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File No. Dossier 28-6-1-TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION
Volume 11

From-De 83-11-22 To-À 83-11-27

2003

CLASSIFIÉ
MGID

VOLS ACCESSION NO. 18821

ATIP
SCREENING

TITLE—TITRE:

DISARMEMENT
MEASURES

PLANS AND PROPOSALS
TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION (INITIATIVES)

DESARMEMENT
MESURES

PLANS ET PROPOSITIONS
TRUDEAU MISSION DE PAIX (INITIATIVES)

gbc

Retention period-Période de retention:

20Yrs (7A-13D) J

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L'ACCÈS À L'INFORMATION
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DATE
C 16/11/95
April 20/06

DEPARTMENT
OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

2003



Government
of Canada

Gouvernement
du Canada

CLOSED VOLUME VOLUME COMPLET

DATED FROM
À COMPTER DU

82-11-22

TO
JUSQU'AU

83-11-27

AFFIX TO TOP OF FILE - À METTRE SUR LE DOSSIER

DO NOT ADD ANY MORE PAPERS - NE PAS AJOUTER DE DOCUMENTS

FOR SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE SEE - POUR CORRESPONDANCE ULTÉRIEURE VOIR

FILE NO. - DOSSIER N°

28-6-1-Trudeau Peace Mission

VOLUME

12



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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

18 Nov 83 1201 032 10	
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SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ C O N F I D E N T I A L

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0163 27NOV83

TO/A TO PMDEL/TOKYO ATTN/R.R.FOWLER

DELIVER BY 1300 180900

INFO DISTR PEKIN PGB PPR PER

REF ---LETTER TO CHINESE PREMIER ZHAO

SUBJ/SUJ PRIME MINISTER, PERHAPS INADVERTENTLY, DID NOT/NOT SIGN LETTER TO
PREMIER ZHAO, TEXT OF WHICH HAD BEEN COMMUNICATED TO CHINESE ON NOV 9.
PRESUMABLY, PEARSON/SMITH CAN BRING SIGNED COPY WITH THEM TO PEKING.
TEXT IS IT FOLLOWS:

28-6-1- Trudeau Peace Mission

2.COMCENTRE PLSE COPY ATTACHED TEXT AND NOTE THAT THE ADDRESS HAS
TO BE WRITTEN AT THE END OF THE TEXT.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG J. CARON/cf

IDDZ

995-5912

SIG L.A. DELVOIE

000304



PRIME MINISTER • PREMIER MINISTRE

OTTAWA, K1A 0A2

November 9, 1983

Dear Mr. Premier:

For some months now I have been deeply concerned by the state of East-West relations and by the international security situation. I have been particularly troubled by the absence of any high-level political dialogue between East and West, and particularly between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. My concerns have been sharply increased in recent weeks by the tragic destruction of a civilian passenger aircraft, by events in Lebanon, and by developments in Grenada.

I have come to the conclusion that action must be taken in the cause of peace to arrest the deterioration in both the state and climate of international relations. I have developed a number of ideas and proposals which I hope may go some way towards achieving this objective. In the days ahead I shall be discussing some of these ideas with European leaders in order to elicit their views and reactions, and to seek their support for my general plan of action.

I would welcome the opportunity to obtain your views and those of your government regarding my proposals. While I very much look forward to discussing these matters when you visit Ottawa in two months' time, I think there would be merit in having my thinking outlined to you at an earlier date.

His Excellency Zhao Ziyang
Premier of the People's Republic of China
Peking

- 2 -

I would therefore propose to send a personal representative to Peking to review with your senior officials a range of proposals which I have in mind. These include an approach to political confidence-building and ways of taking a global approach to the limitation of nuclear weapons, including both the key role of all five nuclear powers and the vital question of nuclear non-proliferation.

I attach the highest importance to an exchange of views with the Government of the People's Republic of China on these vital questions, as I indicated to Foreign Minister Wu in Ottawa last month, and I hope that it will be possible for your government to receive my personal representative within the next two to three weeks.

I take this opportunity, Mr. Premier, to send you my best personal wishes.

Yours sincerely,

UNQ, 00TE

The Sunday Sun, November 27, 1983

Crisis in the woods

Last week a federal minister, Ed Lumley, suggested I switch emphasis. Turn from zealotry for policies to improve wood supply across the country. "That's a long-term matter."

"What's crying for understanding and action," said Lumley, "is not the growing crisis in raw wood but the disappearance of markets for our paper and lumber. Pulp and paper mills have been popping up all over the world, many designed by Canadians. I could see the threat two years ago. Now the effects are at hand. Many of our biggest mills are getting desperate for sales. The number one economic issue for me is not industrial strategy or regional developments, it's the crisis of competition in wood products in world markets."

A sound source says a serious appraisal of the possibility women troops could serve in combat roles is under way. It's being done under the auspices of the department of national defence, rather than by its personnel. The motive, as it came to me, stressed pragmatic considerations. That is, the broad governmental responses to the women's movement are pushing the services towards enlisting more and more females. If too large a proportion of the defence forces comes to have a minus utility in combat situations the readiness and flexibility of the whole is skewed.

Talking of defence, last week a journalist from Washington phoned. He'd seen Jean-Jacques Blais, our defence minister, performing in Washington a few days before. He said to me: "He seemed so cheerful and naive I felt I had to ask a domestic journalist how he got the job and whether there's more there than I could see?"

Answer: Decent "Cheerful and naive" chap; got popped into cabinet because the PM liked his stance on French-language education in Ontario; a minor disaster at post office; a mal-adroit stonewaller as solicitor-general; a pleasant parrot of able mandarins at supply and services; and as defence minister, as light as the last one but less vulnerable and indiscreet. Concluding point: Trudeau has never wanted a strong-willed, extremely competent defence minister.

A Brian Mulroney ploy of last week won't be a big blip on the public record but it has had a volcanic effect in Quebec. He's hoisted the Grits,

DOUGLAS FISHER



especially Marc Lalonde, on Bill S-31.

The first public victim we could see was Judy Erola. She writhed around the front bench double-talking why the country was not to get the legislation. The bill would block huge funds controlled directly or indirectly by provincial governments from attaining effective ownership of large corporations whose jurisdiction fall in the federal domain. For example, railways — CP Ltd!

Tories, led by Joe Clark, had criticized the bill in the months it was banging around the Senate but it's fair to say their stance was not seen as adamant.

Meanwhile, pride in Quebecers was at work, spreading beyond the separatists to provincial Grits and Francophone business leaders.

S-31 was becoming a popular issue. The Feds pushing Quebecers down ... in aid of mighty Anglo corporations!

When Liberal backbenchers came back to caucus from home bases they told PM and cabinet the heat was rising. Let's hang the bill out to dry.

Don't fret, said Big Marc. The Tories are being put on side. Mulroney's getting some phone calls. So are John Crosbie and Mike Wilson.

So the boys subsided and the talk was so strong the bill might be banged through this session. Ah, Mulroney. The sneak. He may be a pal of Paul Desmarais and Power Corp. but he also chats with Robert Bourassa. Twenty-four hours after Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's out of the country, Mulroney makes a root and branch condemnation of S-31. Thus in Quebec he has the credit as the stopper. The protesting Grit MPs get only embarrassment.

Over several years this column has poked skepticism at all the money and press releases of praise the feds have put out for Telidon. It was a big item in proving how "with it" our masters are. David Thomas, in his new book, *Knights of the New Technology*, argues that the Telidon balloon is bursting. It's been oversold both as a piece of technology and as a system of providing computer-stored information.

My skepticism came not from the technology. I've been a librarian. As custodians, arrangers and purveyors of information, librarians are usually dubious about optimists who foresee millions eager to have access to files.



JEAN-JACQUES BLAIS

"Cheerful and naive"

Québec, Le Soleil, vendredi 25 novembre 1983

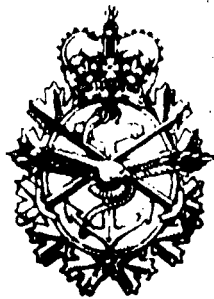


Blais satisfait du CF-18

Le ministre de la Défense nationale, M. Jean-Jacques Blais, a fait l'éloge du CF-18 au Parlement, hier, quelques moments après avoir fait l'essai de l'appareil commandé à 138 exemplaires. Le ministre a dit que les récentes failles découvertes dans les supports des moteurs n'étaient que d'"un millième de pouce" et que, de toute façon, leur réparation était aux frais du manufacturier.

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace Mission

NATIONAL DEFENCE
INFORMATION SERVICES
PRESS INDEX SECTION
NATIONAL DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS
DATE:



DÉFENSE NATIONALE
SERVICES D'INFORMATION
SECTION DU RECUEIL DE
COUPIURES DE JOURNAUX
QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL DE LA DÉFENSE
NATIONALE

TORONTO STAR, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1983

Friends sometimes say No

"My country, right or wrong," has been an American political slogan for 150 years. But when a Canadian who aspires to be Prime Minister echoes that same wholeheartedly pro-U.S. sentiment, saying in effect "Their country, right or wrong," we get a bit queasy.

Yet Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney gave the impression of saying just that, in his Toronto speech this week to one of the biggest Tory gatherings on record. Mulroney promised, sensibly enough, to work for "close, harmonious and privileged" ties with our U.S. neighbors. But he went on to add that "If our friends need the benefit of the doubt from time to time, so be it; I'm going to do it."

The Canadian public might well ask, the benefit of what doubt?

Mulroney's remark comes on the heels of an ill-advised U.S.-led invasion of Grenada. It follows the Reagan administration's not-so-covert efforts to topple Nicaragua's left-wing junta, while propping up right-wing regimes in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. And it follows a year of ferocious Red-bashing by a U.S. administration that seems to care little about keeping open some lines of communication with the other superpower.

At its best, Canadian foreign policy has always recognized that the U.S. is our closest friend and most important ally. But since World War II,

Canada has carefully nurtured a foreign policy that is also independent, cautious and sensible in its own right. We have disagreed with the Americans on a number of important issues — and, as often as not, we have been proved right.

In 1960, the Conservative Diefenbaker government courted U.S. ire by resisting American pressure not to trade with Communist China. In 1965, the Liberal Pearson government became the first Western administration to openly criticize U.S. policy in Viet Nam. In 1970, the Trudeau government became the second Western nation, after France, to establish formal diplomatic relations with Communist China.

In each case, the U.S. would later come round to Canada's view. In each case Canada's independent and forward-looking foreign policy helped pave the way to better international relations. That would not have been the case had we been parroting back official U.S. policy.

The United States has always been, and will remain, our close friend and neighbor. But sometimes, friendship means speaking up when you believe your friend is wrong. We hope the Leader of the Opposition is not seriously suggesting that a Canadian government under his leadership would become a Yes-man or foreign policy appendage of the United States.

TORONTO STAR, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1983

\$400,000 sought to buy a slice of flying history

By Ron Lowman Toronto Star

Wanted: Someone with \$400,000 (U.S.) to spare; perhaps a fighter pilot, who has made it big since World War II and remembers with great affection the aircraft he flew.

Purpose: To acquire for the non-profit Canadian Warplane Heritage Foundation one of the few

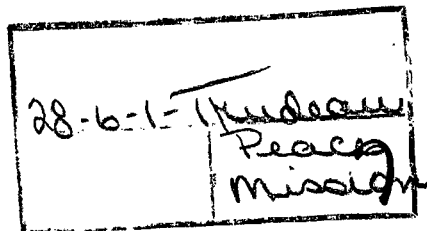
Hawker Hurricane fighters left.

It's owned by Scottish millionaire aircraft-museum owner Sir Willie Roberts, 47, who bought it 14 years ago, and put it in trust for his 12-year-old son, Jamie, two years ago. Because of Jamie's lack of interest and the skyrocketing costs of insuring the Hurricane, Sir Willie wants to sell it.

"He's willing to let it return to Canada for \$100,000 less than what he's asking elsewhere," said Dennis Bradley, president of the foundation, from his Mount Hope headquarters near Hamilton. "It's on top of our want list, but we simply don't have the money. If anybody can spare a few bucks, we'd give it a good home."

The Hurricane was used as a wartime trainer in the Canadian west and appeared in the movie Battle of Britain. Sir Willie lavished money on it and had it totally restored to first-class flying shape, Bradley said.

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER



MT
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FM PMDELDFLHI PMDL0107 27NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 271500

INFO PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/HUDON PCOOTT/OSBALDESTON/CARON PRMNY
WSHDC LHM BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU BREEC BNATO ROME GENEV PEKIN
TOKYO CNBRA WLGTN

DISTR MINA USS DMF DMT IFB IMD IMU IMC IDD LDR IDA RGB PSD
RCD FPR UGB URR ETC CPT

---CHOGM AND PM INITIATIVE:GOA COMWFL DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY

FOLLOWING IS TEXT

CHOGM

NEW DELHI-1983

THE COMMONWEALTH GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
AS WE MEET TOGETHER IN INDIA AT THE END OF 1983, REPRESENTING
A QUARTER OF THE WORLDS PEOPLE, FROM EVERY CONTINENT AND MANY
REGIONS, WE HAVE SHARED BOTH OUR CONCERNS AND OUR HOPES FOR
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH WHICH
AFFECT THE WAY WE ANALYSE AND JUDGE EVENTS, IT IS OUR
PERCEPTION THAT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE WORLD MAJOR MILITARY
ALLIANCES ARE IN DANGER OF BECOMING MORE CONFRONTATIONAL.
IN THE CONTEXT OF HEIGHTENED TENSIONS AND THE
CONTINUING BUILD UP OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, THE FUTURE OF
CIVILISATION AS WE KNOW IT, COULD BE THREATENED. NONE OF OUR
COUNTRIES OR PEOPLES WOULD BE INSULATED FROM THAT FATE. WE ARE

...2

WE, THEREFORE, WELCOME PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S CALL FOR A NEW
POLITICAL DIMENSION IN THE QUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.
WE SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS TO RESTORE ACTIVE POLITICAL CONTACT AND

PAGE THREE PMDL0107 UNCLAS

COMMUNICATIONS AMONG ALL THE NUCLEAR WEAPON POWERS AND ARE WILLING TO HELP THESE AND OTHER SUCH EFFORTS IN ALL APPROPRIATE WAYS. AS PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI HAS SO CONSISTENTLY EMPHASISED, THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN SECURING WIDER PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT IN THE STOPPING OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. THESE ARE ESSENTIAL STEPS FOR PROGRESS AND WORKING TOWARDS THE WORLD'S RELIEF FROM THE MENACE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THEIR WIDER SPREAD. IF THE RESOURCES RELEASED BY DISARMAMENT WERE PLOUGHED BACK IN SOME MEASURE INTO WORLD DEVELOPMENT, THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WHICH ARE IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR CONCERN COULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY MET. WE ARE CONCERNED ALSO OVER THE DIMINISHING CAPACITY OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THEY PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. REJECTING THAT NEGATIVE TREND, WE PLEDGE OUR RENEWED SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES ENshrINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THERE IS, IN OUR VIEWS, AN URGENT NEED TO CONSIDER WHAT PRACTICAL STEPS CAN BE TAKEN TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM AND TO IMPROVE ITS CAPACITY TO FULFIL THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CHARTER. WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED AT THE VULNERABILITY OF SMALL STATES TO EXTERNAL ATTACKS AND INTERFERENCE IN THEIR AFFAIRS. THESE COUNTRIES ARE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WHICH MUST RESPECT THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND AT THE VERY LEAST HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVELY FOR THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE HAVE

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PAGE FOUR PMDL0107 UNCLAS

SEPARATELY AGRFED ON AN URGENT STUDY OF THESE ISSUES.

ADDITIONALLY, HOWEVER, WE WILL PLAY OUR PART IN HELPING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO MAKE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERALS CALL FOR STRENGTHENING OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN KEEPING WITH THE CHARTER. MEETING HERE IN INDIA, WE CANNOT/NOT EMPHASISE TOO STRONGLY OUR BELIEF THAT THE ETHIC OF NON-VIOLENCE MUST BE AT THE HEART OF ALL EFFORTS TO ENSURE PEACE AND HARMONY IN THE WORLD. THAT ETHIC REQUIRES CLOSE ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. ONLY BY SUCH A COMMITMENT ON ALL SIDES WILL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE ENJOY AN ENVIRONMENT OF TRUE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. FINALLY, WE RETAIN FAITH IN HUMAN CAPACITY TO OVERCOME THE DANGERS AND DIFFICULTIES THAT THREATEN THE WORLD, AND TO SECURE FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE THE PROSPECTS OF A MORE PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. WE SHALL WORK TOGETHER TO FULFIL THAT FAITH.

UUU/282 271830Z PMDL0107

ACC	309306
FILE	23-3-1983
	(20-1-1)

28-6-1-TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION

UNCLASSIFIED

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0107 27NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 271500

INFO PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/HUDON PCCOTT/OSBALDESTON/CARON PPMNY

WSHDC LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU BREEC BNATO ROME GENEV PEKIN

TOKYO CNBRA WLGTH

DISTR MINA USS IMF IMT IFB IMD IMU (IMC IIE LDR IDA RGB RSD

RCD FPR UGB URR ETC CPD

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PAGE TWO PMDL0107 UNCLAS

ALARMED BY INCREASING DISREGARD FOR THE MORAL AND LEGAL PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE CONDUCT OF STATES, BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE ETHIC OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES IS BEING ERODED AND BY THE READINESS OF NATIONS TO RESORT TO THE ILLEGAL USE OF FORCE. AT THIS TIME OF CRISIS, WE BELIEVE IT TO BE IMPERATIVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SUMMON UP THE POLITICAL VISION OF A WORLD IN WHICH THEIR NATIONS CAN LIVE IN PEACE. THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO WORK FOR THE RESUMPTION OF A GENUINE POLITICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THEMSELVES LEADING TO RELAXATION OF TENSIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS CAN MAKE A PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTION IN ENCOURAGING THEM TO DO SO AND IN PROMOTING A LARGER MEASURE OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THAN NOW EXISTS. ESSENTIAL TO THAT ENLARGEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING IS THE NEED TO INCREASE CONTACTS AT A VARIETY OF LEVELS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST AND THE WEST. A CONCERTED EFFORT IS REQUIRED TO RESCUE CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE TO THE CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

ONLY THUS, CAN A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE BE REBUILT IN PLACE OF THE PREVAILING ONE OF FEAR AND MISTRUST. IN ALL THESE PURSUITS, WE EMPHASISE THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL WILL.

WE, THEREFORE, WELCOME PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S CALL FOR A NEW POLITICAL DIMENSION IN THE QUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. WE SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS TO RESTORE ACTIVE POLITICAL CONTACT AND

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UUU/282 271830Z PMDL0107

MF
hid

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

PERS INFO / RENS PERS.

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

FM PMDFELDELHI PMDL0095 27NOV83

TO EXTOTT LIDPZ/DELVOIE

FROM SHENSTONE

REF YRTEL IDPZ0218 25NOV

---PM INITATIVE:NON-PROLIFERATION

MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PAPER.I FULLY SHARE YOUR CONCERNS,BUT
PM APPARENTLY DEVELOPED THINKING ALONG LINES MENTIONED ON PLANT
FROM TOKYO AND COULD NOT/NOT BE GAINSAID.

2.YOUR PAPER WILL BE PASSED TO FOWLER TONIGHT ON RETURN FROM
GOA SO THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE DURING PEKING TRIP.I REMAIN HERE.
3.AS NOTES YOU PREPARED FOR PM WERE CIRCULATED TO OTHER MEMBERS OF
CHOGM I THINK THAT POSITION INDICATED THEREIN ON NON-PROLIFERATION
CAN STILL BE REGARDED AS OUR BASIC VIEWPOINT AT ANY RATE FOR
PUBLIC PURPOSES.

CCC/068 271330Z PMDL0095

28-6-1-1 Kudeau Peace
Mission

MF

Mr Delvoie

*Shall I take this on, consulting
George?*

Jim 28.11.

R E S T R I C T E D

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0072 27NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO PCOOTT/OSBALDESTON

---REPLIES TO PMS OCT25 LETS

*28-6-1-Trudeau Peace
Mission*

RATHER THAN SHOW PM REPLIES AS THEY COME IN, WOULD PREFER TO
PRESENT HIM ON RETURN TO OTT WITH MEMO CONTAINING SUMMARY RPT
SUMMARY OF REPLIES COVERING FULL TEXTS. SUMMARY MIGHT ALSO TOUCH
ON REACTIONS FROM OTHERS AND GENERAL TENOR OF MANNER IN WHICH
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA HAS TREATED INITIATIVE IN
GENERAL AND WAY IT WAS PLAYED AT CHOGM IN PARTICULAR.

CCC/090 270556Z PMDL0072

BHannor + W. Emory

- Gender pilot : stories?

- Nadeau : re audit?

brief book

- mention MBFR

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

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

FM MOSCO XYGR4176 26NOV83

TO EXTOTT(1DDZ) DELIVER BY 280900

INFO PEKIN/PMDEL DIMMED BNATO WSHDC LDN PEKIN PRMNY BRU PARIS BONN
ROME TOKYO NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD/CIS PCOOTT/CARON TAVIV DERUT
CHOCMDELDELHI/FOWLER

DISTR MINA DMF IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI RBR RBD GMR GGB

---PM INITIATIVE:CALL ON KORNIENKO

TALKS WERE HELD AT MFA BETWEEN 1000/1215 25NOV.SOVIET SIDE LED BY
KORNIENKO(FIRST DEPUTY FORMIN)INCLUDED SUSLOV(HEAD OF SECOND
EUROPEAN DEPT)AND THREE OF HIS ASSTS INCLUDING VICTOR SUKHODREV.
CDN SIDE LED BY PEARSON INCLUDED AMB ROBERTS,SMITH,ARCHDEACON AND
MUNDELL.

2.KORNIENKO SAID HE WAS READY TO LISTEN ATTENTIVELY AND THEN TO
EXCHANGE VIEWS.HE ADDED THAT GROMYKO WAS VERY BUSY BUT WOULD RECEIVE
CDNS AT 1600 FOR SHORT MTG.

3.PEARSON SAID THAT HE HAD COME TO MOSCO BECAUSE PM WANTED HIS
IDEAS AND HIS RECENT ACTIONS TO BE PRESENTED IN PERSON TO SOVIET GOVT
AND BECAUSE HE WAS MOST INTERESTED IN RECEIVING THEIR VIEWS AND THEIR
PERSPECTIVE ON EVENTS.PM WAS CONSIDERING ANTROPOV INVITATION TO VISIT
USSR.

4.HE THEN DESCRIBED PM INITIATIVE.HIS MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO RESTORE
MEASURE OF POLITICAL CONFIDENCE SINCE HE BELIEVED CURRENT INNATL
SITUATION WAS DANGEROUS,NOT/NOT JUST IN EUROPE BUT WORLDWIDE.HAVING
BEEN IN OFFICE SINCE 1968 AND GIVEN CDAS CREDIBILITY IN BOTH EAST
AND WEST,HE BELIEVED THAT IT WAS HIS DUTY TO TRY TO IMPROVE CLIMATE.
HIS MOTIVES WERE SINCERE AND WERE NOT/NOT INSPIRED BY DOMESTIC

...2

Division Phoned

Person

Local Time

MF 12

28-6-1-1	Hudson Peace Mission
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PAGE TWO XYGR4176 CONF

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

5. MAIN THRUST OF PM INITIATIVE WAS AN EFFORT TO INJECT HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL IMPETUS INTO FURTHERING EAST/WEST UNDERSTANDING; TO IMPROVE CRISIS MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES; AND TO INCREASE ATTN GIVEN TO EACH SIDES INTENTIONS RATHER THAN TO CONCENTRATE EXCLUSIVELY ON EACH OTHERS CAPABILITIES. PEARSON THEN EXPLAINED IN GREATER DETAIL TRENDS AND THEMES OUTLINED IN PMS SPEECH IN MTL AND ADDED THAT CDA WAS WORKING TOWARD ELICITING NATO RESPONSE TO WPOS MOST RECENT MBER PROPOSAL. KORNIENKO ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF REF TO QUOTE MINISTERIAL OR HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL ATTENDANCE AT THE OPENING OF THE CDE AT STKHM UNQUOTE. PEARSON RESPONDED THAT PM HOPED FOR ATTENDANCE BY AT LEAST FORMINS.

6. TURNING TO POSSIBILITY OF PRIME MINISTERIAL VISIT TO MOSCO, PEARSON SAID THAT PM THOUGHT SUCH A VISIT MIGHT HELP IMPROVE EAST/WEST RELATIONS BUT THAT HIS DECISION WOULD BE BASED UPON WHETHER OTHERS AND PARTICULARLY SOVIET GOVT BELIEVED THAT THERE COULD BE USEFUL RESULTS FROM SUCH A MTG. IF PM WERE TO CONCLUDE THAT HE SHOULD ACCEPT ANDROPOVS INVITATION HE WOULD BE FLEXIBLE AS TO TIMING BUT THOUGHT THAT VISIT SHOULD BE SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

7. PEARSON CONTINUED BY DESCRIBING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ASSOCIATED WITH PM INITIATIVE IN DETAIL AND SAID THAT PAPERS ON SUFFOCATION PROPOSALS WOULD BE CIRCULATED IN SUITABLE FORUM IN NEW YEAR. (WE DID NOT/NOT HAND OVER PAPER ON FIVE-POWER CONF.) FINALLY HE TOUCHED UPON RESPONSES

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FROM OTHER CAPITALS AND SUMMED UP BY SAYING THAT PM EXPECTED NO/NO MIRACLES BUT HOPED TO START A PROCESS.

8.KORNIENKO SAID HE HAD CAREFULLY READ PMS SPEECHES BUT THAT PRESENTATION HAD BEEN MOST USEFUL.SOVIET UNION SHARED PMS ALARM AND WISHED TO AVOID MILITARY CONFRONTATION.SPECIFIC IDEAS PRESENTED WOULD NEED CAREFUL STUDY BEFORE THERE COULD BE SPECIFIC RESPONSES BUT HE WISHED TO GIVE SOME GENERAL VIEWS ON PMS OVERALL THEME:

(A)INTENTIONS VERSUS CAPABILITIES:USSR BELIEVED IN TAKING ACCOUNT OF FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF EACH SIDE AND IN PERSONAL HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS TO ESTABLISH THESE INTERESTS.DIFFICULTY TODAY HOWEVER IS THAT THERE ARE NO/NO SUCH MTGS BUT EVEN SO INTENTIONS OF USA GOVT ARE EVIDENT.USA PROCEEDS FROM A VIEW OF USSR AS CONCENTRATION OF EVIL AND THIS IS NOT/NOT JUST RHETORIC.QUOTE WE FEEL THIS IN OUR NEGS, WE FEEL IT ON OUR OWN SKIN UNQUOTE.IT IS NOT/NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE RATIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATES ON THAT BASIS.THERE CAN BE NO/NO COMPROMISE BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL.ESPECIALLY WHEN ALL THE GOOD IS ON ONE SIDE AND ALL THE EVIL ON THE OTHER.WHAT WOULD BE THE USE OF MTG OF LEADERS OF THE USA/USSR WHEN THE GOOD/EVIL SYNDROME IS IN PLAY? NO/NO PROGRESS WOULD BE POSSIBLE IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.WHEN PRESIDENT(USA)SAYS USSR IS A KIND OF HISTORICAL MISTAKE AND TOTALLY EVIL THERE IS NO/NO SENSE IN HAVING ANY MTGS AT ALL.WE COULD SEARCH FOR TEN YEARS FOR SOME NOTION OF EQUAL SECURITY BUT FAIL IF THERE IS NO/NO READINESS ON OTHER SIDE TO REACH AGREEMENT.THIS DOES NOT/NOT MEAN WE ARE AGAINST MTGS BUT THE USA MUST DECIDE THAT IT WANTS TO

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LIVE IN PEACE AMONG EQUALS-NOT ONLY WITH THE USSR BUT WITH OTHERS.

(B)SPECIFIC PROPOSALS:THIS USA ATTITUDE IS NOW PRISM THROUGH WHICH WE VIEW EVENTS INCLUDING YOUR PMS PROPOSALS.FOR EXAMPLE FORMINS AT MBFR.WHAT WOULD BE THE USE WITH CURRENT AMERICAN ATTITUDES?PM WISHES TO COME HERE IF IT WOULD BE QUOTE USEFUL UNQUOTE.THAT IS OUR ATTITUDE TO EAST/WEST MTGS.TALK FOR THE SAKE OF TALK IS NOT/NOT WORTHWHILE.

(1)ASAT:WE WERE PREPARED TO TALK SERIOUSLY AND WE DID UNTIL ARRIVAL OF REAGAN ADMIN.WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY AGAIN.

(2)CTB:WE HAD VIRTUALLY REACHED AGREEMENT,WITH ONLY MINOR PROBLEMS REMAINING,BETWEEN USSR/USA AND USSR/USA/UK.THEN PRES REAGAN BROKE OFF TALKS.USA DID NOT/NOT ADVANCE A TOUGHER POSITION,JUST STOPPED TALKING. WE HEARD THAT PENTAGON HAD SAID NO/NO TO ANY AGREEMENT.WE BELIEVE THEY HAVE NO/NO DESIRE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT.

(3)VERIFICATION:IT IS SAID THAT USSR IS NEGATIVE ABOUT VERIFICATION, HAS ANYONE,PERHAPS ARCHDEACON,READ THE 1974 AND 1976 TREATIES?(HF SAID HE HAD AND OUTLINED VERIFICATION PROVISIONS OF THRESHOLD AND PEACEFUL USES TREATIES.)THEY WERE GOOD TREATIES WITH ON-SITE INSPECTION BUT USA HAD NOT/NOT RATIFIED THEM.(PEARSON ASKED WHY USA REQUEST OF SIX MONTHS AGO FOR INCREASED VERIFICATION HAD NOT/NOT BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO USSR.KORNIENKO RESPONDED THAT USA WANTED TO START AGAIN FROM SCRATCH,WHEREAS TREATIES THEMSELVES ALLOWED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF ITS PROVISIONS WHEN EITHER SIDE FELT IT NECESSARY.

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QUOTE I CITE THIS AS AN EXAMPLE, WE ARE EQUALLY STRONGLY FOR VERIFICATION WHEN IT AFFECTS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CONTROL OF ARMS. BUT ABSTRACT DISCUSSIONS OF VERIFICATION ARE NOT/NOT OF INTEREST TO US. UNQUOTE.

(4) SUMMATION: QUOTE I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT WHAT IS LACKING IN THE USA/USSR RELATIONSHIP IS THE WILL TO WORK FOR MUTUALLY-ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS BECAUSE WE MUST LIVE TOGETHER IN THE SAME WORLD. YOUR PRESENCE HERE TODAY SHOWS THE SORT OF ATTITUDE THAT IS NECESSARY IF EAST/WEST RELATIONS ARE TO IMPROVE. UNQUOTE.

9. PEARSON ASKED FOR USSR ATTITUDE TO PMS FIVE NWS PROPOSAL. KORNIENKO SAID USSR HAD POSITIVE ATTITUDE, HAVING PROPOSED SOMEWHAT SAME IDEA FIFTEEN YEARS AGO. HE NOTED THAT PEKIN WANTED FIFTY PERCENT REDUCTION IN SUPERPOWER ARMS BEFORE CHINA WOULD AGREE AND THAT FRENCH WERE NOT/NOT CRAZY ABOUT IDFA EITHER.

10. HE SAID THAT FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW USA AND UK MISSILES WERE IN SAME TARGETTING COMPUTER-FRENCH BEING SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT. THEY ARE NOT/NOT LARGE BY COMPARISON TO SUPERPOWERS BUT THEY ARE FORCES OF CONSIDERABLE STRENGTH AND THEY ARE INCREASING. THEREFORE THERE WAS NEED FOR QUOTE EQUIVALENT UNQUOTE TO THEM AS LONG AS WE LIVE IN THIS MAD-MAD WORLD AND THESE WEAPONS WERE NOT/NOT LIQUIDATED. IDFA ALSO WOULD BE LOOKED AT THROUGH THE QUOTE PRISM UNQUOTE REFERRED TO EARLIER.

11. PEARSON SAID THAT AS HE UNDERSTOOD KORNIENKO LITTLE WOULD BE ...6

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POSSIBLE UNLESS USA CHANGES ITS ATTITUDE.KORNIENKO SAID QUOTE YES BUT WE MUST NOT/NOT UST SIT AND WAIT,WE MUST TRY TO INFLUENCE THEM TO CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE.UNQUOTE

12.PEARSON SUGGESTED THAT THERE MUST BE TALKS TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL. KORNIENKO SAID YES BUT NOT/NOT JUST TALK FOR THE SAKE OF TALK.WE CANNOT SMILE AND CONTINUE TO TALK DURING INF DEPLOYMENT.PEARSON ASKED ABOUT START.KORNIENKO SAID DECISION FOR MOMENT WAS TO CONTINUE BUT THAT INF DEPLOYMENT HAS CHANGED STRATEGIC SITUATION BECAUSE MISSILES IN EUROPE WHICH REACH USSR ARE THE SAME AS MISSILES BASED IN USA FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW.

