SITUATION IN EUROPE AND ON PRGUE DECLARATION, UNANSWERED BY NATO,AS CENTREPIECE OF WSAW PACTS SINCERE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IT.I RECOMMEND THAT PM MENTION BOTH THESE SUBJECTS IN HIS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AS THEY TOUCH CORE OF CZECHOSLOVAK CONCERNS.

4.BOTH STROUGAL AND HUSAK ARE CONFIDENT AND WELL-INFORMED. BOTH WILL GIVE IMPRESSION OF BEING CANDID AND FARNEST IN THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT WORLD PROBLEMS.INITIALY THIS WILL BE ACCORDING TO FORMULA.PM MAY BE ABLE TO DRAW THEM OUT WITH HIS INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE BUT IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF EITHER WERE TO GO AS FAR AS A SOPHISTICATED SOVIET INTERLOCUTOR MIGHT.THEY HAVE TOO MUCH AT STAKE TO ALLOW THEMSELVES TO GET OUT OF LINE.THUS I CANNOT/NOT PREDICT A VERY STIMULATING DISCUSSION,ALTHOUGH THE PMS CONCERN AND SINCERITY WILL REGISTER WITH FEELING.

...3

PAGE THREE WOGR0142 CONFD

5. REVIEW OF BIOGRAPHIES SENT IN EARLIER TELS WILL INDICATE SOME INTERESTS AND PROVIDE GLIMPSE OF PERSONALITIES OF HOSTS. MY OWN AND MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES EXPERIENCE OF TALKING WITH HUSAK IS LIMITED TO PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS, WHERE HE IS WELCOMING, WARM, FRIENDLY FATHER FIGURE-ALMOST ENOUGH TO MAKE ONE FORGET HOW HE HAS DISPOSED OF HIS ENEMIES ALONG THE WAY. APPROACH MIGHT BE FROM OVERALL VIEW OF THE GOOD OF POPULATIONS, PRESERVATION OF NATIONS, WITH HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE-THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. HUSAK HAS LONG EXPFRIENCE OF SOVIET UNION AND WAS ON APPARENTLY GOOD IF NOT/NOT CLOSE TERMS WITH BREZHNEV. (HIS RELATIONS WITH ANDROPOV ARE PROBLEMATIC.) AS CONVERSATION PROGRESSES HE MIGHT BE PLEASED TO BE ASKED TO SPECULATE ON THINKING OF USSR, BUT THIS WOULD DEPEND ON ATMOSPHERE. DESPITE APPEARANCE AS A BENEVOLENT ELDER STATESMAN, HE IS VERY TOUGH MAN AND KNOWS HOW TO GET WHAT HE WANTS, EVEN IN CONVERSATION.

6. STROUGAL, WITH WHOM I HAVE A LITTLE MORE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, IS PRAGMATIC, SENSIBLE, DOWN-TO-EARTH, THOUGH NO/NO LESS CONVINCED OF PARTY LINE. HE IS INTERESTED IN ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS (AND HOCKEY) AND APPROACH TO HIM COULD BE ALONG MORE PRACTICAL LINES. HIS ILLNESS HAS MADE HIM APPEAR TIRED AND STRAINED BUT HE IS COMPLETELY ALERT AND VERY WELL-INFORMED. (HE SPOKE TO EUGENE WHELAN FOR 40MINS WITHOUT INTERRUPTION AND WITHOUT NOTES ON CDA-CSSR RELATIONS AND THE STATE OF THE WORLD.) IT WILL BE IMPORTANT IF ANY EXCHANGE IS

...4

PAGE FOUR WOGR0142 CONFD

TO DEVELOP TO KEEP INTERVENTIONS AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE-THIS IS STATING THE OBVIOUS BUT STROUGAL DOES TEND TO RUN ON.I THINK PM MAY QUITE ENJOY TALKING TO HIM;HE IS RECEPTIVE TO IDEAS AND RESPONSIVE, WITHIN HIS FRAME OF REFERENCE.

7.PM WILL HAVE BRIEF OPPORTUNITY TO CHAT WITH STROUGAL BEFORE THEY MEET FOR CONVERSATIONS,WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE WITH DELS FACING EACH OTHER ACROSS TABLE,ALTHOUGH THIS COULD BE MODIFIED IF PM WISHES.STROUGAL WILL BE PRESENT FOR MUCH LESS FORMAL TALK WITH HUSAK.PM WILL THUS PERHAPS WANT TO VARY HIS APPROACH.

8.BOTH HUSAK(A SLOVAK)AND STROUGAL(A CZECH)WILL BE PLEASED AT RECOGNITION IN HISTORICAL SENSE OF THEIR NATIONS AND IN POLITICAL SENSE OF THEIR COUNTRY.PATRIOTISM IS IMPORTANT TO ALL CZECHOSLOVAKS.BUT REFERENCES TO FIRST REPUBLIC,UNLESS VERY GENERAL,WOULD NOT/NOT BE APPRECIATED THOUGH THEY WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD.AND OF COURSE ANY SUGGESTION OF USING THEIR NATIONALISM TO SEPARATE THEM FROM USSR WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

CCC/175 301830Z WOGR0142

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

C O N F I D E N T I A L CANADIAN EYES ONLY
FM LDN XNGR0141 20JAN84

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO PARIS BONN BRU HAGUE ROME BNATO VMBFR WSHDC MOSCO TOKYO
PEKIN NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP PCOOTT/FOWLER BUCST WSAW BGRAD PRGUE
DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB UGB RCD CPD URR IDA IDR RCR
REF YOURTEL IDDZ0046 17JAN;OURTEL XNGR4425 22DEC ET AL

---PM INITIATIVE:BRITISH ASSESSMENT

IN OUR ONGOING EFFORTS TO ADVANCE PMS INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN OFFICE
THINKING,WE DREW ON USEFUL GUIDANCE IN REFTTEL TO REVIEW AGAIN
THRUST AND MOMENTUM WHICH INITIATIVE HAS GATHERED.OFFICIALS IN
FCO SOVIET AND DEFENCE DEPTS TELL US THEY REFLECT MINISTERIAL
THINKING IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION OF,AND SUPPORT FOR BROAD LINES
OF PMS EFFORTS TO INFUSE POLITICAL DIRECTION INTO EAST/WEST
RELATIONS.THEY DESCRIBE CDN INITIATIVE AS RUNNING PARALLEL TO
SIMILAR THRUST TOWARD MAINTENANCE OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE ESPOUSED
BY PM THATCHER SINCE HER CONSERVATIVE PARTY SPEECH OF 14OCT.
FOR PAST SEVERAL WEEKS THEY HAVE BEEN IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED WITH
THEIR OWN IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS DIALOGUE,AND IN THIS CONTEXT
INCIUDE MINISTERIAL ATTENDANCE AT CCSBMDE,FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWES
SPEECH AND MEETING WITH GROMYKO IN STKHM,AND PM THATCHERS PLANNED
VISIT TO HUNGARY FEB 02 - 04.

2.WHILE FCO OFFICIALS STOP SHORT OF ATTEMPTING TO EVALUATE ROLE

...2

PAGE TWO XNGR0141 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

CDN INITIATIVE HAS PLAYED IN INSPIRING RENewed WESTERN EFFORTS AT DIALOGUE(EG THEY ATTRIBUTE MUCH OF THEIR OWN AND THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO NEED TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH RAMIFICATIONS OF MISSILE DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE),THEY SPEAK OF IT AS BEING QUOTE VALUABLE COMPLEMENT UNQUOTE TO THEIR OWN AND OTHER PARALLEL POLICY TRENDS ALREADY UNDERWAY.THEY NOTE AMONG THESE PRESIDENT REAGANS 16JAN SPEECH(WHICH THEY SUGGEST WAS ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR PERIOD JUST PRIOR TO KAL INCIDENT AND ARE INCLINED TO ATTRIBUTE IN LARGE PART TO AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS);FOREIGN MINISTERS GATHERING FOR STOCKHOLM OPENING; TINDEMANS INITIATIVE;NATO MINISTERS AGREEMENT TO REVIEW WESTERN POSITION ON MBFR;AND BRUSSELS DECLARATION.OUR DEFENCE DEPT CONTACT SUGGESTED THAT WHATEVER IMMEDIATE CAUSE MIGHT BEAND THERE ARE CLEARLY MANYTIDE IS TURNING HOWEVER SLOWLY,AND WESTERN LEADERS HAVE BEGUN ESSENTIAL STEPS TOWARDS UPWARD TRENDLINE WHICH CANADIAN PM IS SEEKING.

3.THESE OBSERVATIONS NOTWITHSTANDING,SPECIFIC DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL ELEMENTS OF PMS INITIATIVE CONTINUE TO CAUSE DIFFICULTY HERE(SEE OUR TEL XNGR4425 22DEC).OFFICIALS INSIST IN PARTICULAR THAT BRITISH GOVT CANNOT/NOT ACCEPT PROPOSAL FOR FIVE POWER NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT NUCLEAR FORCE LEVELS,AND THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE CONFIRMED THIS TO DPM/SSEA AT LUNCH 12DEC.THEY

...3

PAGE THREE XNGR0141 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

THUS TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO OUR INTERPRETATION THAT ALL FIVE
NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES HAD AT LEAST CONDITIONALLY ACCEPTED NOTION
OF FIVE POWER TALKS:WE WERE REMINDED THAT UK POLICY ON INCLUSION
OF BRITISH DETERRENT IN GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS REMAINS AS STATED
BY FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE AT UNGA.EVEN WERE THESE CONDITIONS TO
BE MET(IE SUBSTANTIAL PRIOR REDUCTIONS IN SUPERPOWER NUCLEAR FORCE
LEVELS)INCLUSION OF BRITISH DETERRENT IN GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS
WOULD NOT/NOT PER SE MEAN BRITISH SUPPORT FOR FIVE POWER TALKS.
4.FCO CONTACTS HAVE SO FAR GIVEN US NO/NO REACTION TO PMS IDEAS
OF UN ROLE MADE TO PRESS IN NYC NOR TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF CDN
INTENTION TO PUT QUOTE SUFFOCATION UNQUOTE MEASURES BEFORE CD
IN GENEVA.

CCC/041 201738Z XNGR0141

ACTION
SITE A DONNER

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM PRGUE WOGRO140 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 200300

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RBR RBRD RBD RBP XDV

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0062 19JAN

---PM VISIT:PROGRAM

REFTEL INDICATES YOU ARE MUCH MORE INFORMED THAN
WE ABOUT PLANS FOR PRGUE VISIT.MTG WITH MFA/PMO TO DISCUSS
PROGRAM HAS BEEN POSTPONED FROM 0930 TO 1500 AND WE HAVE NO/NO
DETAILS AT ALL HERE.HOPE TO REPORT FOR DELIVERY BY 1300.

MEANWHILE COMMENTS ON A FEW POINTS IN REFTEL.

2.AIRPORT CEREMONIAL NOT/NOT USUALLY ELABORATE AND AM
SURE SPEECHES CAN BE AVOIDED.

3.CENTRAL CTTEE HOTEL PRAHA IS NEW MONSTROSITY OVERLOOKING
CITY FROM POSITION JUST ABOVE RESIDENCE.STAYING THERE NO/NO
FAVOUR TO ANYONE WHO WANTS TO VISIT PRGUE AS IT IS QUITE
ISOLATED,THOUGH REPORTEDLY LUXURIOUS.WE SHALL TRY FOR
INTERCONTINENTAL FOR PRESS AS IT IS DOWNTOWN AND NEAR OFFICIAL
PRESS CENTRE.DOUBT THAT PRAHA COULD MEET REQUIREMENTS OF
TEL YIGRO563 19JAN.

3.OFFER STILL OPEN FOR WORKING LUNCH AT RESIDENCE ABOUT
FIVE MIN DRIVE FROM GUEST HOUSE I EXPECT WILL BE OFFERED.WILL,
HOWEVER,WORK ON HOSTS WITH YOUR PRINCIPLE PARAMOUNT.

4.OFFICIAL DINNER-NORMAL HOST WOULD BE STROUGAL AND

...2

m/f
Division Phoned 55912
Person Ford
Local Time 143005

PAGE TWO WOGR0140 CONF

HUSAK WOULD BE EXCEPTIONAL GESTURE. YOU DO NOT/NOT MENTION
RECIPROCAL HOSPITALITY AND THERE ARE EVIDENT PRACTICAL PROBLEMS
BUT IS IT NORMAL PRACTISE ON VISITS PM HAS BEEN MAKING?

5. CALL ON MAYOR WOULD ONLY BE OF INTEREST IF AT OLD
CITY HALL WHICH WE EXPECT CAN BE ARRANGED. THERE ARE MANY
OTHER PLACES WORTH A VISIT. HOPE WE CAN AVOID USUAL WREATH
LAYING BUT THIS MAY NOT/NOT BE POSSIBLE AS IT IS FIRM TRADITION.