13.PEARSON NOTED THAT PMS FIVE NWS PROPOSAL WAS DESIGNED TO ALLOW FOR TALKS TO CONTINUE DESPITE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES.KORNIENKO RESPONDED AGAIN THAT TALK FOR THE SAKE OF TALK WAS A WASTE OF TIME.

14.SMITH INTERJECTED TO RESTATE PMS DESIRE TO RESTORE SOME EAST/WEST DIALOGUE AND SUMMARIZED AGAIN PMS CONCEPT.KORNIENKO RESPONDED THAT HE HAD NOT/NOT SAID NO/NO TO ANY OF IDEAS PROPOSED,HE HAD SAID ONLY THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD LOOK AT THEM THROUGH THE QUOTE PRISM UNQUOTE.

15.ON CRISIS MANAGEMENT,PEARSON SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH UNEXPECTED EVENTS.KORNIENKO SAID THIS WAS MORE TECHNICAL MATTER ALTHOUGH USSR DID NOT/NOT DISREGARD IT.THERE WAS DIRECT LINE TO WSHDC AND IT WAS BEING IMPROVED.THERE HAD BEEN TALKS WITH USA IN AUG AND BOTH SIDES WOULD MEET AGAIN AT BEGINNING OF NEW YEAR.WHILE EXISTENCE OF HOT LINE HAD NOT/NOT PREVENTED ANY CRISIS IT HAD BEEN QUOTE OF CERTAIN USEFULNESS UNQUOTE.HE ACKNOWLEDGED PEARSONS

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POINT OF THAT IT WOULD NOT/NOT PREVENT CRISES BUT COULD PREVENT CRISES
FROM GETTING WORSE.

16. PEARSON ALSO MENTIONED TO KORNIENKO THAT PM, IF HE CAME, WOULD
WANT TO RAISE ONE OR TWO BILATERAL ISSUES. AMB ROBERTS WOULD BE
FOLLOWING THESE UP. PEARSON ALSO RAISED BILATERAL ISSUES PRIVATELY
WITH SUSLOV.

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PERSON	FILE
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ACC	REF DATE
FILE	DOSSIER
28-6-1-Trudeau Peace mission	

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MOSCO XYGR4173 26NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 280900

INFO CHOGMDELDELHI/FOWLER DELIVER BY 270900 BNATO WSHDC

LDN PEKIN PRMNY BRU PARIS BONN ROME TOKYO HAGUE NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/

CPR/CIS PCOOTT/CARON TAVIV BERUT

DISTR MINA DMF IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI RBR RBD GMR GGB

REF OURTEL XYGR9907 25NOV

---PMS INITIATIVE:VIEWS OF ARBATOV

AT RECEPTION OFFERED BY AMB FOLLOWING PEARSONS MTGS WITH GROMYKO AND KORNIENKO 25NOV, DIRECTOR OF USA-CDA INSTITUTE, GEORGI ARBATOV, (WHO HAD MET WITH PM TRUDEAU IN TOKYO 19NOV) MADE FOLLOWING POINTS ABOUT NEUTRAL SOVIET REACTION TO PMS INITIATIVES AND POSSIBLE VISIT TO MOSCO:

(A) THAT WE SHOULD NOT/NOT BE DISAPPOINTED BY ABSENCE OF POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM GROMYKO, THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN PROVIDING RESPONSE OF ANY KIND AT THIS PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME;

(B) ONE REASON WAS ANDROPOVS HEALTH, HE WAS NOT/NOT ABLE TO ATTEND MTGS AND WAS OBLIGED TO DO BUSINESS ONLY BY PHONE, THIS COMPLICATED DECISION-MAKING PROCESS;

(C) ANDROPOV HAD LONG LIST OF PENDING ENGAGEMENTS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, HE HAD ONLY RECEIVED KADAR FROM AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THERE WAS CERTAIN OBLIGATION TO SEE OTHERS ONCE HIS HEALTH IMPROVED, THIS MIGHT POSSIBLY COMPLICATE TIMING OF TRUDEAU VISIT;

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(D) SECOND MAIN POINT WAS UNCERTAINTY IN MOSCO OVER HOW TO RESPOND TO USA FOLLOWING COLLAPSE OF INF NEGOTIATIONS, THERE WAS DIVIED OPINION WITH SOME PERSONS IN SOVIET LEADERSHIP FAVOURING MORE ROBUST RESPONSE TO USA ACTIONS, GENERAL VIEW WAS TO WAIT AND SEE HOW EVENTS WOULD DEVELOP OVER NEXT TWO-THREE WEEKS AND WHETHER ACTION-REACTION CYCLE WOULD SET IT, THERE WAS ALSO CONCERN THAT USA MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATING FURTHER ACTION IN MIDEAST OR NICARAGUE, USSR HAD QUOTE RECEIVED CERTAIN INFO AND INDICATIONS THAT NEW WAR COULD BREAK OUT IN MIDEAST IN NEXT FEW DAYS UNQUOTE, HE DID NOT/NOT PROVIDE ANY FURTHER DETAILS;

(E) USSR WAS BY NATURE CAUTIOUS AND CONSERVATIVE AND IT WOULD TAKE SOME TIME TO ASSESS TRUDEAU INITIATIVE, IN THIS REGARD IT HAD BEEN VERY IMPORTANT FOR GROMYKO TO HAVE HEARD DIRECT FROM PMS PERSONAL REP.

2. POINT WAS MADE TO ARBATOV, WHICH HE SAID HE REGISTERED, THAT LACK OF POSITIVE SOVIET RESPONSE IN NEXT FEW WEEKS PARTICULARLY TO VISIT BY TRUDEAU COULD BE USED BY SOME OF THOSE CRITICAL OF PMS INITIATIVE TO POINT OUT FRUITLESSNESS OF DEALING WITH USSR AND THAT THIS IN TURN COULD WELL WORK AGAINST SOVIET BEST INTERESTS. SAME POINT WAS ALSO MADE TO SUSLOV, HEAD OF MFA SECOND EUROPEAN DEPT. CCC/095 261205Z XYGR4173

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**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

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

FM MOSCO XYGR4174 26NOV83

TO EXTOTT LDDZ DELIVER BY 280900

INFO PEKIN/PMDFL DELIVER BY 281500

BONN LDN WSHDC PARIS ROME BNATO PRMNY PEK TOKYO BRU HAGUE

PCOOTT/CARON NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP/CIS

DISTR MINA DMF IFB RBD RBR ITA ITP ZSI UGR URR

RFF OUPTEL XYGR9907 25NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:PEARSON MTG WITH GROMYKO

SUMMARY: PEARSONS FORTY-FIVE MINUTE MTG WITH SOVIET FORMIN GROMYKO WAS STRAIGHT-FORWARD WITHOUT ACRIMONY. GROMYKO REGISTERED HIS QUOTE REGRET UNQUOTE THAT CDA HAD LEVIT ITS AUTHORITY AND SIGNATURE TO INF DEPLOYMENT BUT OTHERWISE SUBJ OF INF DID NOT/NOT ARISE DIRECTLY NOR WERE THERE ANY OTHER DISCORDANT NOTES. INVITATION FOR PM TO VISIT MOSCO WAS REAFFIRMED BUT THERE WAS QUESTION OF TIMING AND THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE FURTHER DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS. GROMYKO SAID USSR WAS FOLLOWING SPEECHES AND ACTIONS OF PM CLOSELY AND APPRECIATED HIS VIEWS BUT IT HAD TO DEAL WITH SITUATION IN WHICH USA WAS ACTING ON DIFFERENT BASIS. USSR HAD HAD SAD EXPERIENCE WITH CONTACTS ON HIGH LEVEL AND USA HAD USED GENEV NEGS AS QUOTE SCREEN TO COVER MILITARISTIC ACTION UNQUOTE. USSR THEREFORE WAS QUOTE RESERVED UNQUOTE ABOUT IDEA THAT HIGHER THE LEVEL OF CONTACT THE BETTER. GROMYKO DREW ATTN TO ANDROPOVS STATEMENT OF 24AUG WHICH WAS QUOTE REBUFF UNQUOTE TO WSHDCS AGGRESSIVE POLICIES BUT ALSO EMPHASIZED PEACEFUL LINE OF USSR TO EUROPE AND OTHER STATES AS WELL AS TO

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DISARMAMENT.

2.REPORT:GROMYKO WAS FRIENDLY AND ANIMATED DURING FORTY-FIVE MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH PEARSON AFTERNOON 25NOV.GROMYKO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY RYZHOV(DEPUTY FORMIN),SUSLOV(HEAD OF SECOND EUROPEAN DEPT)AND THREE OTHERS FROM SUSLOVS DEPT.CDN SIDE INCLUDED AMB ROBERTS,SMITH AND ARCHDEACON AS WELL AS FMB COUNS MUNDELL.GROMYKO SAID HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON MORNING DISCUSSIONS WITH FIRST DEPUTY FORMIN KORNIENKO AND THAT PEARSON HAD HIS FULL ATTN.

3.PEARSON SAID HE WAS HERE AS REP OF PM AND HAD COME TO MOSCO AT PMS REQUEST TO SPEAK TO SOVIET LEADERSHIP ABOUT HIS CONCERNS WITH SITUATION IN WORLD AND PARTICULARLY STATE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS. PM HAD RECEIVED INVITATION TO VISIT USSR AND WAS CONSIDERING IT POSITIVELY.PM HAD ASKED HIM TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER VISIT WOULD BE USEFUL TO UNDERTAKE.GROMYKOS VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION WOULD BE APPRECIATED.IN TERMS OF TIMING PM WAS CONSIDERING END DEC OR BEGINNING JAN.REASONS WHY HE WANTED TO COME WAS NOT/NOT ONLY HIS INITIATIVE BUT BECAUSE HE WAS CONCERNED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN USSA-USSR HAD DETERIORATED MARKEDLY OVER PAST FEW MONTHS.NEWS THIS WEEK CONFIRMED THIS OPINION.IN NO/NO SENSE WAS PM TRYING TO ACT AS MEDIATOR.RATHER HE BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR STATESMEN TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THEIR OPPOSITE NUMBERS AND TO COMMUNICATE THEIR OPINIONS. IF PM CAME HE WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT EAST/WEST TENSION;DANGER OF ACCIDENT,MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISCALCULATION;DANGER OF NUCLEAR

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PROLIFERATION; CONCEPT OF MUTUAL SECURITY; AND WHAT WOULD BE BASIS FOR RATIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST/WEST REFLECTING MUTUAL INTERESTS. PM WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EXPLORE CERTAIN OF HIS IDEAS INCLUDING FIVE-POWER CONF AT SOME TIME IN FUTURE, SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO START. PM WAS ALSO WONDERING WHETHER SENIOR POLITICAL FIGURES WHOULD NOT/NOT ATTEND STKHM MTG AND GROMYKOS OWN VIEW ON THIS SUBJ WOULD BE WELCOME. PM ALSO THOUGHT IT WOULD MAKE SENSE FOR FORMINS TO ATTEND AND ATTEMPT TO GIVE IMPETUS AND SENSE OF URGENCY TO NEGS ON MBFR. PM HAD NO/NO ILLUSION OF ONE MAN OR ONE COUNTRY ACHIEVING GREAT DEEDS BUT HE AND CDA DID HAVE RESPECTABLE CREDENTIALS TO BRING ABOUT AN EASING OF TENSION. PM HAD VISITED EUROPE, HAD WRITTEN TO REAGAN AND WOULD PROBABLY GO TO CHINA THIS WEEKEND. PEARSON SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE GROMYKOS ASSESSMENT ABOUT THIS AND PROSPECTS FOR EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN IMMED FUTURE.

4. GROMYKO SAID HE HAD LISTENED TOWHAT PEARSON HAD TO SAY AS WELL AS KORNIENKOS BRIEFING. IN TERMS OF PMS VISIT, HE WISHED TO CONFIRM INVITATION. USSR ATTACHED IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE TO IT BUT THERE WAS QUESTION OF TIMING AND HE WOULD COME BACK TO IT QUOTE WITH DUE ACCOUNT OF ALL RELEVANT CIRCUMSTANCES UNQUOTE. HE ADDED QUOTE I THINK THE PM WILL MEET THIS WITH UNDERSTANDING UNQUOTE. ON FIVE-POWER CONF HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS WAS NOT/NOT OFFICIAL PROPOSAL BUT THOUGHTS AND IDEAS PM WISHED TO EXPRESS. QUESTION HE WISHED TO ASK WAS THAT INSTEAD OF HAVING DIFFERENCES OVER RATIO X, MIGHT THERE NOT/NOT BE FIVE TIMES X DIFFERENCES. EXPERIENCE OF PRESENT DAY GENERATION OF STATESMEN SHOWED THAT NO/NO SPECIFIC GROUP, WHETHER IT BE 3, 4, 5 OR 2, ALWAYS GIVES
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POSITIVE RESULTS.IT IS COMPLICATED QUESTION.ONE CAN PRODUCE POSITIVE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF A FIVE-POWER CONF AND ONE CAN PRODUCE NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT AS WELL.IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING HOWEVER THAT NO/NO OFFICIAL REPLY WAS REQUIRED RIGHT NOW.PARTLY RELATED TO THIS SUBJ AND PARTLY RELATED TO OTHERS.GROMYKO SAID HE QUOTE REGRETTED THAT CDA HAD PUT ITS AUTHORITY AND ITS SIGNATURE BEHIND DEPLOYMENT OF INF IN EUROPE UNQUOTE.IN ENGLISH HE REPEATED QUOTE I REGRET THAT UNQUOTE.

5.GROMYKO WENT ON TO SAY USSR WAS CLOSELY FOLLOWING SPEECHES, STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS OF PM.QUOTE WE NOTE THAT HE HAS BEEN SAYING THAT NUMBERS AND RATIOS ARE BEING DISCUSSED CURRENTLY AND THAT ONE SHOULD REPLACE THIS WITH DISCUSSION ABOUT TRUST,INTENTIONS,GOALS, PURPOSES AND CONFIDENCE UNQUOTE.WE UNDERSTAND THIS HE SAID AND IT IS NOT/NOT DEVOID OF SPIRIT OF REALISM AND REASONABLENESS.WHAT NATO IS DOING NOW HOWEVER,AND ITS MAIN FORCE IS IN WSHDC,IS OPERATING IN AREAS OF SPECIFICS SUCH AS PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES.THESE ARE VERY MATERIAL THINGS WITH NO/NO SPACE FOR NOBLE IDEAS ABOUT INTENTIONS.QUOTE THESE ARE DROPPED IN THE WASTEBASKET UNQUOTE. IS IT NOT/NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY WE WILL NOT/NOT BE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TAKE ON OBLIGATIONS ABOUT THIS?THEY DO NOT/NOT WANT TO HEAR ABOUT THIS HOWEVER.THEREFORE HOW CAN USSR RID ITSELF FROM DISCUSSING SPECIFIC FIGURES WHEN ALL THESE SPECIFIC THINGS (MISSILES)ARE DIRECTED AGAINST IT.THERE IS SOME POSITIVE GRAIN OF ...5

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TRUTH IN THIS IDEA BUT AS EXAMPLE OF NON-FIRST USE SHOWS WE CAN SEE HOW SOME PEOPLE ARE TREATING NOBLE IDEAS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES JUST IMAGINE WHAT SITUATION WOULD BE IF USSR ON ITS OWN IN ANY FORUM, OF FIVE OR TEN OR WHATEVER, MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT NOBLE GOALS OF RATIOS, SHOWING TRUST, AND NOT/NOT USING FORCE WHILE ALL OTHERS PRETENDED NOT/NOT TO HEAR AND PROCEED FROM ENTIRELY MATERIALISTIC BASIS OF SPECIFIC WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT. COULD WE ACHIEVE MOVEMENT FORWARD IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES QUOTE I DO NOT/NOT THINK SO UNQUOTE. USA PRESIDENT DOES NOT/NOT UNDERSTAND ANYTHING OTHER THAN MISSILES, SENDING MARINES TO BEIRUT, HOW MANY SHIPS SHOULD BE OFF LEBANON, HOW TO USE FORCE IN NICARAGUA OR GRENADA. THERE ARE THIRTY COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF USA IN WHICH THERE ARE HALF A MILLION USA SOLDIERS. THESE ARE NOT/NOT REFLECTIONS OF NOBLE IDEAS BUT MATERIAL IDEAS. THAT IS HOW WE SEE THINGS.

6. IF ONE TAKES IDEA OF OPENING CDE AT A HIGH LEVEL AND SIMILAR IDEA AT MBFR AND IF IT IS TAKEN IN ISOLATION MAYBE IT IS NOT/NOT SO EASY TO OBJECT TO IN NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES THAT IT IS BETTER TO HAVE A HIGH RATHER THAN LOW LEVEL. BUT BEFORE WE TAKE ANY DECISION WE HAVE TO LOOK AT IT FROM THE LEFT, RIGHT, ABOVE AND BELOW IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHAT IS THE ACTUAL SITUATION USSR IS FACED WITH.

7. GROMYKO STATED QUOTE WE HAVE HAD SAT EXPERIENCE WITH CONTACTS OF THIS KIND UNQUOTE. THESE CONTACTS HAVE BEEN USED AS SCREEN TO COVER MILITARISTIC ACTION. IN GENEV, QUOTE WE ARE CONVINCED TODAY AS WE WERE BEFORE THAT IT WAS USED AS A SCREEN UNQUOTE. WE SAW THIS BEFORE

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BUT HOPED AT SOME POINT WSHDC WOULD BE MORE OPEN TO FACTS AND TRUTH. THIS WAS QUOTE ABSOLUTELY NOT/NOT THE CASE UNQUOTE.WE ARE THEREFORE QUOTE RESERVED UNQUOTE ABOUT IDEA OF THE HIGHER-LEVEL CONTACT THE BETTER.WE WILL LOOK AND SEE WHAT TO DO ABOUT STKHM AND VIENN BUT SO FAR SEE NO/NO DESIRE OR INTENTION BY WEST TO MOVE FORWARD AT VIENN. ABSOLUTELY NOT.

8.GROMYKO ADDED THAT WE APPRECIATE WISH OF PM TRUDEAU TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND REDUCE TENSIONS.IT SHOWS THERE ARE STILL SOME STATESMEN WHO APPRECIATE CURRENT DANGER.WE VALUE THAT.HE IS MAN OF BROAD EXPERIENCE,CAPABILITY AND OUTLOOK.ALL HIS STATEMENTS HOW THIS. PLEASE HOWEVER TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR CARES AND WAY OF THINKING. ANDROPOVS STATEMENT OF 24NOV IS ESSENCE OF OUR POLICY.IT IS A QUOTE RESOLUTE REBUFF UNQUOTE TO WSHDCS AGRESSIVE POLICIES.IT CALLS A SPADE A SPADE BUT IT ALSO EMPHASIZES PEACFFUL LINE OF USSR TO EUROPE AND TO OTHER STATES AND ITS POLICY OF DISARMAMENT.SO APART FROM REBUFF TO USA OTHER SIDE IS EQUALLY EMPHASIZED.HE STRESSED THAT HE WISHED TO BRING THIS POINT TO PEARSONS ATTN.

9.PEARSON SAID HE WOULD RREPORT TO PM WHAT GROMYKO HAD TO SAY. HE INTERPRETED GROMYKOS REMARKS TO MEAN THAT USSR WILL CONSIDER PMS IDEAS FROM VARIOUS POINTS OF VIEW BUT THAT GROMYKO WAS SCEPTICAL OF VALUE OF HIGH-LEVEL MTGS.WE UNDERSTAND THAT BUT WE HAVE HAD LOW-LEVEL IN MBFR FOR TEN YEARS AND BELIEVE TIME IS NOW REPE FOR HIGH-LEVEL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE BETTER RESULTS OR AS A MINIMUM FOR STATESMEN TO BETTER UNDERSTAND ISSUES.GROMYKO REPEATED THAT HIS ...?

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THOUGHTS GO IN DIRECTION HE INDICATED.

10. ON VISIT BY PM, PEARSON SAID WE WOULD REMAIN IN TOUCH. GPOMYKO
RESPONDED THAT THIS QUESTION WOULD BE SUBJ OF FURTHER
CLARIFICATION; TO MAKE IT MORE SPECIFIC ISSUE WAS ONE OF TIMING. USSR
RETAINED WARM MEMORIES AND SATISFACTION WITH PMS FIRST OFFICIAL
VISIT IN 1971. VISIT HAD BEEN OF INTEREST AND PRODUCTIVE. AS FINAL
POINT, PEARSON MENTIONED THAT PM HOPED TO MAKE PERSONAL CONTACT
WITH ALL FIVE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES. IT WAS EXPECTED THAT WITHIN
MONTH OF SO PM WOULD HAVE VISITED ALL EXCEPT FOR USSR.

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**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

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

FM MOSCO XYGR4173 26NOV83

TO EXTOTT IEDZ DELIVER BY 280900

INFO CHOGMDELDELHI/FOWLER DELIVER BY 270900 BNATO WSHDC

LDN PEKIN PRMNY BRU PARIS BONN ROME TOKYO HAGUE NDHQOTT/ADMPCOL/

CPP/CIS PCOOTT/CARON TAVIV BERUT

DISTR MINA DMF IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI RBR RBD GMR GGB

REF OURTEL XYGR9907 25NOV

---PMS INITIATIVE: VIEWS OF ARBATOV

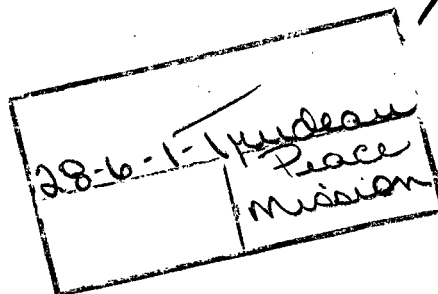
AT RECEPTION OFFERED BY AMB FOLLOWING PEARSONS MTGS WITH GROMYKO
AND KORNIENKO 25NOV, DIRECTOR OF USA-CDA INSTITUTE, GEORGI ARBATOV,
(WHO HAD MET WITH PM TRUDEAU IN TOKYO 19NOV) MADE FOLLOWING POINTS
ABOUT NEUTRAL SOVIET REACTION TO PMS INITIATIVES AND POSSIBLE VISIT
TO MOSCO:

(A) THAT WE SHOULD NOT/NOT BE DISAPPOINTED BY ABSENCE OF POSITIVE
RESPONSE FROM GROMYKO. THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN PROVIDING RESPONSE
OF ANY KIND AT THIS PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME;

(B) ONE REASON WAS ANDROPOVS HEALTH. HE WAS NOT/NOT ABLE TO ATTEND MTGS
AND WAS OBLIGED TO DO BUSINESS ONLY BY PHONE. THIS COMPLICATED
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS;

(C) ANDROPOV HAD LONG LIST OF PENDING ENGAGEMENTS THAT WOULD HAVE TO
BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HE HAD ONLY RECEIVED KADAR FROM AMONG
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THERE WAS CERTAIN OBLIGATION TO SEE OTHERS
ONCE HIS HEALTH IMPROVED. THIS MIGHT POSSIBLY COMPLICATE TIMING OF
TRUDEAU VISIT;

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MOITDA
RENNOD A HTU2

PAGE TWO XYGR4173 CONF

(D)SECOND MAIN POINT WAS UNCERTAINTY IN MOSCO OVER HOW TO RESPOND TO USA FOLLOWING COLLAPSE OF INF NEGOTIATIONS.THERE WAS DIVIED OPINION WITH SOME PERSONS IN SOVIET LEADERSHIP FAVOURING MORE ROBUST RESPONSE TO USA ACTIONS.GENERAL VIEW WAS TO WAIT AND SEE HOW EVENTS WOULD DEVELOP OVER NEXT TWO-THREE WEEKS AND WHETHER ACTION-REACTION CYCLE WOULD SET IT.THERE WAS ALSO CONCERN THAT USA MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATING FURTHER ACTION IN MIDEAST OR NICARAGUE.USSR HAD QUOTE RECEIVED CERTAIN INFO ANT INDICATIONS THAT NEW WAR COULD BREAK OUT IN MIDEAST IN NEXT FEW DAYS UNQUOTE.HE DID NOT/NOT PROVIDE ANY FURTHER DETAILS;

(E)USSR WAS BY NATURE CAUTIOUS AND CONSERVATIVE AND IT WOULD TAKE SOME TIME TO ASSESS TRUDEAU INITIATIVE.IN THIS REGARD IT HAD BEEN VERY IMPORTANT FOR GROMYKO TO HAVE HEARD DIRECT FROM PMS PERSONAL REP.

2.POINT WAS MADE TO ARBATOV,WHICH HE SAID HE REGISTERED,THAT LACK OF POSITIVE SOVIET RESPONSE IN NEXT FEW WEEKS PARTICULARLY TO VISIT BY TRUDEAU COULD BE USED BY SOME OF THOSE CRITICAL OF PMS INITIATIVE TO POINT OUT FRUITLESSNESS OF DEALING WITH USSR AND THAT THIS IN TURN COULD WELL WORK AGAINST SOVIET BEST INTFRESTS. SAME POINT WAS ALSO MADE TO SUSLOV,HEAD OF MFA SECOND EUROPEAN DEPT. CCC/095 261205Z XYGR4173

INFO

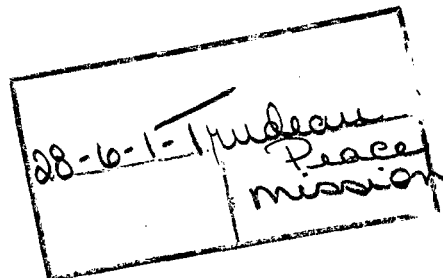
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UNCLASSIFIED

FM PEKIN WJGR0902 26NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI FLASH

INFO EXTOTT IDDZ



---PM INITIATIVE:VISIT TO CHINA 28-29NOV-ADMIN ARRANGEMENTS
HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH MFA,PROTOCOL DEPT,AND FOLLOWING ARE
ADMIN ARRANGEMENTS THAT ARE BEING MADE FOR PRIME MINISTERS
DELEGATION.

(A)ROOM ASSIGNMENT-AT STATE GUEST(DAIYUTAI)DEL WILL OCCUPY BLDG
NO 15/15,PRESS WILL BE IN BLDG NO 16/16 WHICH IS ADJACENT.BLDG
HAS TWO FLOORS AND MOST OF DEL WILL OCCUPY SECOND FLOOR.PM HAS
THREE-BEDROOM SUITE(1522/1522),BEDROOM CLOSEST HAS BEEN ASSIGNED
TO JUSTIN(1521/1521)AND ONLY OTHER BEDROOM IN SAME CORRIDOR
(1520/1520)HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO JE JOHNSON,SUITE AT END OF HALL
HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO PEARSON(1523/1523)AND SUITE ON ANOTHER
CORRIDOR HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO FOWLER(1528/1528).OTHER ROOMS IN
CORRIDOR ARE ASSIGNED AS FOLLOWS:CARTER(1524/1524),ARCHDEACON
(1525/1525),SMITH(1526/1526),JOHNSTONE(1527/1527).ON FLOOR BELOW
THERE IS ONE BEDROOM(1505/1505)ASSIGNED TO DURDIN AND SUITE
1506/1506.SUITE WILL BE OCCUPIED BY EMBASSY OFFICER WITH SITTING
ROOM BEING USED AS OFFICE.

2.COLEMAN HAS BEEN ASSIGNED ROOM IN SEPARATE BLDG NO 16/16 TO BE
OCCUPIED BY PRESS.HE HAS BEEN ASSIGNED SUITE 1621/1621.

(P)OFFICE-OFFICE WILL BE EQUIPPED WITH TYPEWRITER(ORATOR REQUEST

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PAGE TWO WJGR0902 UNCLAS

NOTED)AND CABINET WITH PADLOCK.IT WILL BE STAFFED WITH SECRETARY FROM APPROX 07H00 TO 22H00.OFFICE TEL NO IS 868-831/868-831 EXT 1506.THERE IS LIKELY TO BE SOMEBODY IN ATTENDANCE IN THIS ROOM ON ALMOST TWENTY-FOUR HOUR BASIS.SUGGEST CALLS TO MEMBERS OF PARTY MIGHT BEST BE DIRECTED TO IT.

(C)BREAKFAST-MFA HAVE ASKED TO KNOW IF PM, MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY AND PRESS WOULD WISH BREAKFAST ON ARRIVAL.OUR RESPONSE IS THAT THEY WILL LIKELY HAVE BREAKFAST ON AIRCRAFT.IF WE ARE WRONG AND GROUP WISHES BREAKFAST ON ARRIVAL PLS INFORM ASAP.

(D)BAGGAGE-WE ASSUME PMS PERSONAL BAGGAGE WILL BE CARRIED IN AIRCRAFT CABIN.CHINESE WILL MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR IT EITHER TO BE TAKEN IN PMS CAR OR IN FOLLOWING VEHICLE WHEN HE TRAVELS FROM AIRPORT TO GUEST HOUSE.LUGGAGE FROM HOLD WILL BE BROUGHT SEPARATELY BY TRUCK.CHINESE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF YOU ARE CARRYING GOOD DEAL OF LUGGAGE IN ORDER THAT APPROPRIATE TRANSPORTATION ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE(APPROX NO OF PIECES).

3.EMB STATIONERY SUPPLIES PRESENTLY AT ROCK BOTTOM.PLS ASK PARTY TO BRING SEVERAL IBM CORRECTIBLE TYPEWRITER RIBBONS TOGETHER WITH ONE BOTTLE VELLUM CORRECTION FLUID IF POSSIBLE.

GAUVIN

UUU/002 260820Z WJGR0902

OTT017
CCCCC
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OTT IDDZ0218
CLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIEL CDN EYES ONLY

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

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0218 25NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI/SHENSTONE ONLY
FROM DELVOIE

DELIVER BY 260900

REF PMDEL TEL 0082 25NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:NON-PROLIFERATION

AM SERIOUSLY CONCERNED BY IMPLICATIONS OF CONTENTS OF PARA ONE REF-
TEL.ELEMENTS OF CONDITIONALITY WHICH IT SUGGESTS MIGHT BE INTRO-
DUCED INTO ADHERENCE TO NPT SEEM TO BE VERY MUCH AT VARIANCE WITH
WELL-ESTABLISHED CDN GOVT POLICY.I BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL THAT PM BE
MADE FULLY AWARE OF THIS IN EVENT HE MAY BE CONSIDERING GIVING
FURTHER CURRENCY TO THIS IDEA IN HIS DISCUSSIONS IN GOA OR IN
CHOGM DECLARATION OR COMMUNIQUE.AM REPEATING BELOW TEXT OF PAPER
PREPARED TODAY AT MY REQUEST BY DEPTL NPT EXPERTS.I BELIEVE THAT
ESSENTIALS OF THIS TEXT SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO PMS ATTENTION IN WHAT-
EVER MANNER YOU CONSIDER MOST SUITABLE.SHOULD YOU REQUIRE FURTHER
AMPLIFICATION ON ANY OF THESE POINTS,YOU MAY WISH TO CONSULT DOUG
HAMLIN OF HIGH COMMISSION,WHO IS FULLY CONVERSANT WITH OUR NPT
POLICY.BEST REGARDS.

2.TEXT BEGINS.NEW QUOTE IMPORTANT NUANCE UNQUOTE REPORTED PARA ONE
REFTEL LEADS US TO RAISE ONCE AGAIN FOR PMS ATTN EXTREME CONCERN
FELT IN OTT TO EFFECT THAT CDA,HAVING BEEN CONSISTENTLY IN FOREFRONT
OF THOSE COUNTRIES GIVING MOST FERVENT SUPPORT TO NPT,MAY BECOME
IDENTIFIED WITH FINAL CHOGM TEXT(EITHER DECLARATION OR COMMUNIQUE)

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PAGE TWO IDDZ0218 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

PLACING FUTURE OF THAT INVALUABLE TREATY IN JEOPARDY.

3.IT IS OF COURSE WIDELY RECOGNIZED NPT IS BASED ON TWO UNDERTAK-
INGS:(A)NWS UNDERTAKE NOT/NOT TO TRANSFER NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIVE DEVICES TO NNWS(ARTICLE 1),TO MAKE AVAILABLE POTENTIAL
BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES(ARTICLE 5),AND TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS
IN GOOD FAITH ON EFFECTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO CESSATION OF
NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AT EARLY DATE;AND(B)NNWS UNDERTAKE IN TURN NOT/
NOT TO DEVELOP OR ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE
DEVICES(ARTICLE 2),AND TO ACCEPT IAEA SAFEGUARDS ON ALL THEIR NUCLEAR
ACTIVITIES(ARTICLE 3),WHILE NOT/NOT FOREGOING INALIENABLE RIGHT OF
ALL PARTIES TO ENJOY BENEFITS OF PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY
(ARTICLE 4).THUS THERE IS RECOGNITION IN TREATY OF BARGAIN BETWEEN
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NPT(EG MXICO,YUGO)HAVE IN FACT RAISED AT NPT REVIEW CONFS CONCERN
THAT FAILURE OF NWS TO LIVE UP TO THEIR SIDE OF BARGAIN MAY LEAD
NNWS PARTIES NOT/NOT TO HONOUR THEIR SIDE.TO COUNTER THIS CDA AND
LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES HAVE ARGUED THAT NPT DOES AT LEAST PROVIDE
MAJOR LEVER TO PRESSURE NWS TO HONOUR THEIR COMMITMENT AND THAT IT
IS MAJOR INNATL INSTRUMENT TO PREVENT NWS PROBLEM FROM BECOMING EVEN
WORSE BY ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT OF SITUATION IN WHICH THERE WOULD
BE MORE NWS IN ADDITION TO FIVE RECOGNIZED BY TREATY(INDIA IS DE

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FILE	28-6-1-Trudeau	DOSSIER
		Peace Mission

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FACTO NOW SUCH PROBLEM). MOREOVER, SEVERAL NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS (CDA AND
AUSTL) ARGUE THAT EXISTENCE OF NPT IS ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION FOR
THEIR GOVTS TO SATISFY CONCERNS OF THEIR PEOPLES OVER PROLIFERATION
RISK ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR NUCLEAR EXPORTS. IT IS THEREFORE CORNER-
STONE OF CDN NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY IN BOTH VERTICAL AND HORIZON-
TAL SENSES AND IS FUNDAMENTAL TO CDN NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY. THIS IS
BACKGROUND (WELL KNOWN TO YOU) WHICH IS BASIS FOR COMMENTS IN NEXT
PARA.