6. SHARE YOUR NEGATIVE VIEWS RE HONORARY DEGREE BUT
IT WOULD NOT/NOT DETRACT FROM PURPOSE OF VISIT. UNIVERSITY IS
VENERABLE INSTITUTION FOUNDED BY EMPEROR CHARLES IV IN 1348. IT
HAS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN CZECH HISTORY. IT IS NOW OF COURSE
CONTROLLED BY COMMUNIST PARTY AND RECTOR IS MEMBER OF CENTRAL
CTTEE. FURTHER RESPONSE TO FOLLOW. AM CONCERNED, HOWEVER, AT
ACCUMULATION OF POSSIBLE EVENTS AND WILL WORK TO ENSURE MAXIMUM TIME
WITH STROUGAL AND HUSAK.

7. THAT SAID, I HOPE AS MENTIONED HANCOCK-PEEL TELECON 19 JAN
THAT PM WILL AGREE TO MEET EMB STAFF. YOU ARE AWARE OF
IMPORTANCE OF THIS FOR US.

8. VISIT WAS ANNOUNCED HERE LAST NIGHT AND ALL PAPERS
THIS MORNING CARRY BRIEF BUT PROMINENT TEXT NOTING VISIT IS ON
INVITATION OF PM STROUGAL.

9. EMB STAFF WILL, OF COURSE, BE FULLY AVAILABLE OVER
WEEKEND.

CCC/175 201230Z WOGR0140

m 22/01/84

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

R E S T R I C T E D

FM PRMNY WKGR0125 20JAN84

TO EXOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 230900

INFO PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR DMF IFB IMU

REF YOURTEL IDDZ0053 20JAN

---PM INITIATIVE:MARTENSON LET TO PM

WE WLD HAVE THOUGHT THAT CAPABILITY AND RESOURCES FOR DRAFTING
ARTICLE WHICH WLD PROVIDE WIDE PUBLICITY ON BACKGROUND OF AND
MOTIVATION FOR PMS INITIATIVE WLD RESIDE IN OTTAWA.FURTHERMORE
MOVEMENT BY MISSION OFFICER DEALING WITH ACD NEXT WEEK PRECLUDES
TAKING ON DRAFT ARTICLE.

CCC/017 202332Z WKGR0125

C O N F I D E N T I E L

DE EXTOTT RCR0100 20JAN84

A BONN LIVRAISON 230900

INFO PARIS ROME HAGUE BRU LDN CANDELNATO WSHDC MOSCO PCOOTT/FOWLER/
PETTIGREW

DISTR MINA USS DMF LIDDZ IFB RGB RSD RSR RBD RBR UGB URR CPD IDR
IDA

REF NOTTEL RCR0090 19JAN

---DEMANDE D ENTRETIEN AVEC PM:DR. HANS J. VOGEL

SUITE A NOTRE REFTTEL, RENCONTRE AVEC PM AURA LIEU A SON BUREAU
DU PARLEMENT.

2. EN VUE DE RENCONTRE, PRIERE NS LAISSER SAVOIR LPTP: (1)

SUJETS QUE VOGEL VEUT SOULEVER AVEC PM: (2) VOTRE PERCEPTION DE
STATUT VOGEL AU SEIN SPD (INCLUANT RAPPORTS AVEC H. SCHMIDT) ET
(3) SON STANDING DE MEME QUE CELUI DE SPD AUPRES POPULATION DE RFA.

3. POUR AUTRES RENCONTRES DEMANDEES, FERONS RAPPORT DQP. APPRENNONS
PAR AILLEURS D AMB RFA QUE VOGEL, OUTRE SEAE, PRUD HOMME ET BROADBENT,
VOUDRAIT AUSSI RENCONTRER MULRONEY. PRIERE AVISER TEL DQP

CCC/302 202249Z RCR0100

UNCLASSIFIED

FM MOSCO XYGR0078 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDA

INFO STKHM/SCDFL WSHDC CNGNY PRMNY GENEV PEKIN TOKYO BONN PARIS

BNATO BRU BREEC STKHM LDN ROME WSAW PRGUE BUCST BGRAD BPFST

COPEN OSLO ATHNS HAGUE ANKRA VIENN PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN

NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DGINFO

DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS DMF IFB UGB RBG IDDZ RBR IDR IMD IMY RBD

RCR URR FPR

---STKHM CONF:DPM/SSEA BILATERAL WITH GROMYKO

20JAN84 PRAVDA PUBLISHED TASS WIRE REPORTS ON GROMYKO MTGS

WITH EIGHT FORMINS IN STKHM,INCL FOLLOWING ACCT(TASS ENGLISH

VERSION)OF MTG WITH DPM/SSEA:

BEGINS

ANDREI GROMYKO HAD A MEETING WITH CANADA SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ALLAN MACEACHEN TODAY.

TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL SITUATION,
INCLUDING QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE ON
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES,SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE
WERE DISCUSSED DURING THE CONVERSATION.

ANDREI GROMYKO GAVE A PRINCIPLED ASSESSMENT OF THE REASONS
THAT HAVE CAUSED THE PRESENT AGGRAVATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION AND THAT WERE MANIFESTED,ABOVE ALL,IN THE UNITED STATES
ACTIONS TO DEPLY NEW NUCLEAR MISSILES IN WESTERN
EUROPE.IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT ALONGSIDE THE UNITED STATES A
CONSIDERABLE SHARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE AGGRAVATION OF
TENSION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD IS BORNE ALSO BY THOSE
GOVERNMENTS WHICH BY THEIR STAND ON THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM-

...2

PAGE TWO XYGR0078 UNCLAS

RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROMOTED THE COMMENCEMENT OF A NEW SPIRAL
IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

THE SOVIET SIDE CONFIRMED THE SOVIET UNIONS INVARIABLE LINE
AT THE CURBING OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE REMOVAL OF THE THREAT OF
NUCLEAR WAR, AT THE WIDENING AND DEEPENING OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS
PEACEFUL COOPERATION AMONG STATES.

DURING THE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON QUESTIONS OF SOVIET-
CANADIAN RELATIONS THE MINISTER PROCLAIMED THE READINESS
OF BOTH COUNTRIES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THESE RELATIONS
WHICH SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CANADA AND
CAN PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

ENDS

UUU/044 201115Z XYGR0078

master FILE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM STKHM/SCDEL SCDL0047 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT IDR

INFO MOSCO WSHDC BNATO CANMILREPNATO LDN PARIS BONN PRGUE WSAW

BPEST BUCST BGRAD VMBFR NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD/DNACPOL/ORAE

PCOOTT/FOWLER

DISTR MINA DMF IFB RGB IDDZ RBD RBR IDA

---PROSPECTS FOR MBFR

SSEA AND FRG FM GENSCHER HAD BRIEF BILATERAL FOLLOWING LATTERS
INTERVENTION IN OPENING PLENARY YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, DURING COURSE
OF WHICH BOTH EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT INDICATIONS HERE THAT SOVS
MIGHT BE PREPARED TO RESUME MBFR NEGS MID-MAR. IF THIS PROVES
TO BE THE CASE AND WEST CAN PUT TOGETHER A PACKAGE IN TIME,
GENSCHER THOUGHT THAT THERE WULD BE SOME POSSIBILITY OF A
MINISTERIAL MTG BEING HELD AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME.