4. CONCEPT OF NPT CONDITIONALITY RAISED IN PARA ONE REFTL THUS COULD
ADD LEGITIMACY TO ARGUMENT BY STATES NOT/NOT PARTY TO NPT (EG INDIA,
ARGEN) THAT THEY REFUSE TO FOREGO NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR QUOTE PEACEFUL
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE UNQUOTE CAPABILITY SINCE NWS HAVE NOT/NOT DISARMED.
WHILE THIS WOULD BE BAD ENOUGH IT MAY ALSO ENCOURAGE SOME NNWS
PARTY TO TREATY TO RECONSIDER THEIR ADHERENCE TO TREATY. RESULT COULD
BE THAT IN EFFORT TO CATCH RELATIVELY FEW (ALTHOUGH IMPORTANT)
COUNTRIES OUTSIDE CURRENT WIDELY ACCEPTED INNATL NON-PROLIFERATION
REGIME WE WOULD HAVE ENCOURAGED DISINTEGRATION OF NON-PROLIFERATION
FRAMEWORK BASED ON THAT TREATY. CONDITIONALITY OF ADHERENCE ALSO
WOULD FALL FAR SHORT OF INNATL COMMITMENT TO NON-PROLIFERATION SEEN
AS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE BASIS FOR NUCLEAR COMMERCE (IN WHICH WE HAVE
MAJOR STAKE) WHICH BY NATURE OF EQPT AND MATERIALS INVOLVED IS LONG
TERM. NEGATIVE IMPACT ON IAEA SAFEGUARDS REGIME WHICH RELIES LARGELY
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PAGE FOUR IDDZ0218 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY
5. AS FINAL POINT WE HAVE PLACED GREAT WEIGHT (BOTH IN GENERAL TERMS
AND IN CONTEXT OF OUR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY AS IT RELATED TO
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ON EXISTENCE OF ARTICLE 10 OF NPT WHICH ESTABLISHES CLEAR AND SUB-
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CALLS THAT PROCESS INTO QUESTION. TEXT ENDS.
CCC/046 252356Z IDDZ0218

ACTION
NOTE A DONNER

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

FM DELHI PMDL0082 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT LDDZ MINA

INFO PCOOTT/CARON

DISTR DMF IMD IMU IDD IDR RGB RBR RCP UGB URR

---PM INITIATIVE AT CHOGM:SITREP

PM INTRODUCET DISCUSSION OF WORLD POLITICAL TRENDS ON AFTERNOON
OF NOVEMBER 23.TEXT OF SPEAKING NOTES PREPARED FOR HIM WAS
DISTRIBUTED TO DELEGATES BUT HE DID NOT/NOT STICK STRICTLY TO
THIS VERSION.IMPORTANT NUANCE CONCERNED NTP.HE SAID HE WOULD
LIKE TO SEE A WAY OF ENFORCING THAT PACT BY TELLING NUCLEAR
POWERS THAT IF THEY LIVED UP TO THEIR UNDERTAKING TO REDUCE THEIR
WEAPONS THEN NON NUCLEAR POWERS WOULD BE PREPARED NOT/NOT TO
BECOME NUCLEAR POWERS ON CONDITION THAT SAVINGS MADE BY NUCLEAR
POWERS WOULD BE TURNED TO CAUSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN WHOLE OR IN PART.
DURING YEAR AND HALF WHICH REMAINED BEFORE NTP REVIEW CONFERENCE
EFFORT COULD BE MADE TO USE THAT INSTRUMENT AS LEVER BY EACH SIDE
IN ORDER TO MAKE WORLD LESS VULNERABLE TO NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION.PM
LOOKED TOWARD FORUM WHERE THERE COULD BE DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL
THAT COUNTRIES MIGHT ADHERE TO NTP CONDITIONALLY PROVIDING AS
CONDITION THAT BY TIME OF NTP REVIEW CONFERENCE OR NEXT CHOGM
NUCLEAR POWERS HAD REDUCED THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS IN ACCORD WITH
COMPACT AT BASIS OF NTP.PM ENDED BY SAYING HE HAD A BRIEF DRAFT
STATEMENT FOR CHOGM WHICH HE MIGHT SHOW TO SECRETARIAT.

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ACC 629579
FILE 23.3.1983
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Division Phoned

Person

Local Time

PEACE
MISSION

P. 2 TWO PMDL0082:CONF

2.LATER HE GAVE RAMPHAL SUGGESTED TEXT ALONG LINES OF VERSION YOU HAD DRAFTED FOR HIM.HE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED(BUT IN FND DECIDED AGAINST)AMENDING POINTS 5 AND 6 TEXT TO ACCORD WITH HIS POINT ABOUT CONDITIONAL ADHERENCE TO NTP.

3.REACTION BY NUMEROUS HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WAS FAVOURABLE TO HIS GENERAL PRESENTATION,WHICH WAS FOCUS OF WHOLE ENSUING DISCUSSION. KAUNDA SUGGESTED THAT SMALL GROUP OF COMMONWEALTH STATES JOIN PM TRUDEAU IN PROMOTING INITIATIVE.PM REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD BE SUITABLE FOR SOME ASPECTS OF INITIATIVE(EG ASAT PROPOSAL AT UN) BUT NOT/NOT ON ASPECTS OF PROPOSAL HAVING TO DO WITH NATO OR WARSAW PACT,SUCH AS CDE OR MBFR.

4.MRS GANDHI WAS CRITICAL OF NTP ASPECT AND MRS THATCHER IN PREDICTABLY VIGOROUS INTERVENTION INDICATED THAT SHE DID NOT/NOT FULLY AGREE WITH PMS SUGGESTION OF FIVE POWER SUMMIT OF NUCLEAR POWERS.IDEA OF SUCH SUMMIT COULD BE LAUNCHED ONLY ONCE AND ONLY AFTER A GREAT DEAL QUOTE BOTTOM-UP PREP UNQUOTE.SHE DID NOT/NOT WISH TO CAUSE SPLIT WITHIN NATO BY MAKING SUGGESTION THAT OTHER MEMBERS COULD NOT/NOT AGREE TO.

5.DISCUSSION(MOST OF IT POSITIVE ON INITIATIVE)CONTINUED FOR MOST OF THURSDAY MORNING AFTER WHICH GRENADA WAS TAKEN UP.LATER SECRETARIAT PROVIDED PM WITH OUTLINE OF POSSIBLE STATEMENT.DIFFERING VERY SUBSTANTIALLY FROM HIS OWN TEXT,BUT INCLUDING NTP CONDITIONALITY AS WELL AS NEW ELEMENTS SUCH AS NON-VIOLENCE AND SUPPORT FOR UN.IT

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PAGE THREE PMDL0082 CONF

ALSO INCLUDED STATEMENT THAT COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS SUPPORTED PM TRUDEAUS EFFORTS. HE ACCEPTED IT WITH MINOR REVISIONS. SUBSEQUENTLY A REVISED DRAFT WAS SHOWN TO US WHICH WE WERE TOLD WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO INDIANS; IT DELETED MENTION OF NON-PROLIFERATION AND SLIGHTLY WEAKENED BUT STILL RETAINED EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO PM TRUDEAUS EFFORTS. AGAIN PM ASSENTED. (WE WERE NOT/NOT ABLE TO RETAIN COPIES OF EITHER TEXT). FURTHER REVISION IS DUE TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO HOG TODAY IN GOA FOR DISCUSSION AND POSSIBLE ISSUANCE OVER WEEKEND. ALTERNATIVELY IT MIGHT BE ISSUED TUESDAY ALONG WITH COMMUNIQUE COVERING SPECIFIC REGIONAL SUBJECTS (GRENADA, CYPRUS, NAMIBIA, ETC.)

6. IN SHORT WE ARE LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM CHOGM WITH SUBSTANTIVE DECLARATION WHICH WHILE NOT/NOT DIRECTLY MODELLED ON PMS PROPOSALS IS IN GENERAL ACCORD WITH THEM AND WILL CONTAIN SPECIFIC INDICATION OF SUPPORT OR WELCOME FOR HIS EFFORTS.

7. NOTE THAT ABOVE CAPSULE SUMMARY OF PMS REMARKS TWELLS ONLY ON NEW ELEMENTS. HE PRESENTED OTHER IDEAS IN LINE WITH SPEAKING NOTES ALTHOUGH IN DIFFERENT FORM AND ORDER. DEL WILL RETURN WITH FULL SECRETARIAT RECORD OF DEBATE.

CCC/068 251237Z PMDL0082

MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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25 NOV 83 23 56 20

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

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0218 25NOV83
TO/À TO PMDELDELHI DELIVER BY 260900
INFO
DISTR FOR SHENSTONE ONLY DE DELVOIE
REF REF PMDEL TEL 0082 25NOV
SUBJ/SUJ

28-6-1-Trudeau Peace mission

---PM INITIATIVE:NON-PROLIFERATION

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DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
L.A.Delvoie/sc SIG	IDDZ	5-5912	<i>L.A. Delvoie</i> SIG L.A. Delvoie



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PAGE TWO 121 10
IDDZ0218 CONF D CN EYES ONLY

PLACING FUTURE OF THAT INVALUABLE TREATY IN JEOPARDY.

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PAGE THREE IDDZ0218 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

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FACTO NOW SUCH PROBLEM). MOREOVER, SEVERAL NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS (CDA AND AUSTL) ARGUE THAT EXISTENCE OF NPT IS ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION FOR THEIR GOVTS TO SATISFY CONCERNS OF THEIR PEOPLES OVER PROLIFERATION RISK ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR NUCLEAR EXPORTS. IT IS THEREFORE CORNERSTONE OF CDN NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY IN BOTH VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL SENSES AND IS FUNDAMENTAL TO CDN NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY. THIS IS BACKGROUND (WELL KNOWN TO YOU) WHICH IS BASIS FOR COMMENTS IN NEXT PARA.

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PAGE FOUR IDDZ0218 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

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5. AS FINAL POINT WE HAVE PLACED GREAT WEIGHT (BOTH IN GENERAL TERMS
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Department of External Affairs

Ministère des Affaires extérieures

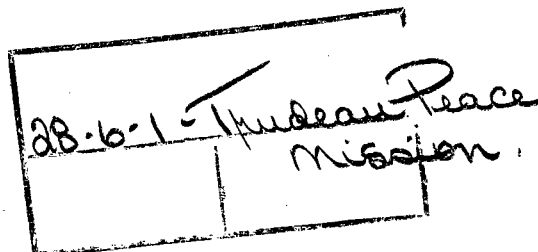
Canada

OTTAWA, ONTARIO
K1A 0G2

November 25, 1983.

IDDZ-0216

Mr. Serge Kozlovski
5114 Cote St. Antoine
Montreal, Quebec
H4A 1N7



Dear Mr. Kozlovski:

On behalf of the Prime Minister, permit me to reply to your letter of October 31 in which you express support for the Prime Minister's current set of initiatives aimed at enhancing the level of dialogue between East and West.

You will be pleased to know that the Prime Minister has received many letters such as yours, fully supporting the effort which, it is hoped, will lead to some movement in the international dialogue on arms control and disarmament. Like you, many have offered to lend their good offices for further advancing these efforts. I can assure you that the Prime Minister greatly appreciates the support. It is the concern of Canadians such as yourself which he is endeavouring to bring to the attention of many of the world leaders. While the results of these efforts have yet to emerge, there is no question that the effort has to be made.

Your letter also raises several new points regarding your proposal for the establishment of a U.N. Emergency/Peace Keeping Force. These have been brought to the attention of the Department of External Affairs, which had taken note of your previous recommendations.

Thank you for expressing your interest in this most important endeavour.

Yours sincerely,

L.A. Delvoie
Chairman
Task Force Working Group

M. Fiele

Department of External Affairs



Canada

Ministère des Affaires extérieures

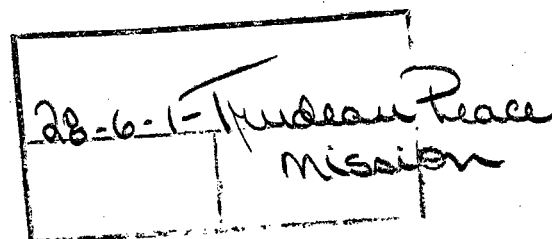
OTTAWA, ONTARIO

K1A 0G2

November 25, 1983.

IDDZ-0215

Mr. J.R. Vallentyne
Canada Centre for Inland Waters
867 Lakeshore Road
P.O. Box 5050
Burlington, Ontario
L7R 4A6



Dear Mr. Vallentyne:

Thank you for your letter of November 2 addressed to the Prime Minister and containing reports on the consequences of nuclear war. These have been brought to the attention of the members of the Task Force. You will be interested to know that many people, some in the government such as yourself, others outside, have taken the time to provide the Prime Minister and the Task Force with ideas and background material.

They have tended to reconfirm that Canadians are seriously concerned with the parlous state of international relations and the need for Canadian initiatives.

Thank you for writing.

Yours sincerely
L.A. Delvoie

L.A. Delvoie
Chairman
Task Force Working Group



External Affairs
Canada

Affaires extérieures
Canada

REFERRED BY THE OFFICE
OF THE SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS, MINISTER'S
REGISTRY - LETTERS

TRANSMIS PAR LE CABINET
DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT
AUX AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES
DOSSIERS DU MINISTÈRE -
LETTRES

5-2723

To/À
AU

~~IDA~~

~~IDDZ~~

Ad Lusk
four
members
5 feb
m

7/12/83

☒ FOR INFORMATION AND ANY NECESSARY ACTION
POUR EXAMEN ET SUITE À DONNER, S'IL Y A LIEU

☐ THIS LETTER HAS BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED
ON A ACCUSÉ RÉCEPTION DE CETTE LETTRE

☐ BY TELEPHONE/PAR TÉLÉPHONE

☐ BY LETTER (Copy attached)/PAR LETTRE (Copie-jointe)

REMARKS/REMARQUES

Signature

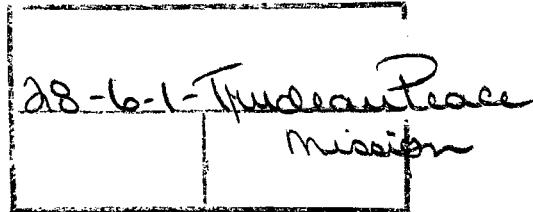
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Da

RR #1, Fanny Bay, B.C.VOR 1WO.
November 25, 1983.

Pierre Elliot Trudeau,
Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Canada.



Dear Mr. Trudeau,

I'm sure millions of Canadians, as well as many more millions around the world, are watching, in prayerful anticipation, as you move among the world's leaders with your peace initiative. I feel that your intellect and background fit you for the formidable task of providing leadership at a time when the alternatives to working towards a peaceful coexistence are depressingly bleak.

I hope that you will gather sufficient support for your initiative that your Government is able to respond to the wishes of the majority of Canadians and make Canada a truly Nuclear-free zone, including reversing its decision to test the American (its not a NATO weapon) Cruise Missile. Only then, I believe, could we appear credible to all nations.

Wars have begun, in the past, because countries were prepared for war. Let us, Mr. Trudeau, with determined leadership from you, prepare for peace. Let us get out of this rotten game and work as a country to further the cause of justice in the world - the only way to peace. Surely the issues are ~~at~~ above politics - the survival of our fragile Spaceship Earth.

I urge your Government to allow Canadians who wish to show tangible support for peace initiatives, to direct their taxes, proportionately, to peaceful, rather than military uses, through the creation of a Peace Tax Fund. This money could go to the establishment of conflict-resolution studies at all educational levels. Our first installment is awaiting such legislation, with eager anticipation.

Jim Lunam joins me in wishing you every success in your current work and heartfelt thanks for your laudable efforts.

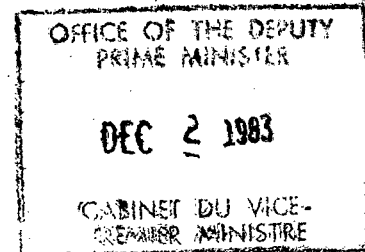
C.C.
Hon. Alan Mac Eachen
Mr. Bussi res
Mr. Ray Skelly M.P.

Sincerely

Margaret Lunam
Margaret Lunam

Jim Lunam
Jim Lunam M.D.

RR #1, Fanny Bay, P.C. NOR IWO.
November 22, 1983.





United States Embassy
Ottawa, Canada, K1P 5T1

BACKGROUND

(83-73)

(11-25-83-POL)

CHRONOLOGY: U.S., SOVIET ARMS CONTROL POLICIES

IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIET ANNOUNCEMENT SUSPENDING NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA ON LONGER-RANGE INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES (LRINF) BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE OF THE TALKS AND THE ANNOUNCED POLICIES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IS MADE AVAILABLE.

NEGOTIATIONS ON LONGER-RANGE INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES:

UNITED STATES

28-6-1: Trudeau Peace Mission

DECEMBER 1979 --- NATO ELABORATES "TWO-TRACK" DECISION: TO NEGOTIATE TO BRING DOWN LEVELS OF LRINF OR ELIMINATE LRINF MISSILES ON BOTH SIDES, AND TO MODERNIZE NATO FORCES IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS IF NECESSARY.

NOVEMBER 1981 --- REAGAN ANNOUNCES "O-O" PROPOSAL, TO ELIMINATE ENTIRE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET LAND-BASED, LONGER-RANGE INF MISSILES. NATO WOULD NOT DEPLOY COUNTERPART SYSTEMS IF USSR WOULD ELIMINATE THE SYSTEMS IT HAD DEPLOYED.

FEBRUARY 1983 --- U.S. REITERATES CRITERIA FOR REACHING AGREEMENT IN LRINF TALKS:

- 1) EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND LIMITS BETWEEN U.S. AND USSR;
- 2) EXCLUSION OF INDEPENDENT THIRD COUNTRY, I.E., BRITISH AND FRENCH, NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES FROM ANY AGREEMENT;
- 3) AGREED-UPON LIMITS MUST BE APPLIED ON A GLOBAL BASIS; NO SHIFT OF SOVIET LONGER-RANGE INF MISSILES FROM EUROPEAN USSR TO ASIAN USSR;
- 4) NO WEAKENING OF NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DETERRENT FORCES;
- 5) EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION MEASURES.

MARCH 1983 --- NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS REJECT SOVIET "SUB-CEILING" AS LEAVING THEM WITH MORE SS-20'S THAN WHEN NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN.

MARCH 1983 --- GIVEN SOVIET REFUSAL TO ELIMINATE ITS LRINF SYSTEMS IN RETURN FOR NONDEPLOYMENT OF COUNTERPART NATO SYSTEMS, AS CALLED FOR IN THE "O-O" PROPOSAL, U.S. PROPOSES "INTERIM AGREEMENT." UNDER IT,

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U.S. OFFERS TO REDUCE SUBSTANTIALLY PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING II AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES IF SOVIETS WILL REDUCE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THEIR LRINF MISSILES TO AN EQUAL LEVEL ON A GLOBAL BASIS. U.S. INDICATES IT PREFERS "O-O" AS IDEAL EVENTUAL SOLUTION TO LRINF PROBLEM.

SEPT. 1983 --- REAGAN SPEECH AT U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ANNOUNCES NEW U.S. INITIATIVES WHICH ADDRESS SPECIFIC SOVIET CONCERNS:

1) A WILLINGNESS TO INCLUDE LRINF AIRCRAFT IN THE INF TALKS, EVEN THOUGH U.S. CONTINUES TO SEE SS-20 DEPLOYMENTS AS PRIMARY THREAT TO WESTERN SECURITY.

2) WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AN INF ARRANGEMENT PROVIDING EQUAL GLOBAL LIMITS, A COMMITMENT NOT TO OFFSET THE TOTAL SOVIET DEPLOYMENT BY U.S. DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE.

3) WILLINGNESS, IF AN INTERIM AGREEMENT IS REACHED, TO APPORTION U.S. REDUCTIONS APPROPRIATELY BETWEEN PERSHING II AND CRUISE MISSILES.

OCTOBER 1983 --- U.S. STATES ANDROPOV PROPOSAL CONTAINS SHORTCOMINGS BECAUSE IT STILL INSISTS UPON USSR BEING COMPENSATED FOR BRITISH AND FRENCH STRATEGIC FORCES THROUGH ITS INF DEPLOYMENTS AND CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT NO U.S. DEPLOYMENTS OCCUR. PROPOSAL TO FREEZE LRINF DEPLOYMENTS IN ASIAN USSR APPEARS TO RECOGNIZE U.S. VIEW THAT LRINF MUST BE TREATED ON A GLOBAL BASIS. U.S. IS SEEKING DETAILS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL ON AIRCRAFT.

--- U.S. NOTES THAT SOVIET THREAT TO END NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE APPEARANCE OF U.S. MISSILES IN EUROPE IS UNJUSTIFIED, AS U.S. HAS NEGOTIATED FOR TWO YEARS WHILE SOVIET SS-20 LEVELS ROSE DRAMATICALLY.

--- U.S. ANNOUNCES WITHDRAWAL OF 1,400 TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM EUROPE, WHICH, COMBINED WITH 1,000 WEAPONS WITHDRAWN IN 1980, WILL REDUCE NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BY MORE THAN ONE THIRD FROM 1979 LEVEL.

NOVEMBER 1983 --- U.S. PROPOSES INTERIM GLOBAL CEILING OF 420 WARHEADS ON LONGER-RANGE INF MISSILES, WHILE STRESSING WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER OTHER LEVELS OF REDUCTIONS. THIS PROPOSAL EQUATES TO A GLOBAL LIMIT OF 140 SS-20 LAUNCHERS. IN OCTOBER 1983 THE USSR PROPOSED TO LIMIT ONLY THEIR SS-20 FORCE IN RANGE OF EUROPE TO 140 LAUNCHERS WITH 420 WARHEADS.

--- DELIVERIES OF FIRST GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES BEGIN IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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USSR

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1977 -- SOVIET UNION BEGINS DEPLOYMENT OF SS-20 MISSILES IN EUROPEAN USSR.

DECEMBER 1978 --- 70 SS-20'S, WITH 210 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPE AND ASIAN USSR.

OCTOBER 1979 --- BREZHNEV PROPOSES SOVIET FREEZE OF SS-20 DEPLOYMENTS IF NATO DEPLOYS NO COUNTERPART SYSTEMS.

JULY 1980 --- SOVIETS FINALLY AGREE TO NEGOTIATIONS ON INF, HAVING PREVIOUSLY REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE UNLESS NATO ABANDONED "TWO-TRACK" DECISION.

OCTOBER 1980 --- PRELIMINARY U.S. SOVIET TALKS ON INF.

DECEMBER 1980 --- 200 SS-20'S, WITH 600 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN USSR.

NOVEMBER 1981 --- INF TALKS BEGIN IN GENEVA.

DECEMBER 1981 --- 270 SS-20'S, WITH 810 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN USSR.

MARCH 1982 --- 300 SS-20'S WITH 900 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN USSR. SOVIETS ANNOUNCE "MORATORIUM" ON DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPEAN USSR, BUT DEPLOYMENTS CONTINUE AS MISSILE SITES UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN EUROPEAN USSR ARE FINISHED AND ACTIVATED AND NEW SITES ARE BEGUN IN EASTERN USSR WHOSE MISSILES CAN REACH NATO TARGETS.

DECEMBER 1982 --- ANDROPOV PROPOSES "SUB-CEILING," ALLOWING USSR TO DEPLOY LRINF MISSILES IN EUROPE EQUAL TO THEIR COUNT OF 162 BRITISH AND FRENCH STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. 162 TRIPLE-WARHEAD SS-20'S CAN HIT A TOTAL OF 486 TARGETS; 162 BRITISH AND FRENCH MISSILES CAN ONLY HIT 162 TARGETS. NO U.S. LRINF MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE WOULD BE ALLOWED, UNLIMITED SOVIET SS-20 DEPLOYMENTS PERMITTED IN ASIAN USSR.

MARCH 1983 --- 351 SS-20'S, WITH 1,053 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN USSR.

APRIL 1983 --- FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO TERMS U.S. "INTERIM SOLUTION" UNACCEPTABLE. REITERATES SOVIET POSITION THAT NO U.S. DEPLOYMENTS MUST OCCUR, AND THAT SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS BE TIED TO SOVIET COUNT OF BRITISH AND FRENCH STRATEGIC SYSTEMS.

MAY 1983 --- ANDROPOV INDICATES WILLINGNESS TO COUNT WARHEADS AS WELL AS MISSILES AT TALKS. REITERATES THAT NUMBER OF SS-20'S IN EUROPEAN USSR WOULD BE KEYED TO SOVIET COUNT OF BRITISH AND FRENCH STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. REFUSES TO ADDRESS SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS IN ASIAN USSR, TO WHICH SOVIET MISSILES WITHDRAWN FROM EUROPEAN USSR COULD BE MOVED, WITH POTENTIAL FOR QUICK MOVEMENT BACK TO EUROPEAN USSR.

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AUGUST 1983 --- ANDROPOV PROPOSES TO LIQUIDATE LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES TO SOVIET COUNT OF U.K. AND FRENCH LEVELS, PROVIDED THE U.S. CANCELS DEPLOYMENTS OF PERSHING II AND CRUISE MISSILES.

OCTOBER 1983 --- SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTRY STATES THAT USSR IS PREPARING TO DEPLOY "OPERATIONAL-TACTICAL" MISSILES IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS PART OF "PLANNED COUNTERMEASURES" TO U.S. DEPLOYMENTS.

OCTOBER 1983 --- ANDROPOV PROPOSES MODIFIED VERSION OF DECEMBER 1982 "SUB- CEILING," BY ANNOUNCING THAT USSR IS WILLING TO REDUCE NUMBER OF SS-20'S IN EUROPEAN USSR TO 140 WITH 420 WARHEADS TO MATCH SOVIET COUNT OF BRITISH AND FRENCH WARHEADS. ANDROPOV OFFERS TO FREEZE THE NUMBER OF SS-20'S DEPLOYED IN ASIAN USSR, ONCE AN INF AGREEMENT LIMITING EUROPEAN-BASED SYSTEMS IS IMPLEMENTED, AS LONG AS U.S. DEPLOYS NO SIMILAR WEAPONS IN THAT REGION. ANDROPOV ALSO ANNOUNCES "ADDITIONAL FLEXIBILITY" ON THE ISSUE OF COUNTING INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT, ALTHOUGH DETAILS ARE NOT PROVIDED. ANDROPOV ANNOUNCES THAT START OF DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. LRINF MISSILES "WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THE INF TALKS."

NOVEMBER 1983 --- 360 SS-20'S, WITH 1,080 WARHEADS, NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN USSR.

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STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS (S.T.A.R.T.)

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UNITED STATES

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JANUARY 1981 --- PRESIDENT REAGAN ANNOUNCES THAT U.S. WILL ABIDE BY UNRATIFIED SALT II TREATY, EVEN THOUGH IT DID NOT MEANINGFULLY LIMIT THE MOST DESTABILIZING STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. SOVIETS MAKE RECIPROCAL COMMITMENT.

MAY 1982 --- PRESIDENT REAGAN'S EUREKA COLLEGE SPEECH, HIS FIRST COMPREHENSIVE SPEECH ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IN THE SPEECH, REAGAN PROPOSES S.T.A.R.T. TALKS.

JUNE 1982 --- FIRST ROUND OF S.T.A.R.T. TALKS. U.S. PROPOSES LIMIT OF 850 DEPLOYED BALLISTIC MISSILES FOR EACH SIDE, AS WELL AS A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS BY ABOUT ONE THIRD TO 5,000 FOR EACH SIDE (NO MORE THAN HALF OF WHICH ARE TO BE DEPLOYED ON INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES --- ICBMS.)

--- U.S. ALSO PROPOSES THAT DISCUSSION OF AIRCRAFT AND MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT BE POSTPONED TO THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

JUNE 1983 --- REAGAN ANNOUNCES CHANGES IN U.S. S.T.A.R.T. NEGOTIATING POSITION DESIGNED TO INCREASE FLEXIBILITY AT THE S.T.A.R.T. TALKS:

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1) RELAXATION OF PROPOSAL LIMITING EACH SIDE TO TOTAL OF 850 BALLISTIC MISSILES; LIMIT OF 5,000 BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS FOR EACH SIDE WOULD REMAIN AS CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL.

2) AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS ALL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, RATHER THAN LIMITING THE FIRST PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS TO BALLISTIC MISSILES.

3) AN EQUAL CEILING FOR BOTH SIDES ON THE NUMBER OF HEAVY BOMBERS AND CRUISE MISSILES CARRIED BY BOMBERS BELOW THE NUMBER ALLOWED IN THE SALT II TREATY.

4) AN OFFER TO EXPLORE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO LIMIT THE DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY AND POTENTIAL OF BALLISTIC MISSILES. U.S. NOTES THAT SOVIET PROPOSALS ARE INSUFFICIENT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESS LAND-BASED INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES, WHICH ARE THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS, NOR DO THEY CALL FOR SUFFICIENTLY SIGNIFICANT CUTS.

OCTOBER 1983 --- U.S. INCORPORATES THE "BUILD-DOWN" CONCEPT INTO ITS NEGOTIATING POSITION ON BALLISTIC MISSILES BY PROPOSING:

1) LINKING REDUCTIONS TO MODERNIZATION BY USING VARIABLE RATIOS WHICH IDENTIFY HOW MANY EXISTING NUCLEAR WARHEADS MUST BE WITHDRAWN AS NEW WARHEADS ARE DEPLOYED.

2) PROVISION FOR A GUARANTEED ANNUAL PERCENTAGE BUILD-DOWN OF APPROXIMATELY FIVE PERCENT.

3) A PROVISION WHICH INSURES THAT REDUCTIONS WOULD BE PACED BY WHICHEVER OF THE TWO ABOVE PROVISIONS WOULD PRODUCE THE GREATER REDUCTIONS.

--- IN ADDITION, U.S. PROPOSES TO DISCUSS CONCURRENTLY A BUILD-DOWN OF BOMBERS; ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES AND U.S. ADVANTAGES IN BOMBERS, IN WAYS THAT PROVIDE MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY FOR EACH SIDE CONSISTENT WITH MOVEMENT TOWARD A MORE STABLE BALANCE OF FORCES.

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USSR

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1982 --- SOVIET UNION CRITICIZES U.S. PROPOSALS AS SEEKING TO LIMIT THEIR LAND-BASED SYSTEMS WHILE NOT SUFFICIENTLY CONSTRAINING U.S. BOMBERS AND CRUISE MISSILES.

JUNE 1982 --- FIRST ROUND OF S.Y.A.R.T. TALKS. USSR PROPOSES THAT EACH SIDE BE ALLOWED AN AGGREGATE OF 1,800 STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES (ICBM LAUNCHERS, SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS, AND STRATEGIC BOMBERS). SOVIETS ALSO PROPOSE AN UNDEFINED AGGREGATE LIMIT ON "NUCLEAR CHARGES" (MISSILE WARHEADS AND BOMBER WEAPONS). SOVIETS PROPOSE BAN ON ALL CRUISE MISSILES WITH RANGES IN EXCESS OF 300 KILOMETERS.

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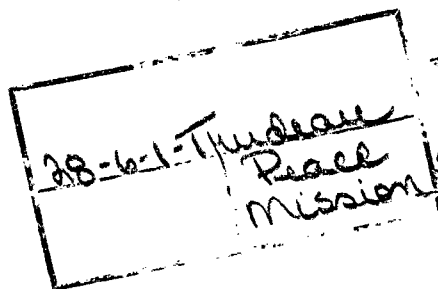
SUMMER 1983 -- FOURTH ROUND OF S.T.A.R.T. TALKS. USSR ADJUSTS ITS POSITION TO CONFORM MORE CLOSELY TO U.S. POSITION ON SOME SECONDARY ISSUES.

OCTOBER 1983 -- AUTHORITATIVE UNSIGNED "PRAVDA" ARTICLE CRITICIZES THE U.S. "BUILD-DOWN" PROPOSAL, BECAUSE IT WOULD UNFAIRLY CONSTRAIN SOVIET ICBMS.