CCC/152 201530Z SCDL0047

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

UNCLASSIFIED

FM CNGNY YIGR0035 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT LIDDZ/FPR DELIVER BY 230000

INFO WSHDC ATNTA BOSTN BFALO CHCGO CLVND DALAS DTROT LNGLS MNPLS
NRLNS PHILA SFRAN SEATL BNATO LDN PAPIS PEKIN MOSCO BONN BRU STKHM
GENEV BREEC POME PRGUE WSAW BUCST BGRAD BPEST COPEN OSLO ATHNS
ANKRA VIENN PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DGINFO
DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS DMF IFB UGB UGP RGB IDA IDR IMD IMU RRD
RCR URR RCD RBR

--- PM MEETING WITH EDITORIAL BOARD OF NEW YORK TIMES

PM MET FOR OVER AN HOUR THIS MORNING WITH TIMES EDITORIAL BOARD
CHAIRER BY PUBLISHER SULZBERGER. QUESTIONS FOCUSED ALMOST ENTIRELY
ON PEACE INITIATIVE - ANDROPOV COMMUNIQUE, U.S. SUPPORT, HOW TO
DEFINE SUCCESS OF INITIATIVE, RATIONALE FOR ENLARGING NUCLEAR ARMS
TALKS BEYOND SUPERPOWERS, PARITY, MUTUAL CONFIDENCE - WITH A BRIEF
MENTION OF CDA-U.S. RELATIONS AND PM S PERSONAL POLITICAL PLANS.
THIS TEL ONLY COVERS HIGHLIGHTS AND MAJOR POINTS AS PMOOTT IS
MAKING FULL TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW AVAILABLE TOMORROW.

2. TIMES BEGAN BY SEEKING CLARIFICATION ON ANDROPOV COMMUNIQUE.
PM STATED SOVIET CHAIRMAN HAD INDICATED HIS SUPPORT, AND ENCOURAGED
HIM TO PURSUE INITIATIVE. PM FURTHER SAID ANDROPOV WANTS TO SEE HIM
PERSONALLY WHEN HE COMES TO MOSCOW RATHER THAN PM MTG WITH OTHER
SOV LEADERS AS PM HAD SUGGESTED AS ALTERNATIVE. NO/NO DATES BUT
MTG OSTENSIBLY WOULD TAKE PLACE IN NOT/NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE.

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PAGE TWO YIGR0035 UNCLASSIFIED

FOLLOW-UP DEALT WITH WHETHER U.S. GOVT IS SUPPORTIVE OF INITIATIVE. PM REPLIED THAT SOME ARE AND SOME ARE NOT/NOT BUT THAT RECENT STATEMENTS BY PRES REAGAN VIS-A-VIS SOVIET UNION AND DIALOGUE INDICATE U.S. ADMIN IS WILLING TO LET A MORE GENTLE LINE PREVAIL FOR NOW. ON SOVIET UNION, PM STATED THAT THERE EXISTS A CONSTITUENCY FOR PEACE. QUESTION IS HOW DO WE REACH IT ? DIALOGUE BETWEEN NATO AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND FIVE NATION NUCLEAR CONF ARE TWO SIGNIFICANT WAYS TO PURSUE THIS OPPORTUNITY.

3. AS FOR DEFINING SUCCESS OF INITIATIVE, PM SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE POST FACTO AND BY STAGES. FIRST STAGE, NOW ACHIEVED, WAS TO GET POLITICAL LEADERS INVOLVED WITHOUT IMPAIRING NATO RESOLVE TO ABIDE BY TWO-TRACK DECISION. SECOND WAS TO PUT AN END TO QUOTE MEGAPHONE DIPLOMACY AND RENEW REAL DIALOGUE AS WITNESSED BY STOCKHOLM CONF. THIRD STAGE IS TO SEE WHETHER DEEDS FOLLOW WORDS. IN THIS CONTEXT PM ALLUDED TO RECENT ENCOURAGING SIGNS CITING BY WAY OF EXAMPLE CHANGE IN CHINESE ATTITUDE FROM HIS TALKS IN PEKIN IN NOV83 TO THIS WEEK IN OTT WHERE PRC INDICATED IT WOULD CONSIDER JOINING FIVE NATION NUCLEAR CONF IF SUBJ RAISED IN SECURITY COUNCIL AND IF PRC INVITED. ON DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR, PM REITERATED IT STEMMED NOT/NOT FROM WILL BUT FROM MISUNDERSTANDING AND THAT WHEN TWO SIDES ARE VERBALLY BELLIGERENT AND POSSESS HIGH TECHNOLOGY WEAPONS DANGER NATURALLY INCREASES. PM ALSO MADE PITCH FOR ENLARGING NUMBER OF NUCLEAR INTERLOCUTORS BY REFERRING TO PROLONGED STALEMATE IN SUCH

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PAGE THREE YIGR0035 UNCLAS

AREAS AS MBFR TALKS. HE CITED DEC BRUSSELS NATO STATEMENT AS EXAMPLE OF CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION.

4. PM AGREED WITH TIMES SUGGESTION THAT PRESSURE OF INITIATIVE AND QUOTE NUDGING UNQUOTE BY CDA FELL MORE ON U.S. THAN USSR. HE POINTED OUT HOWEVER THAT HE WAS NOT/NOT ADVOCATING ANYTHING LIKE UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT AND IN FACT HAD OPPOSED ANY EXTENSION OF NATO S DEC83 DEADLINE FOR DEPLOYMENT OF EUROMISSILES IN ABSENCE OF BREAKTHROUGH IN INF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS. THIS IS BECAUSE TWO-TRACK DECISION HAD BECOME TEST OF POLITICAL WILL OF ALLIANCE AND IT WAS VITAL FOR NATO COUNTRIES NOT/NOT TO BREAK RANK. WITH REGARD TO PARITY, PM STRESSED THAT FIVE POWER PROPOSAL WAS BASED ON NOTION THAT IT WOULD START FROM US/USSR PARITY. PM INDICATED HE DID NOT/NOT ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE REAGAN ADMIN POSITION THAT PARITY HAD BROKEN DOWN BY 1981 LEAVING QUOTE WINDOW OF VULNERABILITY UNQUOTE. IN ANY EVENT THRUST SHOULD BE ON REDUCING NOT/NOT ESCALATING ARMS.

5. MANAGING EDITOR TOPPING BROUGHT VARIOUS LOOSE ENDS TOGETHER IN ASKING WHETHER THERE WAS NOT/NOT NEED FOR PROGRESS TO CREATE SOME DEGREE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND WHETHER DIALOGUE SHOULD GO BEYOND ARMS ISSUES TO ENCOMPASS TROUBLE SPOT ISSUES SUCH AS CENTRAL AMERICA AND AFGHANISTAN. PM ADDRESSED FIRST PART BY SAYING CHOICE WAS EITHER TO ESCALATE ANOTHER STEP OR DEESCALATE BY ONE STEP WHILE CONTINUING CONTACTS AND DISCUSSIONS. A CASE IN POINT WAS NOV NATO DECISION TO WITHDRAW 1500/1500 WARHEADS FROM EUROPE. RATIFICATION OF SALT II

...4

PAGE FOUR YIGR0035 UNCLAS

AND DECLARATION OF NON-AGGRESSION (WHILE NOT/NOT AN AVID PROPONENT OF SUCH GENERAL DECLARATIONS IN THEMSELVES) WOULD BE OTHER SIGNS OF INTEREST IN DE-ESCALATION. NOW THAT WE ARE SAYING THE RIGHT WORDS, PM INTONED, WE NEED TO DO THE RIGHT DEEDS. ALL OF WHICH, HE ACKNOWLEDGED, REQUIRES A QUOTE LEAP OF FAITH UNQUOTE BUT THE QUOTE TIME IS RIPE UNQUOTE. ON OTHER PART OF QUESTION PM AGREED THAT IT IS NOT/NOT JUST A QUESTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, THAT OTHER AREAS OF CONCERN AND TENSION MUST BE ADDRESSED. HE ADDED THAT A DISTINCT ADVANCE HAS BEEN MADE BY RECENT U.S. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS (I.E. TO DIET IN TOKYO, IN WASH. THIS WEEK) TO EFFECT THAT U.S. HAS LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS BUT RECOGNIZES THAT OTHER SIDE DOES TOO AND THAT U.S. IS INTERESTED FOREMOST IN PEACE. PM ENDED ON NOTE OF CONCERN THAT NEW AND FUTURE TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN OUTER SPACE COULD PROPEL ALL OF US BY QUANTUM LEAP INTO AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS WORLD.

6. ON BILATERAL FRONT, PM NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MANY LONGSTANDING ISSUES (E COAST FISHERIES, ACID RAIN, GREAT LAKES CLEANUP), WE ARE MANAGING ISSUES IN WAY WHICH DOES NOT/NOT PERMIT THEM TO DEVELOP INTO CRISES. APPROACH OF U.S. ADMIN REFLECTS GOOD WILL AND REGULAR MINISTERIAL EXCHANGES ARE KEEPING RELATIONS ON TRACK DESPITE LESS THAN HELPFUL INTERVENTIONS OF LEGISLATIVE LOBBIES ON BOTH SIDES OF BORDER.

UUU/880 202230Z YIGR0035

UNCLASSIFIED

FM CNGNY YIGR0034 20JAN84

TO EXTOTT/URR DELIVER BY 201700 HRS

INFO WSHDC PMOOTT/COLEMAN/AXWORTHY PCOOTT/FOWLER

DIST IDDZ UGB FPR UGP SCD

---PM VISIT TO NEW YORK - PRESS SCRUM FOLLOWING MTG WITH
SEN CHARLES MATHIAS, 20JAN84.

DURING SCRUM FOLLOWING PM S MTG WITH SEN CHARLES MATHIAS (REP.,
MARYLAND), PM COMMENTED THAT DISCUSSION HAD CENTERED ON NUCLEAR
PROBLEMS FACING MANKIND. ON PEACE INITIATIVE, NATO COUNTRIES
HAD SHOWN DESIRE TO RENEW DIALOGUE WITH EAST BLOC. PURPOSE OF
PM S TRIP NEXT WEEK TO EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WAS TO SEE
IF THEY WERE ALSO WILLING TO RENEW DIALOGUE.

2. SEN MATHIAS SPOKE OF HIS GREAT RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR
PM S LEADERSHIP IN CALLING WORLD ATTENTION TO DREADFUL PROS-
PECT OF NUCLEAR WAR. PM HAD IDENTIFIED BOTH CURRENT AND FUTURE
PROBLEMS, INCLUDING WHOLE NEW RANGE RELATING TO OUTER SPACE
WHICH WAS DISCUSSED DURING MTG. WHILE OVERALL, SINGLE SOLUTION
TO VERY BIG PROBLEM OF WORLD TENSION WAS PROBABLY NOT/NOT WITH-
IN REALM OF HUMAN CAPABILITY, SMALLER STEPS TOWARDS THIS
GOAL WERE POSSIBLE, EACH ONE MAKING THE SUCCEEDING STEP EASIER.
PM WAS RIGHT IN ADDRESSING ELEMENTS OF PROBLEM. PM WOULD LIKE
TO SEE GENERAL MOVEMENT FORWARD FROM A NUMBER OF PEOPLE
AND COUNTRIES. THIS APPROACH WAS BOTH NECESSARY AND PRACTICAL.
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS CTTEE WAS CONSTANTLY STUDYING PROBLEM
AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN CONJUNCTION WITH CDN EFFORTS.

UUU/880 202000Z YIGR0034

MP

UNCLASSIFIED

FM CNGNY YIGR0013 20JAN84

TO PRGUE WSAW BERN BUCST IMMED

INFO EXTOTT XDV IMMED

DISTR IDDZ

FROM JOHNSTONE XDV

REF IDDZ0047 17JAN(NOTAL)

---PMS INITIATIVE-VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

FOLLOWING ARE GUIDELINES WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED TO ASSIST
POSTS WITH ADMIN AND LOGISTIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR VISIT OF PRIME
MINISTER.

2.AS MENTIONED IN REFTTEL COORDINATION OF LOGISTICS AND OTHER
RELATED MATTERS IN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF XDV WITH IDDZ RETAINING
WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OVERALL COORDINATION OF THE VISIT.LOGISTIC
COORDINATER IS B.V.JOHNSTONE(XDV),MEDIA COORDINATOR IS MISS M.
DURDIN(PMO)AND SECURITY LIAISON OFFICER IS INSP G.CARTER(RCMP).

3.ADVISE NAME AND HOME TELEPHONE NUMBER OF POST OFFICER RESPON-
SIBLE FOR ADMIN AND LOGISTIC ARRANGEMENTS.