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S E C R E T

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DISTR MINA DMF IDA RCR RBR ZSI ZSP CPD RGX IDRL IDRA IDDZ IFB
---INF NEGOTIATIONS:NITZE BRIEFING TO COUNCIL 25NOV
SUMMARY:CHIEF USA INF NEGOTIATOR NITZE BRIEFED COUNCIL 25NOV ON
SOVIET DISCONTINUANCE OF INF NEGOTIATING ROUND 23NOV AND EVENTS
LEADING UP TO IT.HE MADE CLEAR RUSSIANS SIMPLY COULD NOT/NOT BRING
THEMSELVES TO ACCEPT ANY AGMT THAT WOULD, IN THEIR EYES,BLESS
DEPLOYMENT OF EVEN SINGLE USA LRINF MISSILE IN EUROPE.IT WAS NOT/NOT
CLEAR TO NITZE WHETHER RUSSIANS WOULD SEEK NOW TO MERGE INF WITH
START BUT HE CLEARLY WOULD NOT/NOT FAVOUR SUCH A COURSE.PORION OF
USA INF DEL WILL REMAIN IN GENEV TO DEMONSTRATE USA READINESS TO
RESUME NEGS AT ANY TIME;ENTIRE SOVIET DE DEPARTS FOR MOSCO 26NOV.
(FULL TEXT OF NITZE PRESENTATION BY BAG TOGETHER WITH ADDENDUM
OUTLINING IN MORE DETAIL EVOLUTION OF NEGOTIATIONS.)
2.REPORT:NITZE REVIEWED SOVIET AND USA STATEMENTS IN NEGS 23NOV.
SUBSTANCE OF THESE STATEMENTS RE SOVEIT DISCONTINUANCE OF ROUND
AND USA REGRET ARE FAMILIAR TO YOU.NITZE ALSO REVIEWED DEVELOPMENTS
IN NEGS SINCE GLITMAN BRIEFING TO COUNCIL 14OCT(SEE OURTEL YBGR6987
17OCT).HERE AGAIN DETAILS WILL BE FAMILIAR TO YOU ON BASIS OF SCG
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AND OTHER REPORTS SINCE THEN.

3.NITZE MENTIONED MEETING PRIVATELY WITH SOVIET NEGOTIATOR
KVITSINSKIY SEVERAL TIMES DURING CURRENT ROUND.IN ADDN TO
DISCUSSING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FORMAL POSITIONS OF TWO SIDES,THEY
DISCUSSED IN THESE PRIVATE TALKS ADDL POTENTIAL WAYS OF BRINGING TWO
SIDES TOGETHER,NAMELY NITZE/KVITSINSKIY(A)QUOTE REVISITED IF ONLY
BRIEFLY UNQUOTE WALK-IN-THE-WOODS JOINT PACKAGE;(B)DISCUSSED SOVIET
REFS TO AN APPROACH THAT WOULD RESULT IN 54 SS20S VS NO/NO USA
DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE;(C)KVITSINSKIY RAISED POSSIBILITY OF REACHING
AGMT BY EQUAL REDUCTIONS.RE WALK-IN-THE-WOODS PACKAGE,NITZE TOLD
KVITSINSKIY HE HAD HEARD SOME SOVIET SPOKESMEN WERE QUOTE AS SAYING
PACKAGE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE AS BASIS FOR NEGS IF USA FORMALLY
PROPOSED IT.KVITSINSKIY STATED THAT SOME ON SOVIET SIDE WERE SPEAKING
OUT OF TURN AND THAT,EVEN IF PROPOSED BY USA,MOSCO WOULD REJECT
WALK-IN-THE-WOODS PACKAGE IN ITS ENTIRETY.RE 54 TO ZERO FORMULA,
NITZE TOLD KVITSINSKIY HE HAD HEARD THIS APPROACH HAD BEEN SUGGESTED
BY CERTAIN SOVIET SPOKESMEN.KVITSINSKIY REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO/NO
SUBSTANCE TO WHAT THOSE PEOPLE WERE SAYING BECAUSE SOVIET MILITARY
WOULD NOT/NOT THINK OF ACCEPTING A NUMBER AS LOW AS 54.EQUAL
REDUCTIONS APPROACH WAS INITIALLY RAISED BY KVITSINSKIY IN AN
INFORMAL CONVERSATION 26OCT.HE SUGGESTED USA PROPOSE BOTH SIDES
AGREE TO REDUCE BY 572 WARHEADS AND SAID THIS WOULD LEAVE USSR WITH
APPROX 120 SS20S AND NO/NO USA DEPLOYMENTS.FURTHERMORE,KVITSINSKIY
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SA IT COULD BE COUPLED WITH AN AGMT TO DEAL WITH UK AND FRENCH FORCES IN FUTURE NEGS. NITZE INFORMED THAT INS SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS HE ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN CLARIFICATION OF THIS INFORMAL SUGGESTION. THEN, AT PRIVATE MTG 13NOV KVITSINSKIY INFORMED NITZE THAT HE HAD RECD INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCO THE NIGHT BEFORE OFFICIALLY AUTHORIZING HIM TO SAY THAT IF USA WERE FORMALLY TO PROPOSE EQUAL REDUCTIONS OF 572 WARHEADS IN EUROPE RUSSIANS WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT. DETAILS OF IDEAS ADVANCED BY KVITSINSKIY AT 13NOV MTG WILL BE FAMILIAR TO YOU AS WELL AS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS BETWEEN THEN AND 23NOV DISCONTINUANCE OF INF NEGOTIATING ROUND. ONLY NEW ELABORATION IN THIS REGARD WAS NITZE COMMENT THAT ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS HE MET WITH KVITSINSKIY 19NOV AND HANDED OVER PAPER EXPLAINING WHY SOVIET EQUAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE. 4. NITZE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT WHILE PLENARY AND PRIVATE DISCUSSION DURING LATEST ROUND DID NOT/NOT LEAD TO DEFINITIVE SOLUTION, THEY DID SUCCEED IN NARROWING DIFFERENCES ON IMPORTANT ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF CONVERGENCE RE GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE OF NEGS AND ON LIMITATION ON LRINF NUCLEAR CAPABLE AIRCRAFT, ALTHOUGH POSNS OF BOTH SIDES REMAINED UNAGREED. SOVIET INITIATIVE OF 13NOV INDICATED RUSSIANS WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN OUTCOME BASED ON AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT RATIONALE FOR ISSUE OF UK/FRENCH FORCES COMPENSATION, PROVIDED IT SIMILARLY RESULTED IN LARGE SS20 FORCE IN EUROPE AND NO/NO USA DEPLOYMENTS. CRUCIAL ISSUE
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BETWEEN BOTH SIDES THUS REMAINED THAT OF CONTINUING MONOPOLY OF SOVIET LRINF MISSILE FORCES IN EUROPE. IN ADDENDUM TO NITZE PREPARED TEXT, HE CONCLUDED THAT ABSENCE FROM 13NOV INITIATIVE OF EXPLICIT COMPENSATION FOR UK/FRENCH FORCES IN INF SUPPORTED USA VIEW THAT PAST SOVIET INSISTENCE ON THIS WAS ONLY A PRETEXT FOR MAINTAINING INF MONOPOLY. MOREOVER, MANNER IN WHICH RUSSIANS ADVANCED IDEA AND THEN ATTRIBUTED IT TO USA SERVED ONLY TO CALL INTO QUESTION SERIOUSNESS OF SOVIET NEGOTIATING APPROACH THUS FAR IN NEGS. 5. FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS EMERGED FROM SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION: PART OF USA INF DEL WILL REMAIN IN GENEV TO DEMONSTRATE READINESS TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS AT ANY TIME. ENTIRE SOVIET DEL DEPARTS FOR MOSCO 26NOV. 6. KVITSINSKIY WAS CAREFUL TO LEAVE OPEN CONTINUATION OF INF TALKS OR THEIR MERGER WITH START. HE DID NOT/NOT INDICATE IN ANY WAY THAT THEY SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO START. NITZE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THERE WAS DIVIDED OPINION ON SUBJ IN MOSCO AND RUSSIANS HAD NOT/NOT MADE UP THEIR MINDS WHAT TO DO. USA DEPUTY INF NEGOTIATOR GLITMAN POINTED OUT HOWEVER THAT IN START RUSSIANS HAD LAID GROUNDWORK FOR POSSIBLE MERGER BY INCLUDING IN THEIR NEGOTIATING POSN, BAN ON GLCM, REFERENCE TO PII AS STRATEGIC, AND CALL FOR AGMT NOT/NOT PLACE STRATEGIC MISSILES IN THIRD COUNTRIES FROM WHERE THEY COULD REACH EITHER COUNTRY. 7. NITZE SAID NOTHING WAS TO BE DEDUCED FROM CURRENT START ROUND
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ENDING DURING WEEK BEGINNING 27NOV, SINCE IT NORMALLY WOULD CONCLUDE THEN. USA HAD SUGGESTED IT CONCLUDE 29NOV, RUSSIANS HAD TALKED ABOUT LATER SO THEY MAY AGREE ON 01DEC. SHOULD RUSSIANS ANNOUNCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT/NOT AGREE TO RESUMPTION DATE WOULD HOWEVER REPRESENT CHANGE.

8. NITZE WAS ASKED HOW USA WOULD REACT IF RUSSIAN START NEGOTIATORS SOUGHT INCREASINGLY TO DISCUSS INF IN THAT FORUM. HE SAID THIS WOULD NOT/NOT BE HARD TO HANDLE; IT WOULD BE EASY TO SAY INF ISSUES WERE MATTERS FOR ANOTHER NEGOTIATION. RUSSIANS REGARDED ANY SYSTEM THAT COULD STRIKE OTHER SIDE AS STRATEGIC. THE CONCEPT OF MERGER WORRIED NITZE VERY MUCH SINCE RUSSIANS WOULD ON THAT BASIS FEEL THEIR POSN WAS RIGHT AND HENCE, ONLY CHOOSE TO DISCUSS SYSTEMS THAT COULD REACH SOVIET TERRITORY, IE USA FORWARD-BASED AIRCRAFT, GLCM, PII, UK/FRENCH FORCES WHILE EXCLUDING COMPARABLE AND OTHER SOVIET SYSTEMS TARGETTED ON EUROPE ON BASIS THAT THEY COULD NOT/NOT REACH USA. HE SAID ON THIS BASIS USA SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION IN INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE SYSTEMS BECAUSE OF THE IMBALANCE, BASED ON SOVIET DEFINITION OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, IN EUROPE. NITZE SPOKE OF STRAIGHTFORWARD BALANCE REPRESENTED BY TWO SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS-USA/USSR BALANCE IN LRINF IN INF TALKS AND USA/USSR BALANCE IN INTER-CONTINENTAL RANGE SYSTEMS IN START.

9. WHILE KVITSINSKIY HAD MADE REFS TO MILITARY COUNTERMEASURES HE WAS CAREFUL NOT/NOT TO GET INTO DETAILS. ASKED IF PROPOSED SOVIET MILITARY ...6

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COUNTERMEASURES WOULD AFFECT STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUM NITZE SAID THAT IT WAS NOT/NOT CLEAR WHAT SYSTEMS RUSSIANS HAD IN MIND TO DEPLOY ON SUBMARINES OFF USA COAST. DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET SLCM, WHILE POSING CERTAIN PROBLEM, WOULD NOT/NOT REPRESENT CHANGE IN KIND OF PROBLEM USA ALREADY FACED, IE THREAT FROM SOVIET SUBMARINE MISSILES. NITZE SAID SOME HAD SAID RUSSIANS WOULD DEPLOY 572 ADDITIONAL WARHEADS IN EUROPE DIRECTED AGAINST EUROPEAN TARGETS AND 572 WARHEADS AGAINST USA. HOWEVER, WHEN ONE CONSIDERED 10,000-20,000 SOVIET WARHEADS ALREADY THREATENING USA, ADDITIONAL 572 DID NOT/NOT SUBSTANTIALLY ALTER STRATEGIC SITUATION.

10. OUR QUERY WHETHER NITZE CONSIDERED RUSSIANS SAW IN IT THEIR INTEREST TO REACH INF AGMT ELICITED INTERESTING REPLY. NITZE IMPRESSION WAS THAT DURING FIRST YEAR OF NEGOTIATIONS USSR WAS EXPLORING WHETHER OR NOT/NOT SOME POSSIBILITY OF AGMT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST. SINCE 1982, PRIOR TO WALK-IN-THE-WOODS, HOWEVER, USSR HAD BIG REVIEW AND CONCLUDED IT WOULD RATHER SEE USA DEPLOY IN ABSENCE OF AGMT THAN ACCEPT AGMT WHICH BLESSED USA DEPLOYMENTS. HENCE DURING LAST 16 MONTHS USSR WAS OPERATING ON BASIS OF THAT POLITICAL DECISION, HOPING TO UNDERMINE EUROPEAN AND USA SUPPORT FOR DEPLOYMENT, AND NOT/NOT WITH INTENT OF GETTING AGMT ON ANY OTHER BASIS. KVITSINSKIY HAD TOLD NITZE SOME TIME AGO OF THREE POLITICAL IMPERATIVES WHY USSR COULD NOT/NOT BLESS DEPLOYMENT OF SINGLE USA LRINF MISSILE IN EUROPE: (A) IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE IN MOSCO, IN BUREAUCRATIC TERMS

...7

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PAGE SEVEN YBGR7134 SECRET

OF ARRIVING AT SUCH A DECISION;(B)IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE VIS-A-VIS WPO ALLIES(DESPITE NITZES COMMENT THAT MANY OF THEM DID NOT/NOT SEEM TO WANT DEPLOYMENTS)AND(C)IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE IN TERMS OF USSR FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES BEYOND WPO, IE PEACH MOVEMENT AND COMMUNIST PARTIES.

11.NITZE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO INTERPRET WHAT WAS BEHIND SOVIET ADVANCEMENT AND THEN DISOWNMENT OF 13NOV INITIATIVE.HE SUGGESTED THREE POSSIBILITIES,WITH HIM PERSONALLY GIVING MOST WEIGHT TO SECOND OF THEM:(A)IT MAY REPRESENT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF MOSCO DECISION-MAKING APPARATUS.PERHAPS CIVILIAN ELEMENTS FOUND IT EASIER TO GET CONSENSUS TO AUTHORIZE 13NOV INITIATIVE ON BASIS OF KVITSINSKIY MISREPRESENTATION OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED UP TO THEN IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH NITZE.ATTRIBUTION OF IDEAS TO NITZE,ONCE REJECTED BY USA,COULD THEN BE USED TO PORTRAY APPARENT SPLIT BETWEEN NITZE AND WSHDC.(B)NITZE SPOKE OF STRUCTURAL PROBLEM IN NEGNS WHEREBY EITHER SIDE ALWAYS HAD TO GUARD AGAINST MAKING CONCESSIONS WITH AIM OF MOVING NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD ONLY TO HAVE OTHER SIDE POCKET CONCESSIONS WITHOUT ANY RECIPROCAL COMPROMISE.THIS HAD HAPPENDED FREQUENTLY IN SALT I AND II.HENCE NITZE HAD CONCLUDED BEFORE WALK-IN-WOODS THAT ONLY IF OVERALL PACKAGE COULD BE WORKED OUT AND CONCURRENT AGMT TO IT IN TOTO COULD PITFALLS BE AVOIDED.(HE SAID BY THE WAY THAT WALK-IN-WOODS FORMULA CAME CLOSER THAN ANYTHING ELSE

...8

PAGE EIGHT YBGR7134 SECRET

DONE IN GENEV INF NEGS).SOVIET REJECTION OF THE UK/FRENCH FORCES RATIONALE AND THEIR SWITCH TO THE EQUAL REDUCTIONS APPROACH(WHICH UNTIL THEN HAD NOT/NOT BEEN USED BY RUSSIANS)IN THE 13NOV INITIATIVE EXPOSED CLEARLY RUSSIAN INTEREST IN ONE-SIDED OUTCOME. GIVEN THAT USA WAS APT TO POCKET SOVIET ABANDONMENT OF UK/FRENCH FORCES RATIONALE,RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE TO IMMEDIATELY DISOWN IDEA IF IT APPEARED DOUBTFUL OFFER WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY USA.(C)PERHAPS ENTIRE OPERATION WAS DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE BUNDESTAG INF DEBATE IN HOPE USA WOULD NOT/NOT HAVE FULLY INFORMED ALLIES OF SOVIET INITIATIVE,NOTABLY FRG,IN GOOD TIME SO FRG OPPOSITION COULD CLAIM IMPROPER THINGS WERE GOING ON BEHIND FRG BACK AND HENCE REINFORCE THEIR DEMAND FOR POSTPONEMENT IN DEPLOYMENTS.

12.NITZE DID NOT/NOT SEE CLEAR LINK BETWEEN CEAUSESCU PROPOSAL TO EXCLUDE UK/FRENCH FORCES ISSUE FROM INF NEGOTIATIONS AND SOVIET 13 INITIATIVE.

13.NITZE CONSIDERED THAT RUSSIANS HAD COME TO UNDERSTAND WEIGHT OF ALLIANCE POSN RE INAPPROPRIATENESS OF INCLUDING UK/FRENCH FORCES IN INF NEGOTIATIONS,BOTH ON BASIS OF INTRINSIC ARGUMENTS AND POLITICAL REALITIES.HENCE RUSSIANS REALIZED THEY WERE ON A BAD WICKET ON THIS, WITHOUT OF COURSE ACKNOWLEDGING THIS FACT.

CCC/054 251632Z YBGR7134

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

Rec'd 1.15 p.m. 25/11/83
Division Phoned _____

Person _____

Local Time _____

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

FM MOSCO XYGR9907 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT/EDDZ DELIVER BY 251200

INFO DELHI/PMDEL DELIVER BY 252100 BNATO-WSHDC PRMNY PEKIN BRU

BREEC LDN PARIS BONN ROME TOKYO NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DG PCOOTT PMOOTT

DISTR MINA MINE MINT DMF IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI RBR RBD

---PMS INITIATIVE:PEARSON VISIT TO MOSCO 24-26NOV

PEARSON WAS FORMALLY WELL RECEIVED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES.OFFICIAL MTGS INCLUDED TWO-HOUR MORNING SESSION WITH FIRST DEPUTY FM KORNIENKO ASSISTED BY MFA SECOND EUROPEAN DEPT CONTINGENT LED BY DEPT HEAD SUSLOV.OFFICIAL LUNCH WAS HOSTED BY DEPUTY FM RYZHOV.LATTER ALSO ATTENDED FORTYFIVE MINUTE AFTERNOON MTG WITH FM GROMYKO.

2.ATMOSPHERE AT ALL MTGS WAS COURTEOUS,OPEN,EVEN FRIENDLY.IT WAS OBVIOUS SOVIET INTERLOCUTORS HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED PMS TWO MAJOR SPEECHES AND OTHER RELATED PUBLIC STATEMENTS.KORNIENKO WAS NOTABLY ATTENTIVE TO PEARSONS PRESENTATION OF RATIONAL FOR PMS INITIATIVE AS WELL AS TO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS/IDEAS WHICH PM HAS PUT FORWARD,IN HIS RESPONSE,KORNIENKO EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF AND SYMPATHY FOR OR REASONS FOR PMS INITIATIVE.WHILE AVOIDING HYPERBOLIC LANGUAGE, KORNIENKO STRESSED THAT QUOTE BASIS UNQUOTE AND ORIENTATION OF WSHDC POLICIES MUST CHANGE IF CONTACTS AT HIGH AND HIGHEST LEVELS WERE TO BE PRODUCTIVE.USSR WAS NOT/NOT INTERESTED IN TALK FOR SAKE OF TALK;MTGS AND CONTACTS COULD BE USEFUL ONLY IF SIDES INVOLVED HAD GENUINE INTEREST IN REACHING DECISIONS AND AGREEMENTS IN SPIRIT OF MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION.SUCH SPIRIT,WHICH KORNIENKO SAID HE SENSED

...2

PAGE TWO XYGR9907 CONF

AT OUR MTG, WAS TOTALLY ABSENT IN THEIR MTGS WITH USA OFFICIALS. ON ALL ELEMENTS OF PMS INITIATIVE KORNIENKO WAS STUDIOUSLY NON-COMMITTAL. HE EXPLICITLY SAID HE WAS QUOTE NOT/NOT SAYING NO/NO UNQUOTE TO ANY OF PMS IDEAS; HE WAS NOT/NOT AUTHORIZED TO SAY EITHER YES OR NO/NO AND WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO EXPLAIN PERSPECTIVE FROM WHICH SOVIETS WOULD CONSIDER THEM.

3. GROMYKO WAS IN GOOD FORM: RELAXED AND ALMOST VOLUBLE. BUT ON SUBSTANCE OF PMS PROPOSALS HE WAS VERY CAREFUL AND SOMETIMES NEGATIVE. IN MORE NEGATIVE TONE THAN KORNIENKO HE DECLARED THAT USSR EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH REAGAN ADMIN HAD SHOWN USELESSNESS OF TALKS AT ANY LEVEL. USA TOO OFTEN USED SUCH TALKS AS SCREEN OR COVERUP FOR THEIR OWN QUOTE VERY MATERIAL UNQUOTE MILITARY ACTIONS. (IN ADDITION TO MX AND EUROMISSILES, HE CITED USA ACTIONS IN LEBANON, NICARAGUA, GRENADA.) HE REGISTERED SOVIET QUOTE DEEP REGRET UNQUOTE THAT CDA WAS AMONG THOSE SUPPORTING DEPLOYMENT OF NEW USA NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. RE FIVE-POWER NUCLEAR CONF IDEA, WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD WAS BEING FLOATED AS IDEA RATHER THAN FORMAL PROPOSAL, HE WAS RESERVED THOUGH HE DID NOT/NOT SPECIFICALLY REJECT CONCEPT, HE IMPLIED THAT IF BILATERAL NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS PRODUCED X COLLISIONS AND DISAGREEMENTS, FIVE-POWER CONF MIGHT PRODUCE FIVE TIMES X COLLISIONS. ON HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AT STOCKHOLM CDE OPENING AND AT MBFR HE WAS NON COMMITTAL, BUT LEANING NEGATIVE. RE POSSIBLE VISIT BY PM TO USSR HE WAS ESPECIALLY CAUTIOUS. HE REAFFIRMED SOVIET

...3

PAGE THREE XYGR9907 CONF

INVITATION. HE HAD WORDS OF HIGH PRAISE FOR PM TRUDEAU AS PERSON AND EXPERIENCED STATESMAN. BUT HE SAID THAT QUESTION OF TIMING OF ANY VISIT MUST BE LEFT OPEN FOR TIME BEING.

4. WE SUSPECT SEVERAL INTERRELATED FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR OVERALL NON-COMMITTAL SOVIET REACTION AT THIS TIME TO PMS INITIATIVE AND RELATED IDEAS: (A) IMMEDIATE PREOCCUPATION WITH HANDLING FALLOUT FROM TERMINATION OF INF TALKS (B) UNCERTAINTY ABOUT ANDROPOV'S PRESENT AND FUTURE HEALTH (C) PREPARATIONS FOR PARTY PLENUM AND SUPREME SOVIET SESSION WHICH NOW SEEM CERTAIN TO BE HELD IN MID OR LATE DEC; AND (D) INSTINCTIVELY CAUTIOUS SOVIET APPROACH TO ALL NEW IDEAS, PARTICULARLY ANY WITH MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE IMPLICATIONS. PEARSON MENTIONED THAT PM WOULD PROBABLY BE GOING TO PEKIN THIS WEEKEND AND WOULD WITHIN NEXT MONTH OR SO PROBABLY HAVE VISITED LEADERS OF ALL NUCLEAR POWERS EXCEPT USSR. SUCH INFO MAY HELP FOCUS SOVIET MINDS ON VISIT PROSPECTS BUT AT MOMENT, EARLY, CLEAR SIGNALS ON TIMING FOR ANY VISIT SEEM UNLIKELY.

5. SUBSEQUENT INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH SOV OFFICIALS MADE CLEAR THAT ANDROPOV FACTOR IS MAJOR SOURCE OF UNCERTAINTY, AND THAT FOR THIS REASON, NO/NO CLEAR SIGNALS ON TIMING OF POSSIBLE VISIT ARE LIKELY IN NEAR FUTURE.

6. MORE DETAILED REPORT TO FOLLOW.

CCC/144 251700Z XYGR9907

28-6-1- Trudeau Peace
mission

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

FM BNATO YBGR7131 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR

INFO CANMILREPNATO BRU PMDEL/DELHI BUCST WSHDC LDN PARIS PCOOTT/
FOWLER BONN TOKYO PEKIN PRMNY WSAW PRGUE BGRAD BPEST MOSCO COPEN
GENEV HSNKI LSBON STKHM HAGUE VIENN ROME NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/DGIS/
DMPOL/CPD/DNACPOL/CORAE/DSTRATA/CIS

DISTR MINA DMF RBR RBD RGB RSD RBRD IDA ZSP ZSI FPR RBP

REF OURTEL YBGR7091 08NOV

---INF DEPLOYMENT:CEAUSESCU POSITION

FRG DEL INFORMED 22NOV THAT CHANCELLOR KOHL WILL RESPOND TO
CEAUSESCU LET OF 04NOV ON BASIS OF FOLLWOING ELEMENTS:

2.QUOTE

(A)THE PROPOSAL MADE IN THE LETTER THAT THE SOVIET UNION
SHOULD GIVE UP ITS DEMAND FOR THE INCLUSION OF THE
BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS IN THE INF NEGOTIATIONS
IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE.IF THIS DEMAND WERE IN
FACT DROPPED,THIS COULD CLEAR THE WAY TO EARLY
AGREEMENT IN GENEVA.

(B)IT IS NOT/NOT CONSISTENT THAT,AT THE SAME TIME,
CFAUSESCU ADVOCATES THAT THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT
OF US INF IN EUROPE SHOULD BE POSTPONED.SUCH A
POSTPONEMENT WOULD REDUCE THE CHANCES FOR A BALANCED
AGREEMENT.

(C)THE FACT THAT DEPLOYMENT IS ABOUT TO BEGIN DOES NOT/NOT

...2

PAGE TWO YRGR7131 CONF

RENDER A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

MR CEAUSESCUS ATTENTION WILL BE DRAWN TO THE
CORRESPONDING STATEMENTS BY THE ALLIANCE ON THE CON-
TINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE WESTERN READI-
NESS TO REMOVE SYSTEMS AFTER THEIR DEPLOYMENT.

(D)THERE WILL BE A POSITIVE COMMENT ON THE PROPOSAL
FOR A US-SOVIET SUMMIT MEETING.

(F)ON THE OTHER HAND,A MEETING OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES
OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT HARDLY APPEARS SUITABLE
TO PRODUCE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO AGREEMENT ON INF.

(F)THE DEPLOYMENT OF US INF IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE NON-
PROLIFERATION TREATY.

(G)THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS RENOUNCED NUCLEAR
WEAPONS.THIS GIVES US A CLAIM NOT/NOT TO BE THREATENED
BY OTHERS WITH SUCH WEAPONS.THE SOVIET INF REPRESENTS
SUCH A THREAT.

(H)THE LETTER WILL UNDERLINE AGREEMENT IN ONE ESSENTIAL
POINT:THAT THE MUTUAL RENUNCIATION BY THE UNITED
STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OF THE WHOLE WEAPON
CATEGORY OF LAND-BASED LRINF WOULD BE THE BEST
SOLUTION.

UNQUOTE.

CCC/070 251459Z YBGR7131

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace
mission

R E S T R I C T E D

FM EXTOTT IDR4525 25NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI DELIVER BY 260900

INFO BNATO CANMILREPNATO WSHDC BRU MOSCO LDN BONN ROME VMBFR GENEV
PARIS HAGUE OSLO COPEN ATHNS WSAW PRGUE PRMNY PCOOTT/FOWLER/CARON
PMOOTT/AXWORTHY NDHQOTT/ADM POL/DACPOL/DNACPOL/CPD/DSTRATA/CIS
DISTR IDD IDRA IDRL IFB MINE MINE MINT USS DMF IDA RBR RCR RSR RBD
RCD RSDCPD ZSICSP URR URT URE LCD LSD IDDZ FPR
REF OURTEL IDR4491 24NOV

---INF:SUSPENSION OF TALKS:ANDROPOV LET TO PM

DURING CALL ON RBD,SOVIET CHARGE D AFFAIRES NOVIKOV(WHO HAD BEEN
CALLED IN TO RECEIVE NOTE ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION),DELIVERED LET TO
PM ON SUSPENSION OF INF NEGOTIATIONS.TEXT FOLLOWS:ASSUME YOU NOW HAVE
TEXT OF ANDROPOV 24NOV STATEMENT TO WHICH LET REFERS.

2.TEXT BEGINS.QUOTE

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

I AM WRITING TO YOU IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE
GOVERNMENTS OF THE FRG,BRITAIN AND ITALY TO START THE DEPLOYMENT
OF US MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES ON THEIR TERRITORIES.

OUR POLITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THIS STEP,AS WELL AS INFORMATION ON
THE RETALIATORY STEPS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL HAVE TO TAKE,ARE
PROVIDED IN THE ATTACHED STATEMENT.

IT MAY BE ONLY REGRETTE THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ABOVE COUNTRIES
HAVE MADE TOGETHER WITH THE USA A CHOICE LEADING TO ACCELERATION OF

...2

PAGE TWO IDR4525 RESTR

TENSIONS, TO A NEW, EXTREMELY DANGEROUS ROUND OF THE ARMS RACE. AND IT WAS DONE WITH GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE ENSUING CONSEQUENCES.

BOTH MILITARY-STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY UPSET. THE SOVIET UNION WILL NATURALLY DRAW NECESSARY CONCLUSIONS FOR ITS POLICY FROM THIS DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL.

WE WOULDNT LIKE HOWEVER TO VIEW THE PRESENT SITUATION AS IRREVERSIBLE. IF A DIFFERENT, MORE REALISTIC APPROACH TO SECURITY ISSUES TAKES THE UPPER HAND IN THE WEST, IF IT DISPLAYS WILLINGNESS TO RESTORE THE SITUATION THAT EXISTED BEFORE THE DEPLOYMENT OF US MISSILES IN EUROPE, THIS WOULD HAVE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE ON OUR PART.

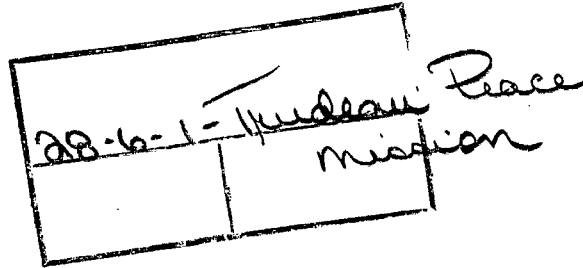
WITH RESPECT,

Y. ANDROPOV

NOVEMBER 24, 1983

UNQUOTE. TEXT ENDS.

CCC/Ø14 252339Z IDR4525



S E C R E T

FM EXTOTT IDR4502 25NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI

INFO BNATO CANMILREPNATO WSHDC BRU MOSCO LDN BONN ROME VMBFR GENEV
PARIS HAGUE OSLO COPEN ATHNS WSAW PRGUE PRMNY PCOOTT/FOWLER/AXWORTHY
NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/DACPOL/DNACPOL/PPP/DSTRATA/CIS

DISTR IDD IDRA IDRL IFB MINA MINE MINT USS DMF IDA RBR RCR RSR RBD
RCD RSD CPD ZSI CSP URR URT URE LCD LSD LIDDZ FPR

REF OURTEL IDR4491 24NOV

---INF:SUSPENSION OF TALKS:ANDROPOV STATEMENT 24NOV

AT ORIGINATORS REQUEST,CORRECT FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA3 REFTTEL TO
READ QUOTE ANDRCPOV STATEMENT,IN DESCRIBING CONTINUATION OF TALKS
AS IMPOSSIBLE,IS TOUGHER THAN THAT OF SOVIET NEGOTIATOR,BUT REPEATS
LANGUAGE HE USED IN 26OCT PRAVDA INTERVIEW.