4.USUAL PROCEDURE IS FOR ADVANCE TEAM TO VISIT EACH POST PRIOR
TO VISIT TO ASSIST POST WITH ARRANGEMENTS.HOWEVER BECAUSE OF
SHORTAGE OF TIME THIS WILL NOT/NOT BE POSSILBE THIS TIME THOUGH
PMO MAY SEND ADVANCE PERSON AHEAD TO ASSIST WITH MEDIA ARRANGE-
MENTS.

5.TRANSPORTATION:DEL WILL ARRIVE ON CAF BOEING 707.REQUESTS

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PAGE TWO YIGR0013 UNCLAS

FOR OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCES WILL BE MADE BY ATOC TRENTON.GROUND
HANDLING REQUIREMENTS WILL BE REQUESTED BY 437 SQN TRENTON.

6.ACCOMMODATION:WILL REQUIRE LARGE SUITE FOR P.M.PLUS 14/14 SWB
FOR DEL AND SUPPORT.WILL ALSO REQUIRE ROOM FOR DEL OFFICE AND
ROOM FOR CDN BASED SCY FROM EMBASSY.IF POSSIBLE PM DEL AND MEDIA
IN SAME HOTEL BUT DEL AND MEDIA SHOULD BE ON SEPARATE FLOORS.IF
GUEST HOUSE OFFERED FOR PM WOULD NEED ROOMS FOR PM PLUS ONE EACH
FOR T.JOHNSON(EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT),G.CARTER(SEcurity LIAISON
OFFICER)AND MISS C.VIAU(PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PM).ALL OTHERS
WOULD STAY IN HOTEL WITH MEDIA.DEL MEMBERS SHOULD BE PRE-REGISTERED.
EMB STAFF MEMBER SHOULD BE ON HAND AT HOTEL ON ARRIVAL OF DEL TO
ASSIST.ADVISE NAME OF HOTEL AND TELEPHONE NUMBER(URGENT).WILL
ASK AS MANY AS POSSIBLE TO SETTLE HOTEL ACCOUNTS BEFORE DEPARTURE.
FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT/NOT PAY POST IS AUTHORIZED TO PAY.
CODING FOLLOWS.APPRECIATE INFO ON ESTIMATED COSTS OF ROOMS.
SHOULD CND OR USA CURRENCY BE CARRIED?ARE MAJOR CREDIT CARDS
ACCEPTED?

7.WHEN MAKING ROOM ALLOCATIONS JOHNSON AND CARTERS ROOMS SHOULD
BE ADJACENT TO OR ACROSS FROM PMS SUITE.IF THERE IS ROOM NEXT TO
PMS BEDROOM IT SHOULD BE OCCUPIED BY CANADIAN IN ORDER TO KEEP
NOISE TO MINIMUM.ON ARRIVAL WHERE WILL ROOM KEYS BE?ON ARRIVAL
WILL REQUIRE FLOOR PLAN SHOWING ASSIGNED ROOMS.DEL NEED NOT/NOT
BE ON SAME FLOOR AS PM BUT ALL DEL WHERE POSSIBLE SHOULD BE ON

...3

PAGE THREE YIGR0013 UNCLAS

SAME FLOOR.

8. IN PMS SUITE WILL REQUIRE SMALL REFRIGERATOR STOCKED WITH FRESH MILK, FRESH ORANGE JUICE, BOTTLED WATER (PERRIER IF AVAILABLE), BEER, CANDY AND FRESH FRUIT. WILL REQUIRE DAILY FRESH RED ROSE FOR BOUTONNIERE-THIS IS A MUST. SUITE SHOULD BE IN QUIET AREA. PM LIKES TO SLEEP WITH WINDOW OPEN. ENSURE THAT ALL BELLS ARE DISCONNECTED FROM TELEPHONES IN PMS ROOMS (INCLUDING BATHROOM). ALL CALLS ARE TO BE DIRECTED TO JOHNSON ROOM FIRST, VIAU SECOND, AND DEL OFFICE LAST. ALL MAIL AND PARCELS SHOULD GO THROUGH HOST COUNTRY SECURITY AND THEN BE GIVEN TO JOHNSTONE.

9. PROGRAM: ASSUME HOST WILL PROVIDE PROGRAMME HOWEVER POST SHOULD PREPARE MORE DETAILED WORKING PROGRAMME FOR USE OF DEL MEMBERS. WHERE POSSIBLE DIAGRAMS AND FLOOR PLANS SHOULD BE INCLUDED. A MAP OF THE CITY SHOWING LOCATIONS OF EVENTS IS VERY USEFUL.

10. FINANCES: CODING FOR COSTS DIRECTLY/DIRECTLY RELATED TO THIS VISIT ARE TO BE CODED TO 014-760-760-016-(AS APPLICABLE). VOUCHERS SHOULD BE TRANSLATED AND DETAILS PROVIDED. COSTS OF ANY OVERTIME OR HOSPITALITY NOT/NOT INCLUDED.

11. DELEGATION OFFICE: WILL REQUIRE LARGE SINGLE ROOM OR SMALL SUITE FOR DEL OFFICE WHICH IS TO BE ON SAME FLOOR AS DEL MEMBERS (CLOSE TO ELEVATORS IF POSSIBLE). BEDS SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM ROOM. WILL BRING ON PLANE ELECTRIC TYPEWRITER FOR YOUR CDN BASED

...4

PAGE FOUR YIGR0013 UNCLAS

SCY AND PHOTOCOPIER, FOUR DRAWER CABINET WITH LOCK, TWO TABLES FOR GENERAL DESKS AND A FEW CHAIRS. DESK LAMPS WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO INCREASE LIGHT IN ROOM. WILL BE BRINGING SUPPLIES ON AIRCRAFT.

12. LOCAL TRANSPORTATION: WILL HOST PROVIDE SUFFICIENT CARS TO TRANSPORT DEL? IF NOT/NOT YOU MAY NEED TO RENT (IF POSSIBLE) TO SUPPLEMENT. WILL REQUIRE TWO LARGE (3 TON OR MORE) TRUCKS TO MOVE BAGGAGE, ONE FOR DEL BAGGAGE, OTHER FOR MEDIA. WE STRESS AGAIN REQUIREMENT FOR LARGE TRUCKS. IN PLACING PEOPLE IN CARS JOHNSON SHOULD BE IN A CAR AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO PM (I.E. FIRST DEL CAR AFTER PMS LIMO). INSPECTOR SHOULD RIDE IN POLICE CAR USUAL SECURITY CAR FOLLOWING PMS LIMO. VERY HELPFUL TO BE ADVISED BEFORE ARRIVAL OF CAR ASSIGNMENT. SUCH INFO IS GIVEN TO DEL MEMBERS WHEN DEPLANING TO ASSIST THEM IN FINDING THEIR CARS.

13. WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF MISSION VEHICLE COULD BE ASSIGNED TO DEL FOR LOGISTIC AND ADMIN DUTIES. THIS CAR OR WAGON WILL BE UNDER CONTROL OF JOHNSTONE. CONFIRM. WILL REQUIRE STATION WAGON ON ARRIVAL TO CARRY CLASSIFIED MATERIAL. THIS VEHICLE MUST HAVE ACCESS TO RAMP AND BE ABLE TO DRIVE TO REAR STAIRS FOR LOADING. CONFIRM. SECURITY GUARD HORNER WILL ACCOMPANY VEHICLE TO HOTEL.

14. BAGGAGE: ALL BAGGAGE WILL BE TAGGED WITH DIFFERENT COLOURED TAGS TO IDENTIFY GROUPS, I.E. PM, DEL, MEDIA. BAGGAGE ASSISTANT DESCHAMBAULT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPERVISION OF LOADING AND OFF-

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LOADING ALL BAGGAGE. PMS BAGGAGE IS IN CABIN OF AIRCRAFT AND WILL BE OFF-LOADED BY DESCHAMBAULT AND PLACED IN TRUNK OF PMS LIMO OR FOLLOW SECURITY CAR. PM INSISTS ON THIS AND IT IS NOT/NOT NEGOTIABLE FOR CHANGE. EMB STAFF MEMBER REQUIRED TO DIRECT DESCHAMBAULT TO LIMO. TIMING OF BAGGAGE PICKUP FOR DEPARTURE WILL BE DISCUSSED AFTER ARRIVAL.

15. ARRIVAL: ADVISE WHERE AT AIRPORT PLANE WILL BE RAMPED, NUMBER OF GATE OR SPECIFIC AREA. WHAT TYPE OF ARRIVAL CEREMONY WILL THERE BE? WILL REQUIRE BY TELEGRAM DETAILED ARRIVAL SCENARIO INCLUDING NAMES OF PERSONS GREETING PM. THIS IS IMPORTANT AS IS GIVEN TO PM JUST PRIOR TO LANDING AS A BRIEFING TO WHAT WILL HAPPEN. WILL AMB BOARD AIRCRAFT WITH COP? HOSTS SHOULD BE IMPRESSED THAT REAR DOOR OF PLANE SHOULD BE RAMPED FIRST. EMB MEMBER SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TASK OF MAKING SURE THIS HAPPENS. FIRST OFF REAR WILL BE JOHNSTONE WITH PASSPORTS AND DURDIN LEADING MEDIA. MEDIA COORDINATOR SHOULD ALSO BE AT BOTTOM OF STAIRS TO LEAD MEDIA TO ASSIGNED SPOTS. THIS IS VERY CRITICAL OPERATION. WILL ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN CZECH AND SWISS LANDING CARDS BEFORE DEPARTURE. CAN GDR AND ROM CARDS BE SENT TO BERN? JOHNSTONE WILL REMAIN AT AIRPORT UNTIL BAGGAGE UNLOADED AND PASSPORTS RETURNED. HE WILL RIDE IN STATION WAGON WITH CLASSIFIED MATERIAL.

16. CYPHER EQUIPMENT BEING CARRIED WILL GO WITH DEL BAGGAGE AND COMMUNICATOR MAILHOT WILL ACCOMPANY IT. DESCHAMBAULT WILL ALSO

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ACCOMPANY BAGGAGE TO HOTEL.

17.COMMUNICATIONS:DEL HAS COMMUNICATOR TO ASSIST WITH TRAFFIC. HE WILL LIAISE WITH YOUR COMCENTRE ON ARRIVAL REGARDING OUTBOUND TRAFFIC.WILL REQUIRE FIVE/FIVE COPIES OF ALL TELS ADDRESSED TO PDEL AND YOUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TELS.WILL REQUIRE 50/50 COPIES OF DAILY PRESS SCAN.FIRST RUN OF TELS TO BE DELIVERED TO DEL OFFICE BY 0730/0730 HRS EACH MORNING.COMCENTRE SHOULD BE OPEN ON ARRIVAL OF DEL IN CASE OF NEED FOR OUTBOUND TRAFFIC.

17.KITS:ASSUME HOSTS WILL SUPPLY INFO IN ROOMS ON TOURIST INFO INCLUDING QUOTE WHATS ON UNQUOTE.THIS SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED WITH POST INFO ON MEDICAL FACILITIES,GOOD RESTAURANTS,PLUS POST STAFF TELEPHONE NUMBERS(OFFICE AND HOME).

18.WEATHER:REQUIRE BY RETURN TEL WEATHER REPORT FOR PERIOD OF VISIT.PM ASKS FOR THIS BEFORE DEPARTURE.IS ANY SPECIAL CLOTHING REQUIRED?ARE THERE ANY BLACK TIE EVENTS?

19.VISAS:EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO OBTAIN CZECHOSLOVAKIAN VISAS FOR ALL BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM OTTAWA.WILL GET AS MANY ROMANIAN AS POSSIBLE.WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO GET GDRS IN PRAGUE.IS THIS POSSIBLE?

20.ACCOMODATION AIR CREW:ADVISE NAME AND TELEPHONE NUMBER OF HOTEL SELECTED FOR CREW.

21.SECURITY:INSP GEORGE CARTER(SPECIAL SECURITY LIAISON OFFICER FOR PM)WILL ACCOMPANY DEL.INSP CARTER IS NOT/NOT ARMED.HE WILL NEED A REPORT OF THE SECURITY BEING PROVIDED FOR THE PM,I.E.

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SECURITY ON MOVEMENT AND SECURITY ON ACCOMMODATION. ADVISE BY
RETURN TEL TYPE OF SECURITY BEING PROVIDED FOR AIRCRAFT. REQUIRE-
MENT IS FOR VISUAL 24-HOUR PROTECTION WITH AUTHORIZED ACCESS.
CONFIRM.

22. WILL CALL POST LOGISTIC COORDINATOR BEFORE ARRIVAL EACH CITY
TO REVIEW LOGISTIC ARRANGEMENTS.

23. YOUR COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE WITH THIS SHORT NOTICE VERY
MUCH APPRECIATED AND AM LOOKING FORWARD TO GOOD VISIT.