CCC/202 251955Z IDR4502

C O N F I D E N T I A L
FM BUCST UYGR3039 25NOV83
TO EXTOTT RBR

28-6-1 - *Thudreau Peace Mission*

INFO LDN PARIS MDRID LSBON BONN ROME-ATHNS ANKRA COPEN OSLO BRU HAGUE
WSHDC MOSCO BNATO GENEV TOKYO WSAW BPEST PRGUE BGRAD STKHM CNBRA
HSNKI/CDEDEL WLGTN VIENN DELHI PEKIN PCOOTT/FOWLER NDHQOTT/MND/CIS/
ADMPOL/CPD/DGIS PRMNY VMBFR

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB UGB URR RGB RSD RSR RCD RCR RBD FPR IDD IDR

IDA IDDZ RBRD IDX ZSP RBP ZSI

REF OURTEL UYGR2967 22NOV YOURTEL RBR0652 23NOV

---INF NEW ROM INITIATIVE(SUITE)

IN TRANSMITTING THEIR POSITIVE RESPONSES TO ROMS, FELLOW NATO AMBS
(DUTCH, FRG) WERE GIVEN FURTHER INFO ON ENVOYS SLATED TO VISIT NATO
AND WSAW PACT CAPITALS. NOW APPEARS FOUR DISTINCT GRPS OF ENVOYS WILL
DEPART THIS WEEK IF ALL AGMTS TO VISITS RECD. DOLGU HAS ALREADY LEFT
FOR MOSCO AND EVEN IF AMERICANS NOW GIVE POSITIVE ANSWER UNLIKELY
HE CAN LEAVE FOR NORTH AMERICA BEFORE NEXT WEEK. SECOND GRP HEADED BY
AMB BRAD (PRESENT HEAD OF INFO AND CULT MFA AND PREVIOUS AMB TO ATHNS)
ALREADY LEFT, VISITING ATHNS 24NOV, BONN 25NOV BRU 27NOV AND ITALY
29-30NOV. THIRD GRP HEADED BY AMB GEORGIO SLATED TO VISIT SPAIN AND
PORTUGAL. FOURTH GRP APPARENTLY STILL BEING FORMED.

2. FRG STILL APPEARS ONLY STRONG SUPPORTER OF INITIATIVE. MTG OF DEL
WITH AMB RUTH AND RUTHS SLATED RETURN VISIT IN DEC APPEARS TO HAVE
DOSE OF POSTURING FOR INTERNAL FRG POLITICS. DEPLOYMENT OF INF ALONG

...2

PAGE TWO UYGR3039 CONF

WITH CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS ON NEW INITIATIVE TO HALT ARMS RACE COULD EXPLAIN FRG POSITION.

3. ASIDE FROM DOMESTIC POLITICAL BENEFIT VISIT COULD HAVE FRG BELIEVES INITIATIVE CONTAINS NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ELEMENTS. FIRST, THEY SEE IT AS REQUIRING MORE FROM USSR THAN USA. SECOND, THEY BELIEVE ROMS FEEL THAT THEY ARE NOW BEING PUSHED INTO CORNER AND SOV NUCLEAR ARMS AND TROOPS MIGHT SOON BE SLATED FOR BULGARIA THUS LEAVING ROM AS ONLY WSAW PACT COUNTRY WITHOUT SOV PRESENCE ON ITS TERRITORY. THIRD, THERE IS AMOUNT OF WISHFUL THINKING THAT STRAINS IN WPO CAN BE EXPLOITED AND THUS WIDEN DIVERGENCES BETWEEN ROMS AND USSR. WE HAVE SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

CCC/181 251332Z UYGR3039

WSSCA 11

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UNCLASSIFIED

~~OTT 003/2~~

CHCGO YFCR2977 25NOV83

~~WSH 002/2~~

EXTORT IDDZ

WSHDC - 002/28

UCP URR IDA SCS ZSP ZSL

28-6-1 - Judeau Peace mission 1/2

PMS INITIATIVE

ATTACHED IS ARTICLE QUOTE CRITICAL NUCLEAR TIMES UNQUOTE WHICH
APPEARED IN THE CHCGO TRIBUNE 24NOV83.

P. L
Did you like
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TOP/100
COMMUNICATIONS
NOV 28 15 19 83
CANADIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

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[Signature]
D.E. Lysne

General Relations

(312)
427-1031

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D.E. Lysne

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BEST AVAILABLE COPY

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2/2

Critical nuclear times

C.A.I.C.A.G.O
TRIBUNE
24.11.83

With British and West German parliamentary approval of the first deployment of American cruise and intermediate range Pershing 2 missiles in Europe having resulted in a Soviet walkout from the arms control talks in Geneva, tensions have never been higher over the issue of nuclear arms.

The 236-226 West German Bundestag vote Tuesday in favor of the Pershings was decisive yet dangerously divided, with former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats abandoning him to turn almost en masse against deployment. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is resolute in pressing ahead with deployment but is taking enormous abuse from leftists in her parliament. Mass protest demonstrations in both countries and in Italy continue. The Soviets can only be encouraged—in both their intransigence and their support of the divisive Western European peace movements.

The United States, which a year ago was being roundly criticized for inflexibility, has taken the initiative and continues to offer reasonable compromises and arms reduction plans. But its latest offer, calling for both sides to reduce their European nuclear missile arsenals to a maximum of 420 warheads—a substantial reduction from what is now being put in place—was rejected by the Russians after only 35 minutes of "deliberation."

The Soviets appear to be caught in a paralysis of policy. This is in large part because of the illness and lengthy incapacitation of President Yuri Andropov. It also stems from the fact that the Soviets' overriding interest from the beginning has been in maintaining

Soviet nuclear superiority in Europe, not in arms control or reduction, no matter what vague promises they make to Europeans.

Deployment must now inevitably proceed. It will prompt some dramatic Soviet counter-measures, both in Eastern Europe and the Atlantic. The West is going to go through a tense and dangerous time. The Soviets likely will not be able to resume useful negotiations until they become convinced of the West's seriousness and improve their own moribund internal political situation.

Into this tense situation steps Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who proposes a conference of the world's five major nuclear powers next year aimed at reducing their nuclear arsenals. He claims support for the idea from Brussels, the Hague, Bonn, Paris, London and Rome.

With feelings running as high as they are now, obviously no European leader would publicly come out against such an effort, but it's a monumentally unworkable idea. Britain has indicated that it might be interested in throwing its few submarine missiles into the negotiating pot, but the independence of France's nuclear force, which includes land-based missiles, is a longstanding tenet of French national policy. China's strategic needs are so different and its nuclear force is so overwhelmed by the Soviets' that it could not participate very usefully in Mr. Trudeau's talks.

No breakthrough can come without hard bargaining between the two superpowers. Putting three more chairs at the table will only complicate that.

2/2

28-6-1 - Hussein Peace
Mission

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

FM EXTOTT IMU1995 25NOV83

TO PRMNY GENEV VIENN DELHI/PMDEL/SHENSTONE/STANFORD KWAIT LDN IMMED
INFO BNATO BREEC BERUT TAVIV CAIRO JEDDA AMMAN BGHDD WSHDC MOSCO
PARIS BONN TOKYO PEKIN BDGTN ATHNS ANKRA DELHI PMOOTT/FOWLER
DISTR MINA USS DMF IDF IDD LIDDZ IMD GGB GMD CPD CMR ZSI MGT MGTC
LCD LCR RFB RBD RBR

---PM VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST:UN ISSUES:TRAFFIC

AS YOU MAY KNOW PM ON RETURN FROM CHGOM IN DELHI DEPARTING WED
30NOV 0800 HRS WILL BE VISITING ABU DHABI WED/THUR 30NOV-01DEC,
MUSCAT FOR DAY THUR 01DEC, ABU DHABI FRI 02DEC, BAHRAIN MORNING OF
SAT 03DEC, KUWAIT SAT/SUN 03-04DEC, STOPPING IN LDN SUN 04DEC
ARRIVING IN OTT AFTERNOON MON 05DEC. ONLY MOST URGENT TRAFFIC ALERT-
ING PM DEL TO IMPORTANT UN MATTERS SUCH AS MIDDLE EAST SUBJECTS
SHOULD BE SENT TO PM DEL/ATTN SHENSTONE/STANFORD AS FOLLOWS
(LOCAL TIME):

-DELHI UP UNTIL TUES 29NOV, DELIVER BY 292000

-IN ABSENCE OF CDN MISSION IN ABU DHABI, MUSCAT AND BAHRAIN TRAFFIC
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO QUOTE T.T. PMDEL (COUNTRY) DE OTT UNQUOTE
AND MGTC WILL AUTOMATICALLY FORWARD TO PMDEL UP UNTIL SAT 03DEC
DELIVER BY 030200 OTT TIME. (SHOULD ADDRESS BE OBSOLETE MGTC WILL
AUTOMATICALY SEND TO NEXT POST. BECAUSE OF LIMITED CAPACITY ONLY
EMERGENCY/EMERGENCY TRAFFIC SHOULD USE THIS CHANNEL OTHERWISE IT
SHOULD BE SENT TO KUWAIT FOR PMDEL ARRIVAL.

-KUWAIT UP UNTIL SUN 04DEC, DELIVER BY 040800

-LDN UP UNTIL MON 05DEC DELIVER BY 050900 - OTHERWISE OTT.

CCC/202 252157Z IMU1995

Action

28-6-1-*Trudeau Peace Mission*

UNCLASSIFIED

FM EXTOTT FPR1126 25NOV83

TO DELHI/PM DEL

INFO BNATO WSHDC CNGNY PRMNY MOSCO PEKIN BRU BREC LDN PARIS BONN
ROME TOKYO GENEV NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DG PCOOTT PMOOTT/FOWLER
DISTR MINA MINE MINT DMF DMT IDDZ IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI IDR RBR
---PMS PEACE INIT-CHOGM AND GRENADA

CBC NEWS NOVEMBER 25, 0800-PM PEACE INITIATIVE-CHOGM

CBC:THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL SAYS MR TRUDEAU SHOULD BE
ENCOURAGED BY THE SUPPORT FOR HIS PEACE INITIATIVE FROM OTHER
COMMONWEALTH LEADERS.THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE IN NEW
DELHI HAS ENDED ITS FORMAL SESSIONS TO ALLOW INFORMAL TALKS IN
THE COASTAL RESORT OF GOA.

B KELLEHER:THE COMMONWEALTH LEADERS TAKE ONLY ONE OFFICIAL EACH
WITH THEM TO THEIR CUSTOMARY WEEKEND RETREAT AND IT'S THERE
DURING INFORMAL TALKS THAT THEY USUALLY DECIDE WHAT SHOULD BE
SAID IN THIS FINAL COMMUNIQUE.AS THE LEADERS BROKE UP IN NEW
DELHI TO GO TO GOA,THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL,SONNY
ROMPHAL BRIEFLY MENTIONED PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S PEACE
INITIATIVE,SAYING THERE HAD BEEN SUPPORT AND WELCOME FOR IT,AND MR
TRUDEAU HAD GOOD REASONS TO BE ENCOURAGED.THE SHARP DISAGREEMENT
OVER GRENADA THOUGH WENT PUBLIC TODAY AS PRIME MINISTER EUGENIA
CHARLES OF DOMINICA STRONGLY DEFENDED THE INVASION AT A NEWS
CONFERENCE,SAYING THE GRENADIAN GOVERNOR GENERAL HAD SENT A

...2

PAGE TWO FPR1126 UNCLAS

SECRET MESSAGE BEFORE HAND APPEALING FOR SOMETHING TO BE DONE. PM CHARLES GIVES A NEW REASON WHY CANADA WAS NOT/NOT WARNED IN ADVANCE. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SHE SAYS, WAS NOT/NOT THAT EAGER TO GET INVOLVED AND I ONLY FOUND OUT THAT THEY WOULD GET INVOLVED A FEW HOURS BEFORE THE INVASION BEGAN. THERE WAS JUST NO/NO TIME TO TELL CANADA.

PM CHARLES: QUOTE... I KNEW THAT CANADA WOULD NOT/NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN THE ACTION, BUT THAT WAS NO/NO REASON WHY WE SHOULDN'T INFORM THEM BECAUSE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CANADA AND I THOUGHT THAT ANOTHER PRIME MINISTER HAD INFORMED HIM. I DID MYSELF TRY AND DIDN'T SUCCEED UNQUOTE.

B KELLEHER: EARLIER IT HAD BEEN SAID THAT PM CHARLES COULD NOT/NOT FIND MR. TRUDEAU'S TELEPHONE NUMBER OR THAT CANADA HAD NOT/NOT BEEN CONSULTED BECAUSE IT HAD NEVER BEEN INTERESTED IN CARIBBEAN SECURITY. BRIAN KELLEHER, CBC NEWS, NEW DELHI.

D BUCKLEY-JONES, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, MEDIA RELATIONS DIVISION
UUU/064 251550Z FPR1126

INFO

MF
28

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY
FM PFKIN WJGR0896 25NOV83
TO PMDELDELHI FLASH
INFO MOSCO/PEARSON EXTOTT (IDDZ/DELVOIE IMMEDIATE)
REF OURTEL WJGR0895 24NOV

28-6-1 - Trudeau
Peace
Mission

---PMS VISIT TO CHINA

MFA CALLED ME AT 0830 25NOV TO PROVIDE RESPONSE TO MY ENQUIRY OF
LAST NIGHT ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF PMS AIRCRAFT FLYING RTE DELHI-
BEIJING IE OVER TIBET. MFA OFFICIAL SAID WAS NOT/NOT POSSIBLE TO
APPROVE REQUEST AS THERE WERE NO/NO BEACONS OR NAVIGATIONAL AIDS
ALONG PROPOSED ROUTING AND THEREFORE NO/NO ASSISTANCE COULD BE
OFFERED BY CHINESE AUTHORITIES TO AIRCRAFT. MOREOVER OFFICIAL SAID
TRAVEL VIA ROUTING SUGGESTED BY CHINESE (IE OVERFLYING BURMA) WOULD
NOT/NOT TAKE MUCH LONGER THAN RTE OVERFLYING TIBET.

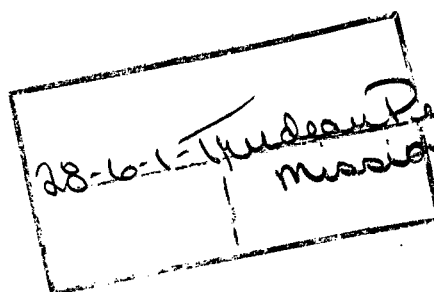
2. I SHOULD ADD THAT MFA IS CONTINUALLY PRESSING US FOR FINAL
DECISION ABOUT ROUTE OF AIRCRAFT IN ORDER THAT APPROPRIATE CIVIL
AND MILITARY AVIATION AUTHORITIES CAN BE ALERTED. ALSO THEY ARE
MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW FINAL DECISION REGARDING SIZE OF PRESS DEL.
BECAUSE OF LIMITED ACCOMMODATION IN PEKING THEY HAVE OTHER DEMANDS
FOR SECOND VILLA AT GOVT GUEST HOUSE THEY ARE HOLDING FOR
JOURNALISTS IT HAS APPROX TWELVE ROOMS EACH WITH TWO BEDS).
PLS LET US KNOW BY RETURN FLASH IF WE SHOULD TAKE IT.

GAUVIN

CCC/002 250245Z WJGR0896

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

Mr. Gossage OK



+ MF

UNCLASSIFIED

FM HAGUE YWGR0771 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO BONN BRU BNATO LDN BREEC ROME PARIS MOSCO PCOOTT/FOWLER
NDHQOTT/MDN/CDS/ADMPOL/CPD

DISTR MINA USS DMF UGB IFB IDD IDR IDA RGB PCD RSR RSD RCP RBE
---DUTCH PRESS REACTION TO PM MONTREAL SPEECH

DUTCH MEDIA REACTION TO PMS SPEECH NOV13 HAS BEEN MINIMAL.
TEXT OF SPEECH AND SUMMARY WERE SENT TO CONTACTS AMONG 25
LARGEST NATIONAL AND REGIONAL DAILIES IN NETHS IN ADDITION
TO NATIONAL WIRE SERVICE, FOREIGN NEWS AGENCY REPS, RADIO AND
TELEVISION. DURING THIS PERIOD, MEDIA ATTENTION WAS LARGELY
FOCUSSED ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRISIS SURROUNDING WIDE-SPREAD
STRIKES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

2. NEVERTHELESS, DUTCH MEDIA STILL RETAINS SOME INTEREST IN PMS
INITIATIVE GENERALLY. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMBER OF REPORTS ON HIS
MTGS IN JAPAN WITH NAKASONE AND ARBATOV AND HIS APPT OF
SPECIAL ENVOY TO MOSCO AND PEKIN.

UUU/155 250937Z YWGR0771

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace
mission

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

FM EXTOTT RBR0687 25NOV83

TO PARIS/FORD DELIVER BY 280900

DISTR IDDZ MINA IDR RBRD

---EAST-WEST RELATIONS:MOSCO PERSPECTIVE

IN PREPARATION FOR NATO MINISTERIAL AND MEETING WITH SHULTZ,
DPM/SSEA HAS ASKED FOR YOUR PERSONAL ANALYSIS OF SOV PERSPECTIVE
ON STATE OF AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN LIGHT
OF COLLAPSE OF INF,PMS INITIATIVE,GENERAL BREAKDOWN IN DIALOGUE
AND GROWING MISTRUST BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS,ETC.

2.FOCUS SHOULD BE ON HOW SOVS LIKELY TO CONDUCT RELATIONS WITH
WEST IN SHORT TO MEDIUM FUTURE;SOV FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS AND
OBJECTIVES,SOVIET INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED EAST-WEST
DIALOGUE,PROSPECTS FOR RETURN TO INF TALKS AND STEPS THEY MAY BE
PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE TO LESSEN EAST-WEST TENSIONS.

3.GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD PREPARE AND FORWARD BY TEL BY 300900.

4.RE CONTRACT:REGRET DELAY BUT WORK IS PROCEEDING.PROPOSAL WILL
BE REVIEWED BY TREASURY BOARD NEXT WEEK.WE HOPE TO HAVE FORMAL
PROPOSAL READY FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION SHORTLY.MANY THANKS FOR
YOUR COOPERATION.

CCC/202 252354Z RBR0687

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

FM EXTOTT RBR0686 25NOV83

TO MOSCO/ROBERTS DELIVER BY 280900

DISTR IDDZ MINA IDR RBRD

---EAST-WEST RELATIONS: MOSCO PERSPECTIVE

IN PREPARATION FOR NATO MINISTERIAL AND MEETING WITH SHULTZ, DPM/SSEA HAS ASKED FOR YOUR PERSONAL ANALYSIS OF SOV PERSPECTIVE ON STATE OF AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN LIGHT OF COLLAPSE OF INF, PMS INITIATIVE, GENERAL BREAKDOWN IN DIALOGUE AND GROWING MISTRUST BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS, ETC.

2. FOCUS SHOULD BE ON HOW SOVS LIKELY TO CONDUCT RELATIONS WITH WEST IN SHORT TO MEDIUM FUTURE; SOV FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS AND OBJECTIVES, SOV INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED EAST-WEST DIALOGUE, PROSPECTS FOR RETURN TO INF TALKS AND STEPS THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE TO LESSEN EAST-WEST TENSIONS.

3. GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD PREPARE AND FORWARD BY TEL BY 300900.

CCC/202 252354Z RBR0686

28-6-1 = Trudeau Peace
Mission

ACTION

Nov 27 00 03 '83

28-6-1 Trudeau Place
Mission

20-13-USA

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WSHDC UNGR0186 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT RBR

INFO MOSCO BNATO BONN PARIS LDN TOKYO PEKIN PMDEL/DELHI

PCOOTT/FOWLER NDEQCTT/ADM POL/CPP

---USA-USSR RELATIONS

IN COURSE OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH MANY SOVIET EXPERTS OF MORE
CONSERVATIVE BENT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN WSHDC (JAMES BILLING-
TON, PETER RIDDAWAY, R. TUCKER, H. SOMMENFELDT, AMONG OTHERS) THERE IS
CONSENSUS THAT DIALOGUE WITH SOVIET UNION WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT
FOR SOME TIME. PERCEPTION IS OF A STATE DOMINATED BY HARDLINERS OF
STALINIST ERA, REPRESSIVE IN CHARACTER AND BESET BY SERIOUS DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS AND INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES. IT IS NEVERTHELESS ESSENTIAL,
IN THE VIEW OF MOST, TO ESTABLISH NEW OR BETTER TYPE OF DISCOURSE
WITH USSR THAT TENDS TO ACCEPT LEGITIMACY OF SOVIET LEADERS AND
LOOKS TO AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST TO BUILD ON, SUCH AS NON-PROLIFER-
ATION, CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS, THIRD-WORLD CONFLICT, AVOIDANCE OF WAR
BY MISCALCULATION, ETC. WHILE NON-IDEOLOGICAL TYPE OF DISCOURSE BY
PPRES IS SEEN AS UNLIKELY THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT FURTHER
PRESIDENTIAL SIGNALS IN FAVOUR OF DIALOGUE ARE POSSIBLE. STEADY AND
RELATIVELY SUBDUED USA REACTION TO SOVIET INF WALKOUT IS SEEN AS
REINFORCING THIS POINT OF VIEW.

2. ACCORDING TO PRIVATE SOURCES, SUPPORTING EVIDENCE OF SOME DEGREE
OF RETHINKING ON PART OF USA OFFICIALS CAN BE GLEANED BY HIGH-LEVEL

...2

AMEMBASSADOR
TRADE
CFI - FOWLER
CHANCELLER - PEARSON
CIDA - [initials]
POLITICAL - [initials]
ADMIN
OTHERS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE TWO UNGR0186 CONFD

STATE DEPT MTG RECENTLY CONVENED BY SEC SHULTZ. ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY INCONCLUSIVE, THERE WAS SOME SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OR COMMENTS IN NEAR FUTURE THAT WOULD SIGNAL USA DESIRE FOR STEADY DIALOGUE IN AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. THESE SOURCES POINT TO A DIVIDED WHITE HOUSE WITH SUPPORT FOR SUCH APPROACH FROM MRS REAGAN, DEVER AND MACFARLANE, WHILE OPPOSITION COMES FROM USUAL QUARTERS HERE (NAMELY DEFENCE).

3. THERE IS ALSO SOME RECENT EVIDENCE OF SOVIET DESIRE TO KEEP LINES OPEN. AFTER RECENT BREAKDOWN OF SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINE IN ATLANTIC AND ITS REMOVAL BY CUBAN TUG TO CUBA, SOVIETS TOLD USA THAT THEY CONTINUE TO RESPECT 1962-1970 USA/USSR AGREEMENT, NOT/NOT TO STATION NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CUBA. ALSO USSR WAS PLANNING RETURN VISIT TO RECENT KENNEDY VISIT TO MOSCOW ON SUBJECT OF NON-PROLIFERATION. RETURN VISIT TO WSHDC BY SOVIET EXPORTS ON PENTAGONS CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS PROPOSAL WAS ALSO EXPECTED. THESE LAST TWO USA INITIATIVES CAN BE REGARDED BY SOVIETS AS SIGNS OF USA WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE AREAS OF JOINT INTEREST. IF SOVIETS DONT CANCEL THEIR RETURN VISITS IN LIGHT OF INF WALKOUT, THIS WILL BE ENCOURAGING SIGN.

4. OUR INTERLOCUTORS ALSO POINT TO POSITIVE FORCES FAVOURING DIALOGUE, INCLUDING MR TRUDEAUS INITIATIVE, MRS THATCHERS DISPATCH OF MINISTER OF STATE TO MOSCOW AND EXPECTED RETURN VISIT OF KORNIENKO, AND RECENT FRENCH-SOVIET DISCUSSIONS OF FRENCH ATTITUDES TO INF PROCESSES. THEY SUGGEST IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN EFFORTS TO

...3

PAGE THREE UNGR2186 CONF

ENCOURAGE USA LEADERSHIP TO MOVE IN DIRECTION OF NEW TYPE OF DISCOURSE AND PURSUIT OF JOINT INTERESTS.

5. SHULTZ IS RECOGNIZED AS POTENTIALLY MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE SOURCE OF INFLUENCE ON REAGAN BUT OUR INTERLOCUTORS POINT TO RELUCTANCE SO FAR ON HIS PART TO WEIGH IN HEAVILY THROUGH SOME LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE IN THESE AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY. NEVERTHELESS, PROGNOSIS FOR SOME IMPROVEMENT MIGHT BE MORE POSITIVE THAN GENERALLY CONCEDED, IN VIEW OF GROWING SELF-CONFIDENCE OF REAGAN ADMINISTRATION AND BELIEF THAT THEY ARE STRENGTHENING USA DEFENCE, CREDIBILITY AND DETERMINATION. SOME CONSIDER THAT NEXT USSR MOVES WILL BE OF KEY IMPORTANCE. IF THEY BECOME TOO STRIDENT OR THREATENING, CHANCES OF ANY USA SHIFT OF NUANCE ARE DIMINISHED.

CCC/231 252246Z UNGR2186

NNNNZUPW

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace
mission

PN
100 Z

* FBIS 089

XINHUA COMMENTS ON REASONS FOR GENEVA TALKS SUSPENSION

04251651 BEIJING XINHUA IN ENGLISH 1612 GMT 25 NOV 83

(TEXT) BEIJING, NOVEMBER 25 (XINHUA CORRESPONDENT TANG SHAN) AA
THE SUSPENSION OF THE HITHERTO TWO-YEAR-OLD SOVIET-U.S. GENEVA TALKS
SHOWS THAT INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR MISSILES ARE SO INSTRUMENTAL TO THE
CONTENTION OF THE TWO PARTIES FOR MILITARY SUPREMACY IN EUROPE AND
THAT EITHER SIDE HAS BEEN USING THE TALKS AS SOME SORT OF
JUSTIFICATION FOR ITS FURTHER BUILD-UP OR AS A CHANCE, IF THERE WERE
ANY, TO WEAKEN ITS OPPONENT.

BOILING IT DOWN, THE HAGGLING OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS
FOCUSED ON WHETHER THERE IS A BALANCE OF MILITARY POWER BETWEEN THE
TWO PARTIES IN EUROPE.

THE SOVIET UNION SAID "YES" AND INSISTED THAT THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD DEPLOY NO MORE MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE. IN THAT
ARGUMENT, MOSCOW TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE 162 MISSILES POSSESSED BY
BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

THE UNITED STATES, ON THE OTHER HAND, HELD THAT THE SOVIET UNION
IS IN THE LEAD AS FAR AS THE LAND-BASED MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES ARE
CONCERNED, AND INSISTED ON THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF 572 MISSILES TO
MATCH THE SOVIETS' STRENGTH IF THE TALKS FAILED. IT CONTENDED THAT
THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES ARE HERE "INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR
FORCES" THAT SHOULD IN NO WAY BE INCLUDED IN THE SOVIET-U.S. TALKS.

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THE FACT IS THAT DURING THE LAST DECADE, THE SOVIET UNION, BY EXPLOITING THE PROCESS OF "DETENTE", HAS BUILT UP ITS MILITARY STRENGTH IN A BIG WAY. IT HAS CAUGHT UP WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS FIELD. IN ADDITION, IT HAS SILENTLY DEPLOYED A LARGE NUMBER OF NEW LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE MISSILES. THUS, IN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS ARE NOT ONLY SUPERIOR TO THE AMERICANS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCE, BUT ALSO IN THE AREA OF LAND-BASED MISSILES.

TO TACKLE THIS SITUATION, THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) DECIDED TO DEPLOY 572 U.S. MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, API PERSHING II MISSILES AND 454 CRUISE MISSILES, IN EUROPE IF THE TALKS AT GENEVA TURNED OUT TO BE FRUITLESS. ALL THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS RAISED DURING THE TALKS WERE ALSO AIMED AT DESTROYING THE SOVIET SUPERIORITY IN THE LAND-BASED MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES.

THE SOVIETS, IN ORDER TO KEEP UP THEIR SUPERIORITY, WOULD RATHER HAVE ITS MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES REDUCED TO 140 ON CONDITION THAT THE UNITED STATES DEPLOY NO NEW MISSILES. TO JUSTIFY ITS POSITION, IT INSISTED THAT THE FRENCH AND BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AS A COUNTER-PART OF THEIRS.

EUROPE IS THE PRINCIPAL COCKPIT IN WASHINGTON-MOSCOW GLOBAL CONTEST IN WHICH MILITARY MIGHT IS DECISIVE. THEIR CONTEST ON EUROMISSILES IS IN FACT ONE FOR SUPREMACY IN EUROPE.

BY TRYING HARD TO GAIN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE THE SOVIET UNION AIMS TO PLACE ITSELF IN A POSITION DETERRENT ENOUGH TO KEEP WESTERN EUROPE IN LINE, OR IN CASE OF WAR, POWERFUL ENOUGH TO OVERWHELM IT WITHOUT HAVING TO FIGHT. MOSCOW'S CONVULSIVE EFFORT TO PREVENT WASHINGTON FROM DEPLOYING INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES HAS BEEN NONE OTHER THAN A STRUGGLE TO WEAKEN THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE, UNHOOK WESTERN EUROPE FROM ITS PARTNER ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC MILITARILY AND THWART THE NATO STRATEGY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNITED STATES HAS STUCK TO THE DEPLOYMENT PLAN NOT ONLY AS A COUNTER-MEASURE AGAINST THE EXISTING SOVIET SS-20'S, BUT ALSO AS A MEANS TO MAINTAIN ITS LEADING ROLE IN NATO AND AN ASSURANCE TO ITS ALLIES OF THE RELIABILITY OF ITS NUCLEAR UMBRELLA. IT IS WASHINGTON'S DESIRE TO SEE A WESTERN EUROPE UNYIELDINGLY FACING THE SOVIET NUCLEAR PRESSURES.

VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL STRATEGIES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, THE UNITED STATES HAS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 80'S SHIFTED FROM A GENERAL POLICY OF DETENTE AND CONCESSION TO ONE FOR CONFRONTATION WITH MOSCOW ON THE BASIS OF STRENGTH. TO DEPLOY MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE IS PART OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORT TO GET AN UPPER HAND OVER MOSCOW MILITARILY IN THEIR ALL-ROUND ANTAGONISM.

BEING A SUPERPOWER ITSELF, THE SOVIET UNION IS OF COURSE NOT READY TO GIVE IN. WHILE DECLARING THAT IT WILL NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO GAIN THE MILITARY SUPERIORITY, MOSCOW PLEDGES TO STRENGTHEN ITS MILITARY might "AT ALL COSTS."

THE QUESTION THAT DRAWS ATTENTION NOW IS: WHAT IMPACT THE SUSPENSION OF THE GENEVA TALKS MAY HAVE ON THE WORLD SITUATION?

UNDOUBTEDLY U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WILL BECOME MORE TENSE FOR SOME TIME TO COME. BUT WHETHER RELATIONS WILL BE ALLOWED TO DRIFT AWAY FROM THE CURRENT GENERAL PATTERN OF CONFRONTATION PLUS DIALOGUE IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT.

IN ANY CASE THE SUSPENSION OF THE GENEVA TALKS SHOWS THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE AS FERVENT IN INCREASING THEIR ARMS AS THEY ARE INSINCERE IN REDUCING THEM. THE CONTINUATION OF THEIR ARMS RACE, THE ESCALATION OF THEIR NUCLEAR CONTEST IN PARTICULAR, WILL CERTAINLY LEAD TO GREATER TURBULENCE AND INSTABILITY IN THE WORLD, PROVOKING STRONGER OPPOSITION FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHO ARE LONGING FOR PEACE AND SECURITY.

25 NOV 2007Z NB

Person

Local Time

CF

1445

MF
hd

Rec'd 3.00pm 25/11/83

pc

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

UNCLASSIFIED

CORRECTED COPY

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0086 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/HUDON FLASH

MOSCO PEKIN DELIVER BY 260830 EXTOTT MINA/DPM/DUDOIT

DISTR FPR XDV

REF OURTEL PMDL0081 25NOV

---PM VISIT TO PEKIN

BURMESE OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCES NOW RECEIVED.CDN PRESS TRAVELLING

WITH PM WERE INFORMED AT 2330 HRS LOCAL THAT PM WOULD TRAVEL

TO PEKIN 27NOV-29NOV.

UUU/282 251930Z PMDL0086

**CORRECTED COPY
EXEMPLAIRE CORRIGE**

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace
mission

INFO

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0083 25NOV83

TO MOSCO FLASH

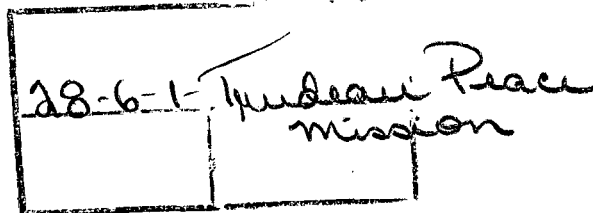
INFO EXTOTT IDDZ

REF YRTEL XYGR4168 25NOV

---PM DEL COMPOSITION

MASSE HAS INSTRUCTED THAT PEARSON AND SMITH ARE TO PROCEED
TO PEKING.

CCC/068 251254Z PMDL0083



Department of External Affairs



Ministère des Affaires extérieures

Canada

OTTAWA, ONTARIO
K1A 0G2

November 25, 1983.

IDDZ-0213

Prof. H. Wisemen and
Prof. F. Boehnert
Chairmen
University of Guelph
College of Social Science
Department of Political Studies
Guelph, Ontario
N1G 2W1

28-6-1- Trudeau Peace
Mission

Dear Professors:

In the absence of the Prime Minister, I would like to reply to your letter of November 2. I am also attaching a reply to the letter addressed to the Prime Minister by Metta Spencer on behalf of the Non-Governmental Organizations represented at the Guelph Conference.

Having had the pleasure of attending part of the Guelph Conference with the Prime Minister, I can confirm that in terms of organization, theme, seriousness of purpose and the high level of attendance, the Conference served as the ideal forum for undertaking the peace initiative. Guelph University and the organizers of the Conference have played an important role in launching this endeavour.

I would be grateful if you could convey the attached letter to Ms. Spencer for transmittal to the concerned NGOs.

Yours sincerely,

L.A. Delvoie
Chairman
Task Force Working Group

SUITE A DONNER

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

Local Time _____
S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0081 25NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ/DELVOID ONLY FLASH PEKIN FLASH MOSCO/SMITH ONLY FLASH
PMOOTT/AXWORTHY/HUDON ONLY FLASH EXTOTT DPM/SSEA/DUDOLT ONLY FLASH
FPR/NOBLE ONLY FLASH

FROM COLEMAN

---PM VISIT TO PEKING

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF RELEASE TO BE ISSUED IN DELHI 26NOV, AT TIME
TO BE DETERMINED WHEN NECESSARY FLIGHT CLEARANCES ARE CONFIRMED,
BUT PROBABLY AROUND 0400 OTTAWA TIME. WE WILL INFORM YOU WHEN TO
RELEASE. GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE. WE WANT THE MEDIA IN DELHI
TO RECEIVE FIRST BEFORE WE RELEASE IN OTTAWA OR ELSEWHERE.

2.TEXT:

THE PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS
CONSULTATIONS WITH WORLD LEADERS ON HIS PEACE INITIATIVE, HE WILL
VISIT PEKING FROM NOV 28-29. HE WILL MEET THERE WITH PREMIER
ZHAO ZIYANG.

THE PRIME MINISTER WILL DEPART NEW DELHI ON SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER
27 AND WILL RETURN ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

LE PREMIER MINISTRE A ANNONCE AUJOURD HUI QUE, DANS LE CADRE DE SES
CONSULTATIONS AVEC DES LEADERS MONDIAUX CONCERNANT SES INITIATIVES
DE PAIX, IL EFFECTUERA UNE VISITE A PEKIN LES 28 ET 29 NOVEMBRE. IL
Y RECONTRERA M. ZHAO ZIYANG, PREMIER MINISTRE DE LA CHINE.

...2

28-6-1-Thudeau Peace
Mission

PAGE TWO PMDL0081 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

LE PREMIER MINISTRE QUITTERA LA NOUVELLE-DELHI LE DIMANCHE 27 NOVEMBRE AU SOIR ET SERA DE RETOUR LE MARDI 29 NOVEMBRE.

2. PRESS LINE IS AS FOLLOWS, IN RESPONSE TO POSSIBLE QUESTIONS:

(A) WHY NOW? WHILE THE CHINESE PREMIER IS STILL COMING TO OTTAWA IN JANUARY, PM IS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THIS EARLIER OPPORTUNITY RATHER THAN WAITING ANOTHER TWO MONTHS TO DISCUSS HIS INITIATIVE WITH THE CHINESE. WHEN PEARSON DISCUSSED INITIATIVE WITH CHINESE ON HIS EMISSARY MISSION, WE SUGGESTED AN EARLIER MEETING, AND THE DATES ANNOUNCED WERE MUTUALLY AGREEABLE.

(B) CHINESE INTEREST IN INITIATIVE. CHINESE WERE INTERESTED ENOUGH TO SEE TRUDEAU PERSONALLY. WE WILL NOT/NOT CHARACTERIZE THEIR RESPONSE BEYOND THAT.

(C) REASON FOR LATE ANNOUNCEMENT OF TRIP: WE HAD TO AWAIT PEARSON REPORT FROM HIS PEKING VISIT; AND WE ONLY JUST TODAY GOT THE NECESSARY FLIGHT CLEARANCES OVER COUNTRIES ENROUTE TO CHINA FROM DELHI.

(D) OTHER POINTS: (1) THIS TRIP DOES NOT/NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY THAT PM WOULD GO TO MOSCOW AFTER PEARSON REPORTS FROM THERE. (2) MRS GANDHI AND THE COMWEL SEC GEN WERE INFORMED THIS MORNING AND WERE NOT/NOT OFFENDED AT HIS LEAVING CHOGM EARLY. MRS GANDHI IS LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS RETURN TO DELHI.

CCC/068 251305Z PMDL0081

ACC	REF	DATE
20-1-11		DOSSIER
cc 23.3-1983		

28-6-1-TRUDEAU PEACE MISSION

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

FM EXTCTT IDDZ0210 24NOV83

TO PMDEL/DELHI/FOWLER/SHENSTONE DELIVER BY 250800

INFO PCOOTT/CARON NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD PEKIN MOSCO

DISTR MINA DMF IFB UMC IDR IDA ETN

REF OUR MEMO IDDZ132 14NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:STATEMENT AND DECLARATION AT CHOGM

UNDER COVER OF REF MEMO WE PROVIDED DRAFT FOR PM STATEMENT ON QUOTE
WORLD POLITICAL SCENE-GLOBAL TRENDS AND PROSPECTS UNQUOTE.IN ORDER
TO KEEP DPM/SSEA INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS,WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO
KNOW WHETHER PMS INTERVENTION WAS ALONG LINES SUGGESTED IN OUR DRAFT
OR WHETHER SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES WERE MADE.IN LATTER CASE,GRATEFUL YOU
PROVIDE ASAP FULL TEXT OF FINAL VERSION OF STATEMENT ON WHICH PM
BASED HIS INTERVENTION.

2.GRATEFUL ALSO FOR SITREP ON WHERE MATTERS NOW STAND RE EVENTUAL
CHOGM DECLARATION ON INNATL PEACE AND SECURITY.

CCC/273 241503Z IDDZ0210



External Affairs
Canada

Affaires extérieures
Canada

MGTC M. FILE DIARY

FILE/DOSSIER

MESSAGE

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

SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ **C O N F I D E N T I A L**

24 NOV 83 23 03z 12 10

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0217 24NOV83
TO/À TO PMDEL/DELHI
INFO
DISTR INFO WSHDC
REF DISTR MINA USS DMF UGB IDD URD URR
SUBJ/SUJ

---LETTER FROM VP BUSH

PMO RECEIVED THIS AM LETTER ADRESSED TO PM FROM USVP BUSH
NOVEMBER 15. TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

(COMCENTRE PLEASE COPY ATTACH QUOTE TO UNQUOTE).

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace mission

DATED
~~ONE~~

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J. CARON

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A. DELVOIE



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1983

The Right Honorable
Pierre Elliott Trudeau, P.C., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa

Quote
"

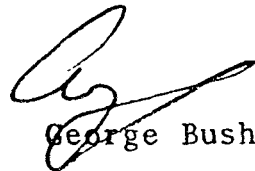
Dear Pierre:

Your Embassy was kind enough to send me a copy of your address at Guelph of October 27. I recall with pleasure our conversation on the subject of East-West relations, and was most impressed by the way you had expanded these thoughts in your address.

There is a sense of tension in the world -- much of it, I believe, growing out of Soviet reluctance to adjust to a U.S. which is now more actively espousing vital free world interests. You are perfectly right in asserting that increased tension must not be allowed to choke off dialogue, and I believe it is highly useful for statesmen like yourself to work actively to see if new forms of dialogue can be developed.


Thank you very much for sharing your speech and you have my best wishes as you seek to implement its central concerns.

Sincerely,


George Bush

P3

Sorry we missed
on Maine -


Unquote



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ	C-O-N-F-I D E N T I A L	24 NOV 83 19 20 7 10
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SUBJ/SUJ	DISTR MINA DMF RGB RSD RSR IDA IDR REF YOURTEL XGCR 1092 23 NOV ---PM INITIATIVE: SPANISH INTEREST SPANISH WE AGREE WITH THE LINE YOU TOOK IN RESPONDING TO YANEZ QUERIES ON THE PM INITIATIVE. TO CONFIRM: 1) THERE IS NO/NO CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN PM TRUDEAU S INITIATIVE AND CEAUCESCU. 2) PM INITIATIVE IS NOT/NOT LINKED TO THE INF TALKS AND HAS A BROADER PURPOSE THAN ENCOURAGING INF NEGOTIATIONS, HENCE WE DO NOT/NOT ANTI- CIPATE THAT THE PM S INITIATIVE WILL CHANGE ITS FOCUS NOW THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE INTERRUPTED THE INF TALKS. 3) PM WILL NOT/NOT ATTEND INAUGURATION OF ARGENTINIAN PRESIDENT. RE- COMMENDATION BEFORE SSEA IS THAT HE NOMINATE A MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUE TO ATTEND. 4) AS INDICATED IN PM S 17 NOV LET TO PRES GONZALEZ, SSEA WILL PROPO- SE HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PRESENCE FOR CDE OPENING IN JAN AT NAC MTG IN DEC. (FOR YOUR INFO ONLY, IT HAS NOT/NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHETHER TO PROPOSE HEADS OF GOVT OR FOREIGN MINISTERIAL PARTICIPATION). 2. AT THIS TIME THERE ARE NO/NO PLANS FOR A SECOND VISIT TO WESTERN ...2	

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J.A. McNEE

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A. DELVOIE

000396



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0215 CONFIDENTIAL

12

10

EUROPE,BUT SHOULD ONE MATERIALIZE WE WOULD,OF COURSE,GIVE CONSIDERATION TO INCLUDING MADRID.



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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24 Nov 83 20 12 10 2 10

SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ ~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ CDN EYES ONLY

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SUBJ/SUJ REF YOURTEL TOKYO UIGR2549 23NOV

28-6-1-T Trudeau Peace mission

---PM INITIATIVE:DPM/SSEA INVOLVEMENT

THANKS FOR HELPFUL REFTEL.CURRENT PLANS CALL FOR DPM/SSEA TO

(A)ADDRESS PM INITIATIVE IN SPEECH WHICH HE WILL MAKE TO CHICAGO

BRANCH OF COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS 29NOV (B)BRIEF USA PRESS ON

INITIATIVE EITHER IMMEDIATELY BEFORE OR AFTER CHICAGO SPEECH (C)TAKE UP

CDE AND MBFR PROPOSALS AT NAC MINISTERIAL ON 08DEC AND (D) DISCUSS

INITIATIVE WITH SEC STATE SHULTZ AT BREAKFAST MTG IN BRU ON 09DEC.

2.OTHER IDEAS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

L.A.Delvoie/sc

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

SIG L.A.Delvoie



MESSAGE

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~~S E C R E T~~ CDN EYES ONLY

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FM EXTOTT IDDZ0211 24NOV83

TO/À

TO PMDEL/DELHI/ DELIVER BY 250800

INFO

DISTR

~~FOWLER ONLY DE DELVOIE~~

REF

INFO PEKIN/AMB ONLY MOSCO/SMITH ONLY

SUBJ/SUJ

~~DISTR MINA/DUDOIT ONLY~~

FROM DELVOIE

---PM INITIATIVE:VISIT TO CHINA

IN ORDER TO ENSURE CONSISTENCY BETWEEN APPROACHES TAKEN IN DELHI
AND OTT,GRATEFUL TO KNOW(A)EXACTLY WHEN IS IT PM DELS INTENTION TO
INFORM CDN PRESS PARTY AND OTHERS OF VISIT TO CHINA,AND(B)WHAT
PRESS LINE WILL BE TAKEN BY PM DEL.

2.AM KEEPING TOM AXWORTHY INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

24 Nov 83 15:03Z
28-6-1-Trudeau Peace
Mission

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

L.A.Delvoie/sc

IDDZ

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L.A. Delvoie
SIG L.A.Delvoie

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Canada Canada

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TO/A

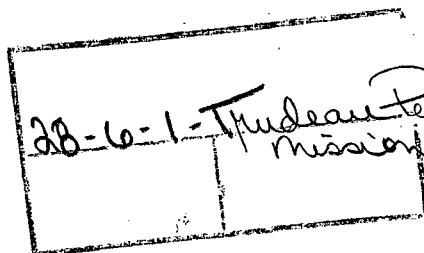
FROM/DE

FPR

REFERENCE •
RÉFÉRENCE

SUBJECT •
SUJET

SCRUM: SSEA November 24, 1983
Andropov's statement



Security/Sécurité
UNCLASSIFIED
Accession/Référence
File/Dossier
Date
November 24, 1983
Number/Numéro
FPR-1124

ENCLOSURES
ANNEXES

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NDHQOTT/
ADM/POL/DG

Q. The reason I wanted to ask you a question was that Mr. Andropov's come out with a statement saying something to the effect that missiles in the seas and the ocean would respond to the Pershing-2's. In other words, he could deploy more missiles in the seas and the ocean. The other thing is, that the Geneva talks couldn't be held or that they are irrevocable...?

SSEA Well, at one time you may remember, the Soviet Union refused to begin the talks, the Geneva talks. It took quite some time to get them to the table. They did come to the table and I think they will come back to the table, in due course.

Q. So you don't take his threat very seriously then? You don't think he is actually going to hold to that?

SSEA I believe that they will find it impossible to maintain, indefinitely, the view that they will not continue these negotiations. Why have they stopped the negotiations? Presumably, because deployment is about to begin. That is their reason, but keep in mind that while these negotiations have been going on, and they have been going on for some time, the Soviet Union itself has been deploying new missiles. So it is a bit contradictory to have deployed these missiles during the negotiations and then when the other side begins deployment, to stop the negotiations. Is there a double-standard there?

Q. What do you think about the increased threat posed by the deploying of more missiles by submarines in the sea, and so forth, as Mr. Andropov has suggested? North America now seems to be more threatened, does that bother you?

SSEA Well, it bothers me to hear talk about more deployment, more missiles, silos. The purpose of these talks is to try and get a mutually-agreed level of arms. Of course it is bothersome and it is worrisome. It has to be dealt with. But the way to deal with it is through resumed negotiations.

..2

- 2 -

Q. So is this the price we have to pay for taking a hard line in relation to our negotiations?

SSEA You know, the Soviet Union attempted for some time now, through various efforts with public opinion to get the allies not to deploy. They failed. Deployment will go ahead. The British Parliament has taken a positive vote. The Italian Parliament, the German Parliament, all of these countries have said Yes, we are going ahead, despite the efforts of the Soviet Union. So, it is understandable that the Soviet Union will require a little time to re-assess its strategy, which in this case was to try to get the Western democracies to say, We won't deploy. They have refused to say that, and that has been a defeat for the Soviet Union.

Q. If they do deploy more, do you see a threat that perhaps the NATO countries will want to add even more missiles to their arsenal than the ones they already have?

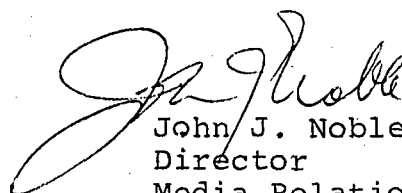
SSEA I don't think that will be the outcome that the NATO Alliance would want to reach.

Q. Does this failure of the Soviet policy up to now augur well there for Prime Minister Trudeau's peace initiative?

SSEA I stated yesterday, that the break-down or the cessation, or the interruption in the arms talks is an added reason, and gives added urgency for the effort that the Prime Minister is undertaking. It seems to me that what is happening now, as demonstrated with great clarity, the timeliness of what the Prime Minister is doing.

Q. Meanwhile, have you read Mr. Pearson's Moscow Report?

SSEA Not yet. He hasn't been there yet, or has he?



John J. Noble
Director
Media Relations Division

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

MF
62

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

FM BNATO YBGR8136 24NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO VMBFR OSLO PMDELDELHI

DISTR MINA DMF DMFX RSD RSR IDR IDA

RFF OSLO TEL WGGR4346 23NOV

---PM INITIATIVE

28-6-1- Trudeau Peace
mission

UNFORTUNATELY, DINNER WITH NORWEGIAN PM 22NOV DID NOT/NOT LEND ITSELF TO DISCUSSION OF PMS INITIATIVE. I KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT PM WILLOCH HAS BEEN MAKING FAVOURABLE REFERENCES TO INITIATIVE IN HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS HERE WITH SENIOR NATO OFFICIALS.

2. THERE WAS IN FACT NO/NO GENERAL DISCUSSION AT DINNER, ONLY AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS BETWEEN PM WILLOCH AND SEC GEN FOCUSING ON INF. THIS WAS PROBABLY INEVITABLE. NORWEGIAN PM HAD ARRIVED LATER THAN PLANNED DIRECT FROM HIS ONE-VOTE VICTORY IN NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT AND CN EVENING BEFORE CRUCIAL VOTE IN BUNDESTAG. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, INF WAS UPPERMOST IN PM WILLOCHS MIND AND IN MINDS OF MOST OF THOSE PRESENT.

3. IN HIS TOAST, PM WILLOCH SUGGESTED HIS ONE-VOTE VICTORY SHOULD NOT/NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD. ALL NORWEGIAN POLITICIANS KNEW GOVT COULD MUSTER MAJORITY WHICH, ALTHOUGH BARE MINIMUM, WAS SECURE. THEREFORE, HE SUGGESTED, SOME OPPOSITION VOTES HAD BEEN CAST AGAINST INF IN KNOWLEDGE THAT IT WAS SAFE TO DO SO: THAT OPPOSITION COULD HAVE SATISFACTION OF VOTING AGAINST DEPLOYMENT WITHOUT RUNNING ANY

...2

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PAGE TWO YBGR8136 CONFD

REAL RISK OF HINDERING IT.

4. INDICATIONS WE ARE RECEIVING HERE OF NORWEGIAN ATTITUDES SQUARE ENTIRELY WITH PARA4 OSLO REFTTEL. AS REPORTED ELSEWHERE, WE EXPECT TO HEAR NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR INDICATE SUPPORT FOR POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN MPFR WHEN THIS QUESTION IS REVIEWED HERE 25NOV, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT/NOT EXPECT HIM TO GO SO FAR, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE TO SUPPORT MTG OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

TAYLOR

CCC/070 241257Z YBGR8136

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EXT 518-1 (53/4)
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NOV. 25 1983 10:27 PERMANENT MISSION OF CDA GENEVA

P.002

MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

28-1-1-CDA

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SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

UNCLASSIFIED

FACSIMILE

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FM/DE

GENEV YTGR 7925 24NOV83

TO/A

TO EXTOTT/IDBZ

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INFO ^{B/t} PCOOTT/FOWLER NDHQOTT/MND/CDS/ADMPOL/CPD DE OTD

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DISTR MINA USS DMF UGB URR RGB RBR RBD RCD RSD RSR IDD IFB IDR IDA

SUBJ/SUJ

---ARMS TALKS GENEVA

REPORT DATE-LINED GENEVA FROM TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL HERALD
TRIBUNE ENTITLED "RUSSIANS FULFILL THREAT TO QUIT TALKS IN GENEVA
ON EUROMISSILES".

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GVA 005/24

PAGE 1 OF 3

NOV.25 '83 10:27 PERMANENT MISSION OF CDR- GENEVA

P.003

NOV 25 1983
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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE - November 24, 1983

Russians Fulfill Threat to Quit Talks in Geneva On Euromissiles

By William Drozdiak

Washington Post Service

GENEVA — The Soviet Union on Wednesday fulfilled its threat to break off negotiations to limit intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Following a 25-minute session with his U.S. counterpart, Paul H. Nitze, the Soviet Union's chief negotiator, Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, emerged from the U.S. mission here and declared: "The present round of negotiations has been discontinued, and no date has been set for a resumption."

At a press conference later, Mr. Nitze read a prepared statement saying the United States "profoundly regrets" the Soviet action, which he said was "as unjustified as it is unfortunate."

U.S. officials said the breakdown in the talks on the European-based missiles did not necessarily presage a halt to a parallel set of negotiations on strategic global weapons known as the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, or START. U.S. and Soviet delegations still intend to hold their next session in that forum on Nov. 29.

It has been widely speculated that the two sets of negotiations would be combined next year if the Russians carried out their pledges to walk out of the talks on intermediate-range missiles. But Mr. Nitze stressed Wednesday that it was "not inevitable" that such a merger would occur.

The Soviet walkout was anticipated following the vote in the



Paul H. Nitze

West German parliament to endorse immediate deployment of Pershing-2 missiles, which were reportedly scheduled to begin arriving in West Germany Wednesday.

Last Tuesday, Mr. Kvitsinsky told Mr. Nitze that the arrival in Europe of missiles with a "short flight time to the Soviet Union" would be the determining factor, according to sources close to the U.S. delegation. The Pershing-2 missiles based in West Germany

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

2/3

3/3

(Continued from Page 1)

would take 12 to 13 minutes to strike Soviet targets.

At the session Wednesday, which was the shortest in the two-year negotiations, Mr. Kvitsinsky read the same statement he gave to reporters and then announced it would be futile to break into working groups as the two delegations usually do. Mr. Nitze agreed, and the delegations ended their meeting with a round of handshakes in a mood that participants described as "solemn and gloomy."

Despite his disappointment in seeing the talks suspended, Mr. Nitze said he felt "a great deal was achieved." He said that "progress has been made on almost all of the issues, but the one thing that has remained constant on the Soviet side has been their demand that there be a continuation of militarily significant deployment of SS-20s and that there should be absolutely no deployments of countermissiles on our side."

He said that when the talks were proposed in 1979, the Soviet Union had already deployed 140 SS-20 systems and persisted in building up its arsenal to the current level of 360 of the missiles, which are capable of carrying three warheads each.

"This continuing Soviet buildup

has not prevented the United States from pursuing these negotiations and making every effort to reach an equitable agreement," Mr. Nitze said.

He contended that the United States "stands ready to halt or reverse its deployments" if a compromise could be achieved that would reduce or eliminate intermediate-range missile forces.

But unfortunately, he said, the Soviet Union has "rationalized the suspension of these negotiations on the grounds that approval by NATO governments of U.S. missile deployments and U.S. deployments of those missiles make continuation of such talks impossible."

The collapse of the talks, according to sources close to the U.S. delegation, was all but assured following controversy over an informal suggestion by Mr. Kvitsinsky. During a two-hour walk in a Geneva park with Mr. Nitze on Nov. 13, the Soviet negotiator hinted that if the United States proposed to eliminate 572 systems on each side by dropping Western deployment plans if the Soviets reduced SS-20 missiles to 120, the Kremlin would accept the offer.

He also indicated the Russians would consent to drop their key demand calling for British and French missiles to be counted in the Geneva talks if such systems

would be included in another arms control forum.

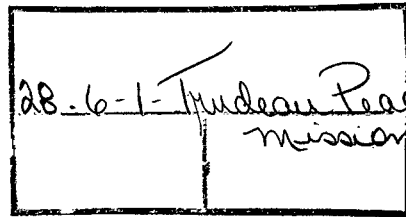
Moscow first denied that such an overture was floated and later contended that Mr. Nitze had actually initiated such ideas and not Mr. Kvitsinsky.

U.S. officials said Mr. Nitze was "furious over what he saw as outright Soviet deceit" and an effort to spread confusion among the Western allies. Mr. Nitze declined to go into detail about the matter at his press conference Wednesday, saying simply that "Soviet statements on this subject are completely contrary to fact."

The breakdown in the Geneva talks will focus attention on whether the Russians will now carry out threats of taking further military preparations such as moving more short-range nuclear missiles into East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

U.S. and European military specialists concede that the Russians may also decide to push ahead actively with new plans to deploy sea-launched cruise missiles.

Most ominous, from a U.S. viewpoint, would be deployment of so-called "depressed trajectory" sea-launched missiles that could hit important U.S. targets on the East Coast within the same short time that Pershing-2 missiles in West Germany can hit the Soviet Union.



S E C R E T

FM EXTOTT IDR4491 24NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI DELIVER BY 250900

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REF OURTEL IDR4477 23NOV

---INF:SUSPENSION OF TALKS:ANDROPOV STATEMENT 24NOV

SUMMARY: IN OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT, ANDROPOV STATEMENT (OPERAT-
IVE PORTION IN FOLLOWING PARAS) IS PERHAPS TOUGHER AND EARLIER THAN
EXPECTED. BUT CONTAINS NOTHING THAT WAS NOT/NOT ANTICIPATED AND
PUPUBLICLY FORESHADOWED IN PREVIOUS SOVIET STATEMENTS. HAVING PUELICLY
THREATENED COUNTERMEASURES, SOVIETS HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO FOLLOW
THROUGH. SIGNIFICANTLY, STATEMENT DOES NOT/NOT EVOKE LINKAGE TO
START. MEFR, OR CCSBMDE.

2 REPORT: ANDROPOV ANNOUNCED FOLLOWING FOUR DECISIONS: QUOTE
FIRST: SINCE THE USA BY ITS ACTIONS HAS WRECKED THE POSSIBILITY OF
ACHIEVING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE ACCORD AT THE TALKS ON QUESTIONS OF
LIMITING NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE AND SINCE THEIR CONTINUATION IN
THESE CONDITIONS WOULD ONLY BE A COVER FOR ACTIONS BY THE UNITED
STATES AND A NUMEER OF OTHER NATO CTRIES AIMED AT UNDERMINING

. 2

PAGE TWO IDR4491 SECRET

EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS IT IMPOSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN THESE TALKS.

SECOND: THE COMMITMENTS UNILATERALLY ADOPTED BY THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CREATING MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR ACHIEVING SUCCESS AT THE TALKS ARE AEROGATED. THE MORATORIUM ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR IS THEREBY ABROGATED.

THIRD: BY AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVTS OF THE GDR AND THE CSSR THE PREP-ARATORY WORK BEGUN SOME TIME AGO, AS WAS ANNOUNCED, FOR THE SITING OF ENHANCED-RANGE OPERATIONAL-TACTICAL MISSILES ON THE TERRITORY OF THOSE CTRIES WILL BE ACCELERATED.

FOURTH: SINCE BY SITING ITS MISSILES IN EUROPE THE UNITED STATES IS INCREASING THE NUCLEAR THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION, CORRESPONDING SOVIET MEANS WILL BE DEPLOYED IN OCEAN REGIONS AND SEAS TAKING THIS CIRCUMSTANCE INTO ACCOUNT. IN TERMS OF THEIR CHARACTERISTICS THESE MEANS OF OURS WILL BE EQUAL (ADEQUATE) TO THE THREAT CREATED FOR US AND OUR ALLIES BY THE AMERICAN MISSILES BEING SITED IN EUROPE. UNQUOTE

3. AFTER THREATENING IN INCREASINGLY SPECIFIC TERMS TO SUSPEND INF TALKS IF WFSTERN DEPLOYMENTS PROCEEDED, SOVIET ACTION 23NOV WAS INEVITABLE IF THEY WERE NOT/NOT TO LOSE CREDIBILITY. INITIAL SOV STATEMENT IN GENEV SAID ONLY THAT CURRENT ROUND HAD BEEN SUSPENDED AND THAT NO/NO DATE HAD BEEN SET FOR RESUMPTION. ANDROPOV STATEMENT

PAGE THREE IDR4491 SECRET

IN DESCRIBING CONTINUATION OF TALKS AS IMPOSSIBLE.

4. SOVIETS HAD ALSO THREATENED PREVIOUSLY TO END THEIR MORATORIUM ON INF DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE. NEVERTHELESS, ALTHOUGH MORATORIUM WAS ANNOUNCED IN MAY82, SOVIETS CONTINUED AFTERWARD TO COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ADDITIONAL FOUR BASES WITH TOTAL OF 36/36 MISSILES. DEPLOYMENTS IN ASIAN USSR NEVER CEASED.

5. SOVIET PROGRAM TO MODERNIZE SCUD AND FROG MISSILES WHICH HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED IN EASTERN EUROPE SINCE 1960S (BY REPLACING THEM WITH SS-21 AND SS-23 MISSILES) HAS BEEN UNDER WAY FOR SOME YRS. OVER 30/30 SS-21S ARE ALREADY DEPLOYED IN GDR. SOME SS-12/22 MISSILES COULD BE REDEPLOYED FROM WESTERN USSR TO EASTERN EUROPE, ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD BE OF LITTLE MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE.

6 SOVIETS HAD ALSO THREATENED COUNTERMEASURES QUOTE HAVING TERRITORY OF USA ITSELF IN VIEW UNQUOTE. REF TO DEPLOYMENT IN OCEANS AND SEAS MAY MEAN DEPLOYMENT OF SEA-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES, WHICH WOULD BE LOGICAL STEP AND CERTAINLY LESS PROVOCATIVE THAN EG ATTEMPT TO DEPLOY LAND-BASED MISSILES IN CUBA.

7. SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE WAITED UNTIL FIRST NATO INF BECAME OPERATIONAL IN DEC BEFORE ANNOUNCING COUNTERMEASURES. THEY MAY, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO HARBOUR SOME SMALL HOPE OF GENERATING SUFFICIENT PUBLIC PRESSURE IN WEST TO FORCE HALT TO DEPLOYMENTS BEFORE ANY NATO MISSILES BECOME OPERATIONAL. IF SO, THEY WOULD WANT TO GIVE ANNOUNCEMENT OF COUNTER-

...4

PAGE FOUR IDR4491 SECRET

MEASURES MAXIMUM TIME IN WHICH TO WORK ON PUBLIC OPINION. INTIMIDATING TONE OF STATEMENT AND DECLARATION THAT BASING CTRIES, TOGETHER WITH USA, ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SITU, COMBINED WITH PROMISE TO RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE IF NATO DOES SO, SEEMS CALCULATED FOR PUBLIC EFFECT.

8. DESPITE PREVIOUS HINTS THAT START, MBFR, OR CCSBMDE WOULD ALSO BE AFFECTED BY NATO DEPLOYMENTS, THERE IS NO/NO MENTION OF SUCH LINKAGE IN ANDROPOV STATEMENT. SOVIETS MAY BE SAVING RETALIATION IN THESE FORUMS UNTIL NATO MISSILES BECOME OPERATIONAL. ON OTHER HAND, THEY MAY WISH TO PRESERVE OPTION OF EVENTUALLY DEALING WITH INF IN AN EXPANDED START IF CRUISE AND PERSHING II MISSILES BECOME OPERATIONAL, WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR USSR TO RETURN TO INF TABLE.

CCC/202 250101Z IDR4491

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

28-6-1-Hudson Peace
mission

Division Phoned

Person

Local Time

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

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

FM LDN XNGR4188 24NOV83

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INFO DELHI/CHOGM DEL DELIVER BY 250900

PARIS BONN BRU HAGUE ROME BNATO WMBFR WSHDC MOSCO TOKYO

PEKIN NDHQOTT/ADMPOI/CPP PCOOTT/CARON

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB UGB RCD RBD CPD URR IDR IDA RCR

REF YOURTEL IDDZ159 17NOV OURTEL XNGR4108 16NOV TOKYO TEL UIGR2548
23NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:BRITISH REACTION

SUMMARY:IN PARTICULARLY FRANK AND FIRM PRESENTATION,FCO DEFENCE
DEPT OFFICIALS HAVE READ US PORTIONS OF BRIEFING ON PRIME MINISTERS
INITIATIVE AGREED INTERDEPARTMENTALLY AT SENIOR LEVELS FOR PM
THATCHERS USE AT CHOGM.OFFICIALS PLACED COMMENTS IN CONTEXT OF
GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT TWO PMS AGREED BROADLY ON NEED FOR HIGH
LEVEL POLITICAL INITIATIVE AND QUOTE SENSIBLE AND PRAGMATIC
DIALOGUE UNQUOTE,AND THEY EMPHASIZED BROAD AGREEMENT HERE WITH
MAJOR PORTIONS OF PMS GUELPH SPEECH.NONETHELESS,BRIEFING NOTES
INDICATE THAT REACTION AT OFFICIAL LEVEL TO SPECIFIC DISARMAMENT
PROPOSALS IS NOT ENCOURAGING.CLEAR IMPLICATION IS THAT FURTHER
WORK IS REQUIRED BOTH TO ENSURE ESSENTIAL POLITICAL IMPETUS AND
DIRECTION IS GIVEN TO BRITISH OFFICIALS TO EXAMINE PROPOSALS
FUTPTHER,AND THAT TECHNICAL DETAILS AND QUESTIONS CURRENTLY
CLOUDING OFFICIALS PERCEPTIONS OF PROPOSALS. ARE CLARIFIED.

...2

MONDA
1984 DEC 14 11:02

PAGE TWO XNGR4188 CONF CDN EYES ONLY

2. REPORT: FCO DEFENCE DEPT, ACTING WITH CONCURRENCE OF SOVIET AND NUCLEAR ENERGY DEPTS, HAVE GIVEN US FRANK AND NOT PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING APPRAISAL OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND FOREIGN OFFICE VIEWS ON SPECIFICS OF PM INITIATIVE. READING FROM BRIEFING ON INITIATIVE PREPARED FOR MRS THATCHER'S USE AT CHOGM, OFFICIALS ASSURE US THAT FOLLOWING COMMENTS HAVE BEEN CLEARED TO SENIOR LEVELS AND REFLECT VIEWS OF BOTH MINISTRIES.