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FM PMDELNYC YIGR0012 20JANS4

TO PRGUE BUCST BERN WSAW IMMED

INFO EXTOTT/XDV/IDDX PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN/COPELAND

FROM DURDIN

--- PMS VISIT, MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS

FOLLOWING ARE ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS:

1. ARRIVAL OF PM: GROUND NEWS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PLACE REAR/REAR RAMP OF AIRCRAFT FIRST, TO ALLOW JOURNALISTS TO DEPLANE AND ASSUME POSITIONS TO COVER PMS ARRIVAL. THIS IS SOMETIMES A PROBLEM AS HOSTS OFTEN WISH PM TO BE FIRST OFF AIRCRAFT. PLEASE STRESS POINT WITH HOST.

2. PRESS KITS: PRESS KITS SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION ON BUS FROM AIRPORT. KITS TO INCLUDE: MAPS, GENERAL TOURIST INFO, ADDRESSES OF RECOMMENDED RESTAURANTS, ADDRESSES AND PHONE NOS OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCIES, MEDIA HOTEL ROOM ASSIGNMENTS (INCLUDE PRESS STAFF) AND MEDIA ITINERARY.

3. MEDIA ITINERARY SHOULD OUTLINE TIMING AND LOCATION OF PMS OFFICIAL/OFFICIAL PROGRAM AND PRESS BUS DEPARTURE TIMES. JOURNALISTS REQUIRE APPROX 20/20 MINUTES AT LOCATION TO PREPOSITION PRIOR TO PMS ARRIVAL. PLS ALLOW ADDITIONAL TRAVEL TIME DURING PEAK TRAFFIC HOURS AND IF ROADS ARE CLOSED FOR OFFICIAL MOTORCADE.

4. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF HOST PROVIDED MEDIA LIAISON OFFICERS TO ACCOMPANY JOURNALISTS TO EVENTS.

5. PRESS CONFERENCES/SCRUMS: THERE ARE NO/NO FORMAL PRESS CONFERENCES PLANNED THROUGHOUT VISIT TO EAST BLOC. PM WILL SPEAK WITH JOURNALISTS INFORMALLY FOLLOWING SOME OFFICIAL MTGS. IDEAL

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SCENARIO ALLOWS JOURNALISTS TO PREPOSITION FOR THE CONCLUSION OF MEETING WITH HEAD OF GOVT AND PM WILL TAKE QUESTIONS FOR APPROX 10/10 MINUTES AND DEPART. ALTHOUGH INFORMAL IN NATURE, THESE MEETINGS WITH PRESS ARE REARRANGED AND SET UP WITH STAND UP MIKE AND ROPES. WOULD APPRECIATE SOME THOUGHT BE GIVEN TO LOCATIONS FOR DISCUSSION WITH DURDIN IMMEDIATELY ON ARRIVAL. THESE SCRUMS ARE DESIGNED FOR CDN JOURNALISTS AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS. WOULD APPRECIATE POST RECOMMENDATION RE LOCAL MEDIA BUT KEEP IN MIND WE DO NOT/NOT ANTICIPATE ANY SIMULTANEOUS OR CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETATION. PMO SOUND TECHNICIAN WILL BRING ALONG SOUND EQUIPMENT AND STAND UPS MIKES. (ACCESS TO A POWER SOURCE NEARBY REQUIRED).

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TO PRGUE WSAW BERN BUCST IMMED

INFO EXTOTT/XDV PMOOTT/JOHNSON/COLEMAN/DURDIN PCOOTT/FOWLER

RCMPOTT/5 VIP NDHQOTT/DAOT-3/DT04 ATOC/TRENTON 437SQN/TRENTON

IMMED

DISTR ~~DDZ~~ RBD RBR

FROM JOHNSTONE(XDV)

---PMS INITIATIVE - VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

FOLLOWING TIMINGS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO DND TO OPERATE PRIME MINISTERS
FLIGHT (CAF3760). ALL TIMES ARE LOCAL RPT LOCAL.

24JAN DEPART OTTAWA 2030 HRS/2030 HRS

25JAN ARRIVE PRAGUE 1030 HRS/1030HRS

26JAN DEPART PRAGUE 1800 HRS/1800 HRS

26JAN ARRIVE ZURICH 1915 HRS/1915HRS

26JAN DEPART ZURICH AS REQUIRED

26JAN ARRIVE LAHR

30JAN DEPART LAHR

30JAN ARRIVE ZURICH AS REQUIRED

30JAN DEPART ZURICH 1500 HRS/1500 HRS

30JAN ARRIVE BERLIN (SCHOENEFELD) 1630 HRS/1630 HRS

01FEB DEPART BERLIN 0900 HRS/0900 HRS

01FEB ARRIVE BUCHAREST 1215 HRS/1215 HRS

02FEB DEPART BUCHAREST 1500 HRS/1500 HRS

02FEB ARRIVE OTTAWA 1800 HRS/1800 HRS

TIMINGS MAY BE SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT FOR PROGRAM REASONS. HOWEVER

ANY REQUESTS FOR ADJUSTMENTS MUST BE CLEARED THROUGH XDV.

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TO BUCST IMMEDIATE

INFO EXTOTT/IDV/IDDZ PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN/COPELAND PRGUE
BERN WSAW

REF YOURTEL UYGR0157, OURTEL YIGR0563

--- PMS VISIT - MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS

1. WE WILL NOT/NOT BRING OWN SCTY FOR MEDIA. DO NOT/NOT REQUIRE CDA-BASED PERSON. LES WILL BE FINE.
2. ONE 45/45 PASSENGER BUS WILL ACCOMODATE ALL MEDIA. TWO SLIGHTLY SMALLER ONTS PREFERABLE IF/IF AVAILABLE AS IT ALLOWS MORE FLEXIBILITY FOR MOVING JOURNALISTS.
3. POOLING ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE BY US. PMO HAS FORMAL AGREEMENT WITH PRESS GALLERY ALLOTING JOURNALISTS TO POOLS. ROMS NEED ONLY TO LET US KNOW NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS ALLOWED ACCESS FOR PHOTO OPS AND WE WILL ASSIGN. OUR IDEAL POOL CONSISTS OF 10/10 JOURNALISTS.
4. HANDLEMAN NOT/NOT PART OF GROUP AT PRESENT.
5. PM WILL NOT/NOT HOLD FORMAL PRESS CONF DURING VISIT BUT WILL LIKELY SPEAK BRIEFLY WITH JOURNALISTS QUOTE SCRUM UNQUOTE STYLE AT CONCLUSION OFFICIAL MTGS. SEPARATE TEL TO FOLLOW ON THIS SUBJ ONCE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED. WE DO NOT/NOT NORMALLY MAKE ANY DISTINCTIONS AMONGST REPS.
6. NO/NO VISIT BY ADVANCE TEAM PLANNED PIOR TO PMS ARRIVAL.
7. PLEASE ADDRESS FURTHER TELS TO OTT.

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