3. AS PRIME MINISTERS RECENT SPEECH TO LORD MAYORS BANQUET, AND NOW HER SPEECH AT CHOGM HAVE REFLECTED, SHE AGREES WITH SUBSTANCE OF PMS GUELPH SPEECH INsofar AS IT REFLECTS NEED TO BALANCE FIRM AFFERENCE TO WESTERN PRINCIPLES AND SECURITY WITH HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL INITIATIVE TOWARDS QUOTE SENSIBLE, PRAGMATIC DIALOGUE UNQUOTE. WHILE DIALOGUE WILL NOT IN ITSELF LEAD TO BETTER EAST/WEST RELATIONS, PM THATCHER QUOTE IS COMMITTED TO WORKING IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY TO REDUCE RISKS OF WAR AND AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH INCREASE THOSE RISKS UNQUOTE. TO THIS EXTENT, BRITISH AND CAN VIEWS LARGELY COINCIDE. (IN THIS CONTEXT IT MAY BE WORTH NOTING THAT FCO MINISTER LUCE IS QUOTED BY LONDON TIMES AS RESPONDING TO SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM INF TALKS WITH COMMENT QUOTE CERTAINLY ANY PROPOSALS SUCH AS THOSE FROM MR TRUDEAU MUST BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED UNQUOTE).

4 ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, HOWEVER, UK REACTION IS CONSIDERABLY LESS

...3

PAGE THREE XNGR4188 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

POSITIVE, AND ON FIVE POWER NUCLEAR CONFERENCE AS SKETCHED OUT IN
PAPER LEFT FOR PERM SEC ACLAND BY PM DEL, RESPONSE IS BLUNTLY
NEGATIVE: QUOTE THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY WE CAN SUPPORT THIS IN
PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES AND AS PRESENTLY DEFINED UNQUOTE. OBSERVING
THAT FUNDAMENTAL IDEA OF SETTING RATIOS IS IN ITSELF NOT NEW
CONCEPT (IT WAS FIRST RAISED AT CHATHAM HOUSE), OFFICIALS TOLD US
FRANKLY THAT UK HAS FOR SOME TIME AND IN CONSIDERABLE DEPTH
BEEN EXAMINING RANGE OF QUESTIONS SURROUNDING INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR
DETERRENT AND ITS ROLE IN ARMS CONTROL. AND WHILE THEY CANNOT NOW
DIVULGE WHERE EXAMINATION HAS GOT TO, NOR EVEN WHAT THEIR SPECIFIC
CONSIDERATIONS ARE, QUOTE WE HAVE GOT GOOD SECURITY REASONS FOR NOT
GOING BEYOND HOWE FORMULA UNQUOTE. (THIS REFERS TO STATEMENT
SECRETARY HOWE MADE TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHEN HE SAID THAT QUOTE
WE HAVE MADE CLEAR, THAT IF SOVIET AND US STRATEGIC ARSENALS WERE
TO BE VERY SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED AND IF NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES
HAD OCCURRED IN SOVIET DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES, BRITAIN WOULD WANT
TO REVIEW HER POSITION AND CONSIDER HOW BEST SHE COULD CONTRIBUTE
TO ARMS CONTROL IN LIGHT OF REDUCED THREAT UNQUOTE). SIGNIFICANT
PHRASE IN HOWE FORMULA IS QUOTE IF NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES HAD
OCCURRED IN SOVIET DEFENCE ABILITIES UNQUOTE. OFFICIALS SEE THIS
AS QUOTE SERIOUS FLAW UNQUOTE IN CDN PAPER, AND POINT OUT THAT
LEVEL OF BRITISH DETERRENT MUST BE DETERMINED AS MUCH OR MORE AS

PAGE FOUR XNGR4188 CONF CDN EYES ONLY

FUNCTION OF SOVIET DEFENSIVE TECHNOLOGY THAN OF OFFENSIVE POTENTIAL.

QUOTE QUESTION OF WORKING OUT MINIMUM NECESSARY DETERRENT IS COMPLEX;WE ARE GIVING IT CONTINUOUS AND INTENSIVE THOUGHT,AND WILL NOT BE DRAWN IN PUBLIC ON HOW OR WHEN THIS WILL DEVELOP UNQUOTE. RELATED QUESTION OF LEVEL OF RATIO IS ALSO MAJOR CONCERN;WHILE OFFICIALS APPRECIATE CDN ASSURANCES THAT PROPOSAL ALLOWS FOR RATIOS TO BE NEGOTIATED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT NEED FOR MODERNIZATION,QUOTE ONCE RATIOS ARE ESTABLISHED,IF WE ARE TO LOOK FOR ARMS REDUCTION ON PART OF SUPERPOWERS,WHAT WILL THAT DO TO UK DETERRENT?UNQUOTE.

5.ON THREE MILITARY TECHNOLOGY PROPOSALS,OFFICIALS MERELY OBSERVE THAT BRITISH ARE NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED,AND THAT MAJOR CDN DISCUSSIONS MUST BE WITH USA.OFFICIALS DID WONDER ALOUD HOWEVER ABOUT WHAT THEY SEE AS POSSIBLE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SUGGESTION IN FIVE POWER PAPER THAT USING WARHEAD AS UNIT OF COUNT WOULD HAVE VIRTUE...OF ENCOURAGING MOVE TOWARDS A LESS VULNERABLE, SINGLE WARHEAD SYSTEM AND AWAY FROM VULNERABLE AND DESTABILIZING MIRVED SYSTEMS.WITH ARGUMENT IN VERIFICATION PAPER OF NEED TO LIMIT GEOGRAPHIC AND FREQUENCY MOBILITY.

6.ON ASAT PROPOSALS,OFFICIALS HERE ARE CAUTIOUS;AGAIN OBSERVING THEY ARE NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED,THEY ALSO NOTE THAT IT IS USA QUOTE WHOSE ASSETS ARE AT STAKE UNQUOTE.POINTING OUT THAT SOVIETS

PAGE FIVE XNGR4188 CONF D CDN EYES ONLY

HAVE ALREADY TESTED THIS TYPE OF WEAPON, THEY SEE CDN PROPOSAL AS OFFERING SOVIETS OPPORTUNITY TO QUOTE DRIVE WEDGES UNQUOTE. RATHER THEY BELIEVE EFFORTS SHOULD BE CONTINUED IN CD CONTEXT WHERE THEY OBSERVE WEST AND NNA ARE GENERALLY IN AGREEMENT, WITH SOVIETS BEING ODD MAN OUT.

7. CCSEMDE: OFFICIALS HERE HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY WITH QUOTE EARLIER UNQUOTE SUGGESTION THAT HEADS OF GOVT MIGHT LAUNCH CCSEMDE: THEY SEE THIS AS RAISING PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS, AND THUS AS BEING RISKY IN TERMS OF OVERLOADING CSCE PROCESS POLITICALLY. BRIEFING EXPRESSES CONCERN THAT PLACING TOO MUCH POLITICAL EMPHASIS ON STOCKHOLM MIGHT DETRACT FROM HUMAN RIGHTS ELEMENTS OF CSCE PROCESS. ON OTHER HAND, PROPOSAL THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS OPEN STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE STRIKES MORE POSITIVE NOTE: OFFICIALS TELL US THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE HAS NOT YET COMMITTED HIMSELF, (HE IS WAITING TO SEE WHETHER SHULTZ AND GROMYKO AGREE TO IT), BUT THAT IN ANY CASE BRITAIN WILL BE REPRESENTED AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

8. MBFR: INITIAL REACTION HERE WAS TO QUERY WHETHER CDA HAD A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL. OBSERVING THAT IDEA OF MINISTERS MEETING IN MBFR CONTEXT WAS NOT NEW (CURRENT SDP LEADER DAVID OWEN SUGGESTED THIS WHEN HE WAS FOREIGN MINISTER) BRIEFING ARGUES THAT SCOPE FOR BREAKTHROUGH AND MOVEMENT IS CURRENTLY VERY LIMITED QUOTE UNLESS

...6

PAGE SIX XNGR4188 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

WE ARE PREPARED TO ABANDON KEY NEGOTIATING PRINCIPLES AND TAKE
LEAP OF FAITH UNQUOTE. LATEST EASTERN POSITION MAY CONTAIN ADVANCE.
AND UK WANT TO RESPOND TO IT; THEY THUS AGREE THAT NATO EVALUATION
OF MEFR PROCESS WOULD BE TIMELY. ON OTHER HAND, THEY SEE NO EVIDENCE
NOW THAT MTG OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD BE LIKELY TO SATISFY
EXPECTATIONS IT WOULD RAISE UNLESS THERE WERE SHIFT AWAY FROM
QUOTE WHAT NATO HAD PREVIOUSLY REGARDED AS SIGNIFICANT ISSUES OF
SECURITY INTEREST UNQUOTE.

9. NPT: BRIEF SUGGESTS THAT IN HIGHLIGHTING PROPOSED FAILURES OF
NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, WE WOULD ONLY REFLECT AND ENCOURAGE
ARGUMENTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHO OPPOSE NPT. QUOTE ACTUAL FACTS
OF LIFE ARE QUITE DIFFERENT: THERE IS NO LOGICAL LINKAGE BETWEEN
HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL PROLIFERATION; POTENTIAL NUCLEAR WEAPON
STATES ARE NOT BEING RESTRAINED OUT OF FRUSTRATION WITH WEAPONS
STATES FAILURE TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT; THEY ARE TAKING DECISIONS
ENTIRELY FOR THEIR OWN STRATEGIC INTERESTS UNQUOTE. BRIEFING
GIVEN PRIME MINISTER RECOMMENDS STRONGLY AGAINST DISCUSSING NPT
IN CPOGM CONTEXT, OR WITH MRS GHANDI IN NEW DELHI.

10. COMMENT: IT WILL BE CLEAR FROM FOREGOING AND FROM REPORTS OF
THATCHER/TRUDEAU TALKS IN LDN, THAT BEFORE WE CAN EXPECT MUCH
SUPPORT FROM BRITISH FOR PM INITIATIVE, CONSIDERABLE EFFORT
WILL BE REQUIRED IN TWO DIRECTIONS: FIRST, WE MUST WORK TO OBTAIN

PAGE SEVEN XNGR4188 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

POLITICAL COMMITMENT FROM PM THATCHER AND HER MINISTERS TO PREMISE THAT SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS COULD OFFER PROMISING, EVEN NECESSARY AVENUES FOR ACHIEVING AGREED GOAL OF IMPROVEMENT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS. SECOND, WE WILL HAVE TO EXPLAIN MORE FULLY TO OFFICIALS. TECHNICAL DETAILS OF PROPOSALS, AND TO ANSWER SPECIFIC UK MOD AND FCO OBJECTIONS. IN LATTER CONTEXT, WE WOULD SUGGEST IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE TECHNICAL EXPERTS TEAM VISIT BRITAIN IN NEXT FEW WEEKS. SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM INF TALKS HAS INCREASED GENERAL CONCERN HERE OVER PROSPECTS FOR ARMS CONTROL AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS, AND TIME WOULD THUS SEEM TO BE RIPE TO IMPLEMENT RECOMMENDATION OF PM DEL IN TOKYO TEL UIGR2548 23NOV, TO MAKE FURTHER EFFORT TO EXPLAIN DETAILS OF CDN PROPOSALS TO UK OFFICIALS AND MRS THATCHER.

CCC/224 241528Z XNGR4188

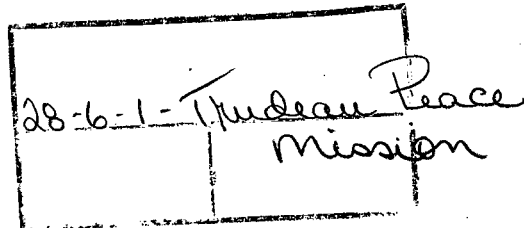
- Supplement
- Arsenic put together
 - ↳ what is German proposal.
- Arsenic → in clear terms

- what distinguishes from general four power reduction
- focus on limits as in Salt I
- only in second tranche would we focus on reductions -
- emphasize limits in 1st, have limits/cutbacks/ratios.

① - C.D. - Supplicatini → 3 pages for IDA
↳ discuss with IDA. - Christoff

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**



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

FM TOKYO UIGR2576 24NOV83

TO EXTOTT (IDDZ

INFO MOSCO WSHDC BNATO ROME LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU PRMNY

NDFQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD PCOOTT

DISTR MINA DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR UCB URR RCR ZSI PGB PED PER

REF OURTELS UIGR2529(NOTAL) UIGR2530 23NOV

---PMS INITIATIVE

REFTELS SHOULD READ QUOTE FROM PEARSON UNQUOTE.

CCC/232 240145Z UIGR2576

Refcc to: MINA

DMF

UGB

URR

FPR

INFO

+ file
12

NONCLASSIFIE

DE PMOOTT PM01414 24NOV83

PMDELDELHI/FOWLER/JOHNSON/COLEMAN/SMITH

INFO EXTOTT IDDZ

REF ENTREVUE AVEC AMBASSADEUR ROBINSON

LE JOURNAL LA PRESSE DU 241183, SOUS LA SIGNATURE DE

GILBERT LAVOIE, PUBLIE UN ARTICLE INTITULE CIT SELON

L AMBASSADEUR AMERICAIN PAUL ROBINSON, WASHINGTON N A

PAS DE RESERVES FACE A LA CROISADE TRUDEAU FINCIT.

CET ARTICLE N A PAS ETE REPRIS PAR LA PRESSE ANGLOPHONE.

J AI TOUTEFOIS ATTIRE L ATTENTION DE CP SUR LE CONTENU

DE L ARTICLE EN QUESTION.

VOICI LE TEXTE INTEGRAL DE CET ARTICLE:

CIT OTTAWA-L AMBASSADEUR DES ETATS-UNIS AU CANADA, M. PAUL

ROBINSON, SOUHAITE QUE LE PREMIER MINISTRE TRUDEAU

SE RENDE JUSQU A MOSCOU DANS LE CADRE DE SA MISSION DE

PAIX INTERNATIONALE, ET IL NIE DE FACON CATEGORIQUE QUE

WASHINGTON AIT DES RESERVES FACE A CETTE INITIATIVE DU

CHEF D ETAT CANADIEN.

M. ROBINSON ESPERE PAR AILLEURS QUE M. TRUDEAU RENCONTRERA

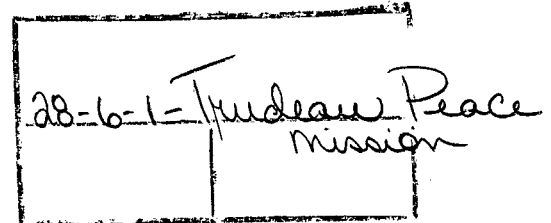
LE PRESIDENT REAGAN CIT LE PLUS TOT POSSIBLE FINCIT

SUR LE SUJET, MAIS IL PRECISE QU AUCUNE DATE N A

ENCORE ETE ARRETEE POUR UNE TELLE REUNION.

C EST CE QUI RESSORT D UNE ENTREVUE ACCORDEE HIER PAR

...2



00741

PAGE DEUX PM01414 UNCLAS

M.ROBINSON A LA PRESSE A SON BUREAU DE L AMBASSADE.
CIT LES MERITES DE CETTE INITIATIVE DE PAIX,ENTREPRISE
PAR UN HOMME DE LA STATURE INTERNATIONALE DE M.TRUDEAU.
PARLERONT D EUX MEMES.JE N Y VOIS RIEN DE NEGATIF;
J ESPERE QUE CELA PORTERA FRUIT,ET J AI TENDANCE A
CPOIRE QU IL EN SORTIRA QUELQUE CHOSE DE BON,FINCIT A
DFCLARE L AMBASSADEUR.

M.ROBINSON A SOUTENU QUE LES MEDIA CANADIENS ONT EXAGERE
L IMPORTANCE DES CRITIQUES FORMULEES A L ENDROIT
DE M TRUDEAU PAR DES REPRESENTANTS DU PENTAGONE
LA SEMAINE DERNIERE A L OCCASION D UNE CONFERENCE
A NEW YORK.IL A DECLARE QU IL S AGISSAIT LA DE
MILITAIRES PEU IMPORTANTS QUI NE REPRESENTAIENT
EN RIEN LES VUES DE L ADMINISTRATION REAGAN.
RAPPELANT QUE LES CRITIQUES DE CES MILITAIRES
PORTAIENT SUR LA FAIBLE CONTRIBUTION DU CANADA
A L OTAN, L AMBASSADEUR A RECONNU L EXISTENCE
D UNE TELLE OPINION AUX ETATS-UNIS,MAIS IL A
DFCLARE QU ELLE ETAIT DEPASSEE PAR LES EVENEMENTS.
CIT ON RECONNAIT QUE LE CANADA S EFFORCE MAINTENANT
DE FAIRE DAVANTAGE.FINCIT.

M.ROBINSON ESTIME QUE LE RETARD CANADIEN DES
ANNEES PASSEES EN MATIERE DE CONTRIBUTION MILITAIRE

PAGE TROIS PMO1414 UNCLAS

A L OTAN N EST PAS UN ATOUT DANS LA MISSION DE
PAIX DE M.TRUDEAU.CIT CELA N AIDE PAS LE CANADA,
MAIS JF NE DIRAIS PAS QUE CELA LUI NUIRA.CE N EST
PAS PARCE QUE LE CANADA N A PAS CONTRIBUE SUFFISAMMENT
DANS LE PASSE QUE LES AUTRES PAYS REFUSERONT
D ECOUTER M.TRUDEAU.FINCIT.

L AMBASSADEUR AFFIRME NE PAS PARTAGER LES CRAINTES
DE CEUX QUI AFFIRMENT QUE L INITIATIVE DE PAIX DE
M.TRUDEAU SERA PERCUE COMME UN AFFAIBLISSEMENT
DE L OTAN PAR LES SOVIETIQUES.CIT CELA NE DEVRAIT
PAS ETRE UNE RAISON POUR NE PAS ALLER A MOSCOU.
HELMUTT KOHL EST ALLE A MOSCOU ET IL NE S EST
RIEN PASSE.MAIS QU AVONS-NOUS A PERDRE?.JE N AI
PAS DE CRAINTES.SI NOUS AVIONS PEUR QU UNE TELLE
DEMARCHE N AFFAIBLISSE L OTAN NOUS LE DIRIONS
PUBLIQUEMENT.MAIS L OTAN EST PLUS FORTE QUE LE GENS
LE PENSENT.FINCIT.

COMMENTANT A TITRE D EXEMPLE LES ACTIVITES DES
MOUVEMENTS PACIFISTES,M.ROBINSON AFFIRME QUE
L OUEST NE S EST PAS LAISSE INFLUENCER CIT PAR
LES TENTATIVES SOVIETIQUES DE NOUS EMPECHER DE
DEPLOYER LES FUROMISSILES.

AU CANADA,C EST ENCOURAGEANT DE VOIR QUE LES

...4

PAGE QUATRE PM01414 UNCLAS

MANIFESTATIONS D AVRIL CONTRE L ESSAI DU MISSILE
DE CROISIERE N ONT RECUEILLI QUE 80,000 PARTICIPANTS
DANS TOUT LE PAYS.VOUS POUVEZ REGROUPER
TOUT CE MONDE POUR UNE PARTIE DE FALLE...ET LA
DERNIERE MANIFESTATION EN OCTOBRE N A REUNI QUE
30 000 PERSONNES.FINCIT.

L AMBASSADEUR SOUTIENT QUE SEULE UNE ATTITUDE
FERME PERMETTRA D EN ARRIVER A UN DEBLOCAGE AUX
NEGOCIATIONS DE GENEVE,ET IL ESTIME QU IL FAUDRA
ATTENDRE LE DEPLOIEMENT DE 100 A 200 MISSILES
AVANT DE VOIR L UNION SOVIETIQUE FAIRE DES OFFRES
SERIEUSES DE NEGOCIATIONS.CIT JE SUIS PERSUADE
QUE LE PRESIDENT REAGAN SERA REELU AUX PROCHAINES
ELECTIONS SUR DEUX POINTS BIEN PRECIS:L AMELIORATION
DE L ECONOMIE,ET DES ACTIONS PRECISES DANS
LE BUT D EN ARRIVER A UNE REDUCTION DE L ARMEMENT
NUCLEAIRE.FINCIT,AJOUTE-T-IL.

A QUELS RESULTATS POURRAIT MENER L INITIATIVE DE
PAIX DE M.TRUDEAU,DANS UN TEL CONTEXTE?.L AMBASSADEUR
ROBINSON SE MONTRE BEAUCOUP PLUS VAGUE
LORSQU ON LUI POSE UNE TELLE QUESTION.CIT LE
PREMIER MINISTRE RECONNAIT QU IL Y A UNE IMPASSE

PAGE CINQ PM01414 UNCLAS

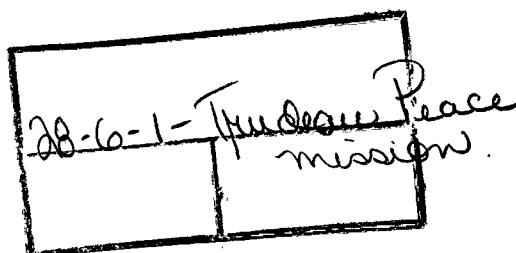
QUI NE PERSISTERA PAS SELON MOI.MAIS JE PENSE
QU IL A RAISON D ENTREPRENDRE CETTE INITIATIVE
AFIN D AMELIORER LE CLIMAT.NOUS SOMMES D ACCORD
AVFC UNE TELLE DEMARCHE;J AI VU LA LETTRE QUE
LE PRESIDENT REAGAN A ENVOYEE A M.TRUDEAU,ET
JE PUIS VOUS DIRE QUE LE PRESIDENT APPUIE FORTEMENT
SON INITIATIVE.FINCIT.FIN DE L ARTICLE.

UUU/075 241648Z PM01414

UNCLASSIFIED

FM EXTOTT FPR1124 24NOV83

TO PMDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 250900



INFO PNATO WSHDC CNGNY PRMNY MOSCO PEKIN BRU BREEC LDN PARIS BONN
ROMF TOKYO NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DG PCOOTT PMOOTT/FOWLER GENEV
DISTR MINA MINE MINT DMF IDDZ IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI RED RER

---SCRUM:SSEA 24NOV,PMS PEACE INITIATIVE/ANDROPOV STATEMENT

SCRUM:SSEA 24NOV 1500 HRS ANDROPOVS STATEMENT

QUESTION:THE REASON I WANTED TO ASK YOU A QUESTION WAS THAT
MR ANDROPOVS COME OUT WITH A STATEMENT SAYING SOMETHING TO THE
EFFECT THAT MISSILES IN THE SEAS AND THE OCEAN WOULD RESPOND TO THE
PERSHING-2S.IN OTHER WORDS,HE COULD DEPLOY MORE MISSILES IN THE
SEAS AND THE OCEAN.THE OTHER THING IS,THAT THE GENEVA TALKS COULDNT
BE HELD OR THAT THEY ARE IRREVOCABLE...?

SSFA:WELL AT ONE TIME YOU MAY REMEMBER,THE SOVIET UNION REFUSED TO
BEGIN THE TALKS,THE GENEVA TALKS.IT TOOK QUITE SOME TIME TO GET
THEM TO THE TABLE.THEY DID COME TO THE TABLE AND I THINK THEY WILL
COME BACK TO THE TABLE,IN DUE COURSE.

QUESTION:SO YOU DONT TAKE THIS THREAT VERY SERIOUSLY THEN?YOU DONT
THINK HE IS ACTUALLY GOING TO HOLD TO THAT?

SSFA:I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN,
INDEFINITELY,THE VIEW THAT THEY WILL NOT/NOT CONTINUE THESE NEGOTIAT-
IONS WHY HAVE THEY STOPPED THE NEGOTIATIONS?PRESUMABLY,BECAUSE
DEPLOYMENT IS ABOUT TO BEGIN.THAT IS THEIR REASON,BUT KEEP IN MIND

PAGE TWO FPR1124 UNCLAS

THAT WHILE THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN GOING ON, AND THEY HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF HAS BEEN DEPLOYING NEW MISSILES. SO IT IS A BIT CONTRADICTORY TO HAVE DEPLOYED THESE MISSILES DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEN WHEN THE OTHER SIDE BEGINS DEPLOYMENT TO STOP THE NEGOTIATIONS. IS THERE A DOUBLE-STANDARD THERE? QUESTION: WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE INCREASED THREAT POSED BY THE DEPLOYING OF MORE MISSILES BY SUBMARINES IN THE SEA, AND SO FORTH, AS MR ANDROPOV HAS SUGGESTED? NORTH AMERICA NOW SEEMS TO BE MORE THREATENED. DOES THAT BOTHER YOU?

SSFA: WELL, IT BOTHERS ME TO HEAR TALK ABOUT MORE DEPLOYMENT, MORE MISSILES, SILOS. THE PURPOSE OF THESE TALKS IS TO TRY AND GET A MUTUALLY-AGREED LEVEL OF ARMS. OF COURSE IT IS BOTHERSOME AND IT IS WORRISOME. IT HAS TO BE DEALT WITH. BUT THE WAY TO DEAL WITH IT IS THROUGH RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION: SO IS THIS THE PRICE WE HAVE TO PAY FOR TAKING A HARD LINE IN RELATION TO OUR NEGOTIATIONS?

SSFA: YOU KNOW, THE SOVIET UNION ATTEMPTED FOR SOME TIME NOW, THROUGH VARIOUS EFFORTS WITH PUBLIC OPINION TO GET THE ALLIES NOT/NOT TO DEPLOY. THEY FAILED. DEPLOYMENT WILL GO AHEAD. THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT HAS TAKEN A POSITIVE VOTE. THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT, THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT. ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES HAVE SAID YES, WE ARE GOING AHEAD, DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVIET UNION. SO, IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL REQUIRE A LITTLE TIME TO RE-ASSESS ITS STRATEGY, WHICH IN THIS CASE WAS TO TRY TO GET THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

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TO SAY WE WONT DEPLOY. THEY HAVE REFUSED TO SAY THAT, AND THAT HAS BEEN A DEFEAT FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

QUESTION: IF THEY DO DEPLOY MORE, DO YOU SEE A THREAT THAT PERHAPS THE NATO COUNTRIES WILL WANT TO ADD EVEN MORE MISSILES TO THEIR ARSENAL THAN THE ONES THEY ALREADY HAVE?

SSEA: I DONT THINK THAT WILL BE THE OUTCOME THAT THE NATO ALLIANCE WOULD WANT TO REACH.

QUESTION: DOES THIS FAILURE OF THE SOVIET POLICY UP TO NOW AUGUR WELL THERE FOR PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAUS PEACE INITIATIVE?

SSEA: I STATED YESTERDAY, THAT THE BREAK-DOWN OR THE CESSATION, OR THE INTERRUPTION IN THE ARMS TALKS IS AN ADDED REASON, AND GIVES ADDED URGENCY FOR THE EFFORT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS UNDERTAKING. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW, AS DEMONSTRATED WITH GREAT CLARITY, THE TIMELINESS OF WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS DOING.

QUESTION: MEANWHILE, HAVE YOU READ MR PEARSONS MOSCOW REPORT?

SSEA: NOT/NOT YET. HE HASNT BEEN THERE YET, OR HAS HE? UNQUOTE.

UUU/149 242346Z FPR1124

Mr. Gossage *GR*
RD

UNCLASSIFIED

FM FXTOTT FPR1122 24NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI DELIVER BY 250900

28-6-1-*Trudeau Peace Mission*

INFO BNATO WSHDC CNGNY BRU BREEC MOSCO PEKIN LDN PARIS BONN TOKYO
GENEV

DISTR MINA MINE MINT USS DMF DMT SCI SCS IDDZ IDA IDD UEG URR

---PMS PEACE INITIATIVE:COMWEL CONF

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF BRIAN KELLEHERS NEWS ITEM BROADCAST ON
CBC 0800 HRS NEWS 24NOV83 QUOTE

CFC:THE PRIME MINISTERS QUEST FOR PEACE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST
APPEARS TO BE GAINING GROUND WITH ASIAN LEADERS.THE PRIME MINISTER
OF JAPAN,MR NAKASONE,AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CHINESE
COMMUNIST PARTY,HU YAOBANG,SAY THEY AGREE TO SUPPORT CALLS MADE BY
OTHERS FOR PEACE IN ASIA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.NEITHER OFFICIAL
SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THE CANADIAN PEACE INITIATIVE.HOWEVER,MR
TRUDEAU MET WITH MR NAKASONE LAST SATURDAY,AND ITS BELIEVED HE
ASKED THE JAPANESE LEADER TO CONVEY ELEMENTS OF HIS PEACE PLAN TO
THE CHINESE OFFICIAL.MEANWHILE,MR TRUDEAU IS URGING COMMONWEALTH
LEADERS TO RAISE THEIR COLLECTIVE VOICE AGAINST THE ARMS RACE.THE
COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI HAS GONE INTO ITS SECOND DAY
OF DISCUSSION OVER INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS.BRIAN KELLEHER IS
COVERING THE CONFERENCE AND HAS THIS REPORT:

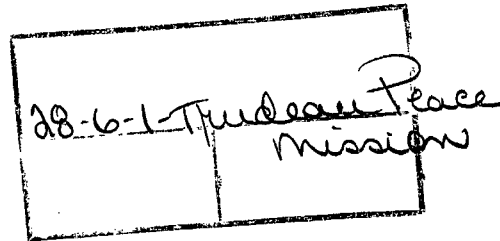
PAGE TWO FPR1122 UNCLAS

BRIAN KELLEHER: LET US RAISE OUR VOICES AGAINST THE ABSURDITY OF THE ARMS RACE. THAT WAS PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S APPEAL TO THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE TODAY AS IT CONTINUED PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND HOW TO REDUCE IT. COMMONWEALTH OFFICIALS SAY MR TRUDEAU TOLD TODAY'S MEETING THAT THE COMMONWEALTH CAN HELP TO IMPROVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. COMMONWEALTH LEADERS COULD JOIN IN SPEAKING OUT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO BRING ABOUT A PSYCHOLOGICAL SHIFT ON THE PART OF THE SUPERPOWERS. IF THEY COULD BE INDUCED TO STOP FEARING EACH OTHER AND TO STOP BUILDING UP THEIR WEAPONS, THEN REAL TALKS COULD START ON REDUCING ARMS. CANADIAN OFFICIALS SAY THE SOVIET WALK-OUT AT THE GENEVA ARMS TALKS IS ONE OF A SERIES OF STEPS THAT WILL PROBABLY INCREASE TENSIONS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, BUT AT SOME POINT THE SUPERPOWERS WILL HAVE TO TONE DOWN THAT TENSION AND THAT'S WHERE MR TRUDEAU'S INITIATIVE COMES IN. COMMONWEALTH OFFICIALS SAY THAT UNDERLYING THE WHOLE DISCUSSION TODAY WAS MR TRUDEAU'S IDEA OF THE SO-CALLED THIRD RAIL OF POLITICAL ENERGY AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO SHIFT THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE SUPERPOWERS. QUOTE LET US RAISE OUR VOICES AGAINST THE ABSURDITY OF THE ARMS RACE, UNQUOTE WAS THE QUOTE ATTRIBUTED TO MR TRUDEAU BUT THE SPECIFICS OF HOW COMMONWEALTH LEADERS COULD DO THAT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE DECIDED UNTIL THE LEADERS HAVE THEIR CUSTOMARY PRIVATE RETREAT THIS WEEKEND. AT THIS CONFERENCE, THE RETREAT IS TO TAKE PLACE IN GOA, A TWO-HOUR FLIGHT TO THE SOUTHWEST FROM NEW DELHI. BRIAN KELLEHER, CBC NEWS, NEW DELHI. UNQUOTE

UUU/189 241903Z FPR1122

000429

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS



S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PFKIN WJGR0894 24NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI FLASH

INFO MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY EXTOTT LDDZ/DELVOIE ONLY
IMMED

RFF OURTEL WJGR0886 24NOV

---PM INITIATIVE-VISIT TO CHINA NOV28/29

IN VIEW OF SHORT TIME BEFORE PM ARRIVES MFA IS ANXIOUS TO HAVE
ANSWERS TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS OFFICIALS HAVE RAISED WITH US IN
PAST TWO DAYS.COULD WE PLS HAVE BY 09H00 25NOV,ANSWERS TO FOLLOWING:

(A)A/C ROUTING AND ARRIVAL TIME.

F)FULL NAMES AND TITLES OF MEMBERS OF PMS PARTY.

C)NUMEER,AGENCY AND NAMES OF MEDIA REPS.

D)FUEL AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS FOR A/C.

(F)PMS WISHES FOR AM 28NOV.

CCC/002 240845Z WJGR0894

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PEKIN WJGR0886 24NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI FLASH

INFO MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY EXTOTT/IDDZ/DELVOIE ONLY
IMMED

REF OURTEL WJGR0877 24NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:VISIT TO CHINA NOV28/29

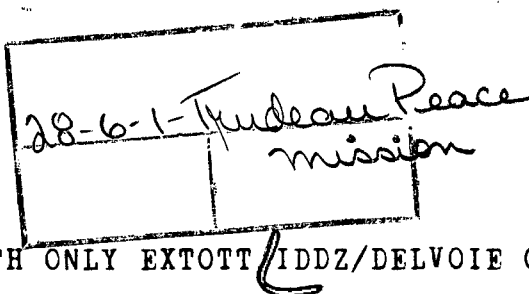
FURTHER TO OUR CONTACTS WITH PROTOCOL,MET EARLY THIS AM ASST
MIN ZHU QIZHEN WHO WAS UNAVAILABLE YESTERDAY.

2.ZHU WAS NOT/NOT YET SURE WHETHER PM ZHAO ZIYANG WOULD RECEIVE
PM IN MORNING OR AFTERNOON OF 28NOV.AS FOR DENG XIAO PING REQUEST
HAS BEEN MADE AND IF DENG SEES PM IT WILL MOST LIKELY BE AFTER
1000 AM ON 29NOV.(PERSONALLY I BELIEVE WE CAN TAKE IT FOR GRANTED
THAT DENG WILL RECEIVE PM BUT WILL CONFIRM ASAP).ZHU ASKED IF PM
WOULD WISH TO HAVE TOUR OF MAIN SITES OF PEKIN WITH HIS SON ON
FREE MORNING OR FREE PART OF AFTERNOON OF 28NOV.

3.REGARDING PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF PMS VISIT TO CHINA,ZHU SAID
WE ARE FREE TO DO IT WHENEVER WE WISH BUT REMINDED ME OF CHINESE
PRACTICE TO ANNOUNCE VISIT ONE DAY BEFORE IT TAKES PLACE.(I WAS
RELIEVED BECAUSE I HEARD ON BBC THIS MORNING THAT PM TRUDEAU WAS
COMING TO CHINA).PLS ADVISE WHEN YOU INTEND TO OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCE
VISIT BECAUSE OF CTV AND CEC REPS HERE IN PEKIN WHO WILL NO/NO
DOUBT HAVE HEARD BBC REPORT.

4.I RAISE AGAIN POSSIBILITY OF ENLARGING PRESS PARTY BEYOND SIX

...2



PAGE TWO WJGR0884 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

OR SEVEN. ZHU SAID THAT BECAUSE OF SCARCITY OF ACCOMMODATION IN HOTELS, IF PRESS PARTY IS LARGER THAN SIX OR SEVEN IT WILL HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATE IN SEPARATE GUEST HOUSE AT YUAN 6000/6000 (APPROX CDN DLRS 3700/3700) PER DAY REGARDLESS OF NUMBER. IF PRESS IS CONFINED TO SIX OR SEVEN THEY WILL BE ACCOMMODATED, IF PM HAS NO/NO OBJECTION, IN PMS GUEST HOUSE AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE BUT AT SAME RATE AS NORMAL HOTEL ACCOMMODATION, IE BETWEEN YUAN 100 AND 150, APPROX CDN DLRS 100.

CCC/002 240315Z WJGR0886

28-6-1- Trudeau Peace mission

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

FM VMBFR XTDR0214 24NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR DELIVER BY 240900

INFO ENATO DELIVER BY 241330

CANMILREPNATO WSHDC LDN PARIS BONN NDHQOTT/CPP/DNACPOL

DISTR IFB IDD IEDZ IDRZ IDRL IDA IDAO IDAN

--MBFR: NAC MINISTERIAL

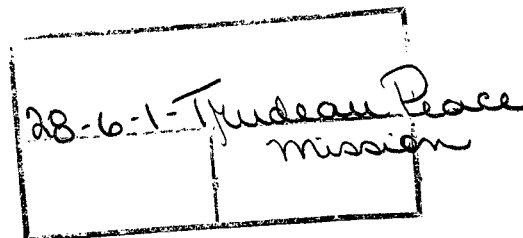
TEXT OF ORAL REPORT TO NAC TO BE DELIVERED BY AMB BOSS AGREED BY AHG SUMS UP CURRENT STATE OF NEGS AND ASSESSES LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS IN NON-CONTROVERSIAL AND BALANCED TERMS THAT BREAK NO/NO NEW GROUND. CRUX OF REPORT, AT LEAST FOR THOSE WHO HOPE THAT EFFORTS WILL BE LAUNCHED TO DEVELOP NEW WESTERN NEGOTIATING INITIATIVE, IS ITS CONCLUDING PARA WHICH ONCE AGAIN (I.E., FOR THE THIRD TIME) RECOMMENDS REVIEW BY THE COUNCIL OF OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENN.

2. CONCLUDING SECTION OF REPORT, WHICH IS ALL THAT WARRANTS REPEATING BY TEL, IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE THE EAST HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT/NOT ENGAGE IN A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF VERIFICATION MEASURES BEFORE RECEIVING A WESTERN ANSWER TO ITS PROPOSALS. THE EAST ALSO CONTINUES TO DEMAND WESTERN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE BASIC APPROACH INHERENT IN THE EASTERN PROPOSALS PACKAGE OF THIS YEAR BECAUSE AS THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION STATED, THERE IS QUOTE NO/NO OTHER WAY OUT OF THE LABYRINTH OF USELESS AND HOPELESS DATA DISPUTES UNQUOTE. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENN ARE OF THE OPINION THAT A TIMELY EVALUATION BY THE COUNCIL OF THE ALLIANCE'S NEGOTIATING POSITION IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENN IS NEEDED. UNQUOTE.

CCC/076 241225Z XTDR0214

000433



UNCLASSIFIED

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0066 24NOV83

TO EXTOTT CPD

DISTR DMF RBD IMD IMC PSR (IDDZ CCB

REF YOURTEL CPD0181 21NOV

---PMS RESPONSE TO WELCOME ADDRESS

YOUR PROMPT RESPONSE GRATEFULLY RECEIVED. PM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR ALTERNATIVE TEXT WHICH HE FOUND MORE TO HIS LIKING. ALTHOUGH HIS EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESS FOLLOWED DIFFERENT FORMAT HE DREW ON TEXT FOR A NUMBER OF IDEAS AND CONCEPTS.

UUU/090 250344Z PMDL0066

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0061 24NOV83

TO PEKING/AMB ONLY FLASH

INFC MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY

EXTOTT IDDZ/DELVOIE ONLY IMMED

---PMS VISIT TO CHINA

1.FOLLOWING IS DEL AS APPROVED BY PM:

A.RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU (A)

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

B.MR ROBERT R. FOWLER

ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE CABINET

FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

C.MR J.E.JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

D.MR G.SMITH

DIRECTOR.ARMS CONTROL DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

E.MR R.COLEMAN

PRESS SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

F.MR B.V.JONSTONE

ASSISTANT CHIEF OF PROTOCOL

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

G.MISS M.DURDIN

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

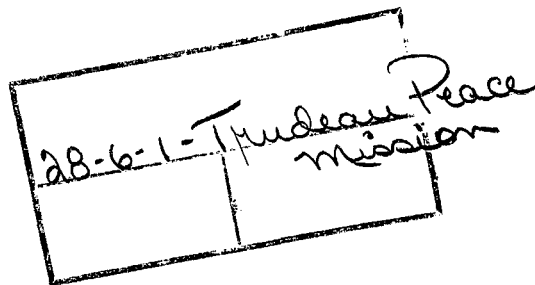
H.INSPECTOR G.CARTER

SPECIAL SECURITY OFFICE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

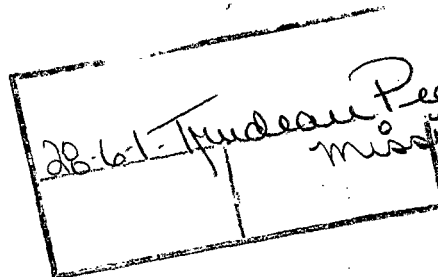
A)ACCOMPANIED BY SON JUSTIN(AGE 11)

2.PASSPORT DETAILS FOLLOW BY SEPARATE TEL.

CCC/068 240850Z PMDL0061



**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**



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

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

FM TOKYO UIGR2519 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT UDDZ DELIVER BY 230900

INFO PMDELDELHI/FOWLER DELIVER BY 230900

WSHDC MOSCO BNATO ROME BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU PRMNY PEKIN LDN

NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/PPP

DISTR MINA DMF ICR IDA RGE RER UGE URR RCP ZSI RCD RCR

RFF YOURTEL WJGR0865 21NOV XNGR4158 22NOV

---PMS MTG WITH GEORGI ARBATOV

I LEAVE DECISION ON CLASSIFICATION OF FIRST REFTEL TO PMDELDELHI.

I DID NOT/NOT UTILIZE CEO CLASSIFICATION AS MTG HAS BECOME PUBLIC

AND ARBATOV'S VIEWS ABOUT ANDROPOV'S HEALTH MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR

POSTS LIKE LDN, WSHDC AND BNATO WITH THEIR CONTACTS. DISCUSSION

BETWEEN PM AND ARBATOV SHLD OF COURSE BE GUARDED AND TREATED AS

CEO

PEARSON

CCC/232 230230Z UIGR2519

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

**ACTION
SUITE A**

DONNER

Mr. Calster
Let's speak

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

FM WSHDC UNGR2468 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ

INFO MOSCO BNATO PRMNY CNGNY PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN VMBFR

CANMILREPNATO ECNN LDN GENEV STKHM NDHQOTT/MND/CDS/DNACPOL/CID/

CORAF/ADMPOL/CPD/DIPOL/DSTRATA

DISTR MINA USS EMF IFB URGB URR RGB UGB RBR IDD IDR IDA IDRA IDRL

RGX RBD RCR RCD RSR RSRD CPD

RFF OURTEL UNGR2449 18NOV

---MBFR:USSR VIEWS

SUMMARY: THERE IS A STRONG GROUP WITHIN ADMIN WHO IS APPPOSED TO MBFR ON GROUNDS IT IS A FLAWED NEGOTIATION THAT UNDERCUTS USA POLICIES OF IMPROVING CONVENTIONAL DETERRENCE IN EUROPE AND SHOWING STRENGTH TO USSR. THERE IS SMALLER GROUP INCLUDING SEC SHULTZ WHO SEES VALUE IN MBFR AS MEANS OF KEEPING LINES OF COMMUNICATION OPEN WITH EAST. OTHERS SEE NEED FOR IT IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL TERMS. FRG PROPOSAL FOR CHANGE THIS SUMMER WAS VERY NEARLY SUCCESSFUL BUT FAILED BECAUSE OF PERCEIVED NEED OF IDEOLOGICAL CONSISTENCY RE VERIFICATION.

PERHAPS PMS INITIATIVE CLD INDEED HELP PUT LIFE INTO MBFR BUT WE MUST EXPECT TO BE RESISTED BY MEMBERS OF ANTI-MBFR GROUP.

2. REPORT: IN LIGT OF HAAS COMMENTS TO EMB ON MBFR (PARA 8 OF REFTL) WE SOUGHT OUT FRIEND WHO HAS LONG EXPERIENCE IN USA MBFR POLICY WHO PROVIDED US FOLLOWING OUTLINE ON CURRENT THINKING WITHIN ADMIN ON MBFR.

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28-6-1-1 Hudson Peace Mission

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1980 A 31102

PAGE TWO UNGR2468 CONFD CEO

3.THERE IS A LARGE GROUP OF STRATEGIC THINKERS IN USA ADMIN,INCLUDING PFRLE.BURT AND HAAS,WHO ARGUE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:(I)THERE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN LIMITATIONS TO THE MBFR PROCESS,ITS AREA OF APPLICATION IS TOO LIMITED,VERIFICATION CAN NEVER BE ADEQUATELY ASSURED AND IT PUTS RESTRICTIONS ON OUR FORCES;(II)IT IS THEREFORE A FLAWED NEGOTIATION;(III)USA INITIALLY ENTERED MBFR PROCESS BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL(MANSFIELD) PRESSURE TO LIMIT USA TROOP COMMITMENTS IN EUROPE.THIS PRESSURE NO/NO LONGER EXISTS;(IV)IF PRESSURE STILL EXISTED MBFR WLD NOT/NOT RESPOND TO IT BECAUSE MEFR HAS BEEN MORIBUND SO LONG;(V)ALLIES ARE NOT/NOT SHOWING INTEREST IN PROCESS.THEY HAVE NOT/NOT RAISED ISSUE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL FOR A LONG TIME;(VI)USA FOR POL AND DEFENSE PRIORITIES ARE (1)TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE IN EUROPE AND(2)TO SHOW STRENGTH TO THE USSR. THE MBFR UNDERCUTS BOTH OF THESE GOALS.

4.CUR CONTACT SAID THAT IN THEIR HEART OF HEARTS THIS GROUP WLD LIKE TO CALL OFF MBFR.SINCE THIS IS NOT/NOT POLITICALLY POSSIBLE THEIR TACTIC IS TO DO AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE.

5.THERE IS ANOTHER GROUP,MORE APPROPRIATELY A COALITION,OF ARMS CONTROLLERS SUCH AS RON LEHMAN OF NSC,POLITICALLY ORIENTED PEOPLE SUCH AS JUDGE CLARK AND PRAGMATISTS SUCH AS SHULTZ WHO SEE VALUE IN MBFR PROCESS EITHER (A)AS HELPFUL POLITICALLY FOR RE-ELECTION OR (B)AS A MEANS OF ENSURING SOME CONTINUITY IN EAST-WEST RELS.

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PAGE THREE UNGR2468 CONFD CEO

6.OUR CONTACT SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF FRG INITIATIVE THIS SUMMER TFFY COME VERY CLOSE TO GETTING CHANGE IN USA POSITION,AND PERHAPS EVEN YET ALL HOPE IS NOT/NOT LOST.FRg PROPOSAL WAS NOT/NOT SPELLED OUT TO EMB BUT WE WERE TOLD IT WAS PRESENTED TO NSC AS EEING A PROPOSAL THAT DID NOT/NOT COMPLETELY REMOVE THE DATA PROBLEM AND ONE WHICH WLD HAVE ALLOWED MORE WORK TO BE DONE ON VERIFICATION ISSUFS.PROPOSAL WAS KILLED BY IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE,HOW,THE ARGUMENT WENT,CLD REAGAN ADMIN,AFTER ITS PAST POSITIONS,APPEAR TO FALL OF THE DATA ISSUE(QUES)

7.WE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY WAY CDA CLD NOW HELP PUSH THE FRG INITIATIVE OR SCMETHING SIMILAR.OUR CONTACT SAID THAT HAVING BEEN TOLD NO/NO ONCE BY THE REGAN ADMIN FRG CANNOT/NOT GET TOO FAR OUT FRCNT BUT THAT FRG MAY BE WILLING TO WORK WITH CDA ON THE IDEA. IN ANY CASE PMS INITIATIVE CLD WELL,IF PURSUED,HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECT.USA WILL CHANGE ITS MEFR POSITION ONLY IF THE ALLIES OR CONGRESS PUSHES IT HARD.

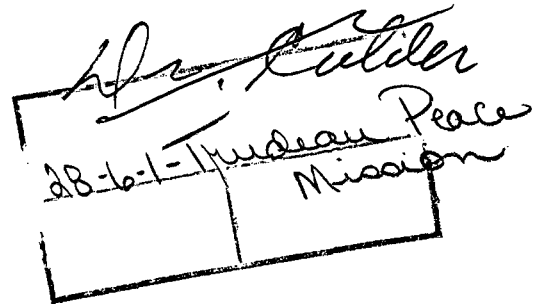
8.USA WILL BE BRIEFING ALLIES ON ITS OFFICIAL VIEWS ON MEFR AT NAC 25NOV.BASIC COMPONENTS OF USA BRIEFING WILL BE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A)WEST SHLD NOT/NOT OVER-EMPHASIZE RECENT EASTERN MOVES;(F) WE STILL HAVE A PROBLEM WITH THE DATA ISSUE;(C)EAST HAS MOVED TOWARDS THE WEST SOME ON THE VERIFICATION ISSUE BUT IT WLD BE A MISTAKE TO THINK WE ARE NEAR TO RESOLVING THIS QUESTION;(D)WE SHLD PRESS FOR MORE EASTERN MOVEMENT ON VERIFICATION;(E)THERE MAY BE SOMETHING WE CAN DO IN RESPONSE TO EAST INOUR ASSOCIATED MEASURES PACKAGE.

CCC/231 232257Z UNGR2468

MF

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER



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

FM WSHDC UNGR2461 23NOV83

TO FXTOTT/IDDZ DELIVER BY 231730

INFO PMDELDELHI/FOWLER MOSCO BNATO ROME LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU
PEKIN PRMNY CNGNY TOKYO PMOOTT/AXWORTHY NDHQOTT/DM/ADMPOL/CPD
DISTR MINA USS DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR URR RCP ZSI UGB CPD
REF TOKYO TEL UIGR2529 23NOV

---PMS INITIATIVE:MOSCO VISIT,CRITICAL VIEW OF USA POLICIES
28NOV VISIT TO WSHDC BY CALDER AND HAGAN SHLD GIVE CLEARER
INDICATION OF USA REACTION TO SPECIFICS OF PMS PROPOSALS ON
TECHNICAL LEVEL.REACTIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR HAVE NOT/NOT
GONE INTO DETAILS OF USA OBJECTIONS,APART FROM OBSERVATIONS
PROPOSALS WILL NOT/NOT FLY,OR WILL PLACE PRESSURE ON USA AT
INOPPORTUNE TIME,OR CUT ACROSS USA CRITICAL PATH.

2.ASST SECY BURT HAS ON TWO OCCASIONS(ONCE TO AMB AND ONCE TO
MND BLAIS)SAID HOWEVER THAT THERE ARE HARD OBJECTIONS TO THE
SUFFOCATION PROPOSALS.HE HAS SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO THE ASAT
PROPOSAL SAYING USA WILL REJECT IT BECAUSE IT HAS HOPES OF
ACPIEVING MAJOR SUCCESS IN SPACE THAT WILL GIVE USA UPPER HAND.
SUFFOCATION WLD CUT ACROSS USA PROGRAMS TO USSR ADVANTAGE.

3.PURTS COMMENTS REFLECT DEGREE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENTS STAR WARS
SPEECH AND THE INITIATIVE IT SPAWNED HAVE PERMEATED OFFICIAL
THINKING.THE IDEA OF DOING A TECHNOLOGICAL END RUN ON THE SOVS

...2

PAGE TWO UNGR2461 CONFD

PERSISTS IN THIS ADMIN. THIS IS PART OF THE PROBLEM.

4. TO SOPHISTICATED CRITICAL OBSERVERS, ANTI-SAT PROGRAM CLD
REPRESENT TO ADMIN HARDLINERS MEANS WHEREBY USA CAN GET AROUND
ANTI-ABM AGREEMENT AND UNDERTAKE SERIOUS WORK ON SUCH THINGS AS
CHEMICAL LASERS WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE BE PROHIBITED.

5. ADMIN CRITICS, SUCH AS JOHN STEINERUNER OF BROOKINGS, ARE VERY
WORRIED ABOUT SORT OF SIGNALS THIS IS SENDING TO SOVIET UNION.
THEY CONSIDER CDA SHOULD MAINTAIN PROPOSAL TO CUT OFF WORK ON
ANTI-SAT TECHNOLOGY.

6. THEY ALSO ATTACH SIGNIFICANCE TO RECENT REVISIONS TO CDA
ESTIMATES ON SOVIET DEFENCE SPENDING. IN THEIR VIEW, SOVIETS APPEAR
TO HAVE DECIDED BETWEEN 1968 AND 1971 TO CUT BACK CAPITAL SPENDING
IN DEFENCE BUT BECAUSE OF SLUGGISHNESS OF SOVIET SYSTEM, IMPACT OF
THESE DECISIONS HAS NOT/NOT REALLY BEEN NOTICED UNTIL QUITE
RECENTLY. SOVIET SYSTEM HAS IN FACT RESISTED FOR LAST DECADE
MILITARY PRESSURE FOR UPTURN IN SPENDING ON WEAPONS SYSTEMS.
IMPACT OF REAGAN ADMIN EXCESSES OF RHETORIC AND PROGRAMS SUCH
AS ANTI-SAT WEAPONRY IS TO TIP HAND IN USSR IN FAVOUR OF THOSE
WHO WANT GREATER SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING. SOVIET HARDLINERS CAN
POINT TO PATTERN COMPOSED OF PROPOSALS FROM USA IN ARMS CONTROL
NEGS, SUCH PROGRAMS FOR ARMS BUILDUP SUCH AS ANTI-SAT, P2 DEPLOYMENT,
AND OVERALL RHETORIC TO BUILD CASE THAT USA IS AIMING AT FIRST

...3

PAGE THREE UNGR2461 CONFD

STRIKE CAPABILITY OF ITW OWN.EVENTUAL SPACE SHUTTLE BASED WEAPONS
COULD NOT/NOT DEFEAT MASSIVE ICBM ATTACK FROM USSR BUT COULD
CONCEIVABLY HAVE EFFECT ON RESIDUAL RESPONSE TO FIRST STRIKE.
ADMIN WLD CONSIDER SUCH CLAIMS GROUNDLESS,OF COURSE.HOWEVER,
STEINBRUNER CONSIDERS CLAIMS WLD BE AT LEAST AS CREDIBLE IN USSR
AS BASIS FOR NEW FILLIP TO ARMS RACE,AS WINDOW OF VULNERABILITY
THESIS WAS HERE.

7.ALL OF THIS CONVINCES SUCH CRITICS RETURN TO SOME FORM OF CLIMATE
IN WHICH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IS POSSIBLE TO BE VITAL.BIZARRE EVENTS
SURROUNDING RECENT INF OFFERS AND DENIALS AND DEMARCHES IN ALLIED
CAPITALS AND COUNTER-DEMARCHES REVEAL TO THESE CRITICS(WHO
INCIDENTALLY DO NOT/NOT BELIEVE ADMIN SIDE OF STORY AND CONSIDER
NITZE MUST HAVE BEEN TOYING WITH 572 PROPOSAL AS SOMETHING TO BE
TAKEN SERIOUSLY IN MODIFIED FORM)BOTH HOW BADLY USA-USSR BILATERAL
SIT REALLY IS,AND HOW LITTLE CHANCE THERE IS RIGHT NOW FOR
PRODUCTIVE ARMS CONTROL NEGS.THEY BELIEVE THERE IS NO/NO ONE IN
ADMIN ABLE BY QUALIFICATION OR BY DISPOSITION TO APPRECIATE QUOTE
AMERICAN ERROR UNQUOTE EXCEPT POSSIBLY THOSE ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL
SIDE WHO MUST REALIZE THAT BY SPRING ARMS CONTROL WILL BECOME THE
MAJOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE.QUESTION THEY ASK IS WHETHER USA
JUDGEMENT WILL NOT/NOT BECOME DIVISIVE ISSUE IN ALLIANCE BEFORE
THEN.

CCC'230 232131Z UNGR2461



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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

SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ
C O N F I D E N T I A L

24 NOV 83 15 03 40

FM/DE
TO/À
INFO
DISTR
REF
SUBJ/SUJ

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0210 24NOV83

TO PMDEL/DELHI/
FOR FOWLER AND SHENSTONE

INFO PC00TT/CARON NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP PEKIN MOSCO

DISTR MINA DMF IFB IMC IDR IDA ETN

REF OUR MEMO IDDZ132 14NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:STATEMENT AND DECLARATION AT CHOGM

UNDER COVER OF REF MEMO WE PROVIDED DRAFT FOR PM STATEMENT ON QUOTE
WORLD POLITICAL SCENE-GLOBAL TRENDS AND PROSPECTS UNQUOTE. IN ORDER
TO KEEP DPM/SSEA INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS, WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO
KNOW WHETHER PMS INTERVENTION WAS ALONG LINES SUGGESTED IN OUR DRAFT
OR WHETHER SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES WERE MADE. IN LATTER CASE, GRATEFUL YOU
PROVIDE ASAP FULL TEXT OF FINAL VERSION OF STATEMENT ON WHICH PM
BASED HIS INTERVENTION.

2. GRATEFUL ALSO FOR SITREP ON WHERE MATTERS NOW STAND RE EVENTUAL
CHOGM DECLARATION ON INNATL PEACE AND SECURITY.

28-6-1-1
Bureau
Peace
Mission
23-3-1983

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

L.A. Delvoie/sc

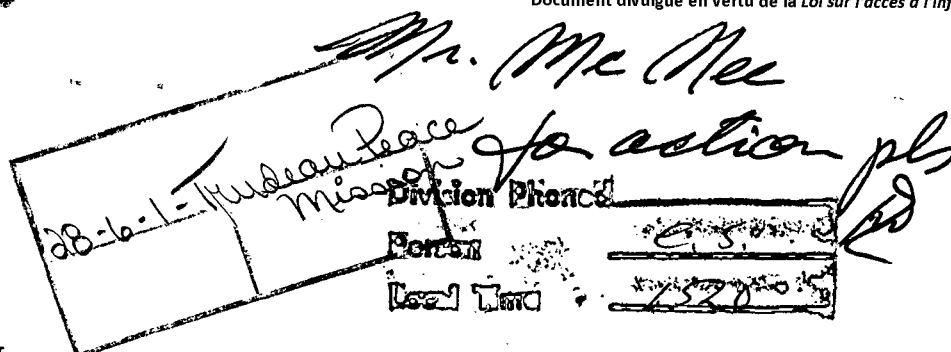
IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A. Delvoie
SIG L.A. Delvoie

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**



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

DE MDRID XQGR1092 23NOV83

A EXTOTT (IDDZ LIVRAISON 231500

DELHI/FOWLER LIVRAISON 240900

INFO LDN PONN ANKRA COPEN OSLO HAGUE WSHDC TOKYO PEKIN CNGNY PRMNY

MOSCO DELHI BRU VIENN VMEFR PARIS LSBON ROME ATHNS BUCST WSAW

BPFST PRGUE BGRAD

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB UGB RGB RSD RCD IDD IDR IDA FPR RSR RCR RCM
RFD RFR

RFF NOTRETEL (1082 21NOV A DACCA)

---INITIATIVE DU PM-INTERET ESPAGNOL

COMME NOUS L AVONS RAPPORTE PLUS TOT, PRESIDENT ESPAGNOL PREND
INTERET CATIF DANS PROGRES INITIATIVE DU PM. DE NOUVELLES PREUVES
NOUS EN FURENT DONNEES CE MATIN LORS RENCONTRE FORTUITE AVEC
Y.A. YANEZ BARNUEVO DIRECTEUR DES AFFAIRES INTERNATIONALES A LA
PRESIDENCE (EQUIVALENT AU POSTE DE BOB FOWLER).

2. YANEZ BARNUEVO A D ABORD VOULU NOUS ASSURER QUE DELAI DU PRESIDENT
GONZALEZ A REpondre A LETTRE DU 25 OCT DU PM AVAIT POUR SEULE CAUSE
ABSENCES REPETEES DU PRESIDENT EN DEHORS DU PAYS (AUTRICHE, PORTUGAL)
ET QUE REPONSE A DEUXIEME LETTRE, CELLE DU 16 NOV, DEVRAIT DEJA ETRE
A OTTAWA LORS DU RETOUR DU PM LE 05 DEC. IL EST EVIDENT (YANEZ
BARNUEVO EN A DISCUTE AVEC PRESIDENT) QU INITIATIVE TRUDEAU TOUCHE
CORDE SENSIBLE ICI ET SOULEVE REEL INTERET, COMME EN TEMOIGNENT

...2

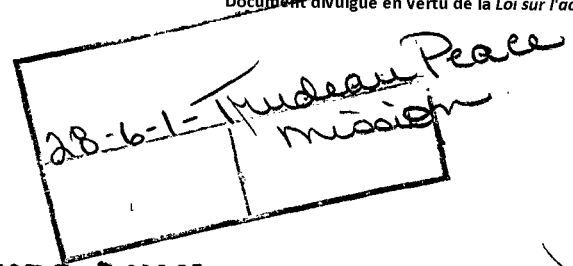
----- bono/9 nativid
PAGE DEUX XQGR1092 CONF

QUESTIONS SUIVANTES DE NOTRE INTERLOCUTEUR: A) Y A-T-IL COORDINATION
ENTRE INITIATIVE TRUDEAU ET CELLE DE CEAUCESCU OU SONT-ELLES
MENEES EN PARALLELE? NOTRE RESPONSE: PARALLELE. B) SUITE A RUPTURE DES
NEGOCIATIONS DE GENEVE SUR DESARMEMENT, PM VA-T-IL ELARGIR SA MISSION
POUR FAVORISER LEUR RELANCE? NOTRE REPOSE: CE SONT DEUX EXERCICES
DISTINCTS MAIS SOULEVERONS QUESTION AVEC OTTAWA. C) PM IRA-T-IL A
L INTRONISATION PRESIDENT ARGENTIN 10 DEC? CE SERAIT EXCELLENTE
OCCASION RENCONTRER GONZALEZ POUR ECHANGES DE VUES SUR INITIATIVE
PM. SELON INTERLOCUTEUR, VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH, PM MAUROY, SOARES, CRAXI
SERONT LA. NOTRE RESPONSE: PROBABLE QUE NON, VERIFIONS AVEC OTTAWA.
D'REFERENCE DU PM A PRESENCE POLITIQUE A HAUT NIVEAU POUR CONFERENCE
DE STOCKHOLM EN JANVIER DOIT-ELLE S INTERPRETER COMME PARTICIPATION
DES PM OU DES MINISTRES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES? NOTRE REPOSE: C EST A
VOIR, LORS SOMMET OTAN EN DEC.

3. APPRECIERIONS VOS COMMENTAIRES SUR QUESTIONS SOULEVEES. NOTRE
INTERLOCUTEUR S INTERESSAIT VIVEMENT AUSSI A SAVOIR SI PM FERAIT
DE NOUVELLES CONSULTATIONS EN EUROPE AU RETOUR DE NEW DELHI. NAVONS
RIEN AVANCE MAIS CONTINUONS DE CROIRE QU UNE VISITE DE TRAVAIL A
MADRID LORS PROCHAINE RONDE DE CONSULTATIONS EUROPEENNES SERAIT
BENEFIQUE.

CCC/290 231730Z XQGR1092

INFO



**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM DELHI WBSV1903 23NOV83

TO PEKIN DELIVER BY 240800

INFO EXTOTT INDZ/DELVOIE ONLY MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY IMMEDIATE
REF PMDEL0053 NOV23

---PM INITIATIVE: VISIT TO CHINA NOV28-29

FURTHER TO PEK TEL WJGR0880 23NOV CLAIMING GARBLE PORTION

COURTEL. HERewith RPT OF PARA IN QUESTION:

VI) PROPOSED ITINERARY (ALL TIMES LOCAL)

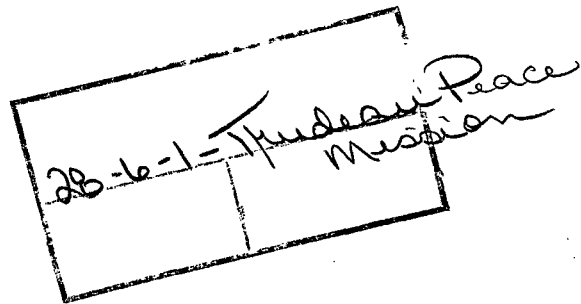
NOV27/27 DEPART GOA 1300 HRS

ARRIVE DELHI 1500 HRS

DEPART DELHI 1630 HRS

ARRIVE PEKIN 2300 HRS

CCC/090 231040Z WBSV1903



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

FM STKHM UDGR1123 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDA DELIVER BY 231000

INFO LDN PMDELHAKA WSHDC INATO VMBFR PRMNY PMDELDELHI

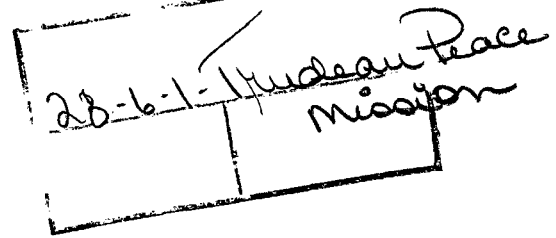
NDHQOTT/PPP/CORA/DSTRATA/DGINFO/DSPP

DISTR IDOZ IDAN IDAO IDR

---POST 1945 CONFLICT STATISTICS

UNFORTUNATELY SIPRI INFO IS OUT OF DATE(1975)AND THEY NO/NO
LONGER DO SUCH SURVEYS BECAUSE OF DEFINITION PROBLEMS AND BECAUSE
OTHER INSTITUTIONS ARE NOW DOING SURVEYS.SIPRI USES INFO FROM
CENTRE FOR DEFENCE,WSHDC WHOSE FIGURES YOU ALREADY HAVE.

CCC/152 231000Z UDGR1123



UNCLASSIFIED

FM FXTOTT FPR1119 23NOV83

TO PMDEL DELHI DELIVER BY 240900

INFO PNATO WSHDC CNGNY PRMNYMOSCO PEKIN BRU BREEC LDN PARIS

PONN ROME TOKYO NDHQOTT/ADM/POL/DG INFO PCOOTT PMOOTT

DISTR MINA MINE MINT DMF IDDZ IDA IDR UGB URR ZSI

---PM S PEACE INITIATIVE AND BREAK-OFF OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA

QUOTE

SCRUM:SSEA 1500 HOURS NOV23

SSFA. THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT AND PRESUMABLY THEY FELT IT NECESSARY TO FOLLOW UP ON WHAT THEY HAD SAID EARLIER.BUT I THINK THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL REALIZE,EVERYONE ELSE WILL REALIZE,IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN ORDER TO TRY AND SOVE THIS PROBLEM.

Q. MR.MACEACHEN,IS THERE ANYTHING YOU COULD DO,I MEAN,ANY PRESSURE THAT ANYONE CAN BEAR TO SPEED THAT UP,TO GET THEM BACK? HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL TAKE BEFORE THEY GO BACK?

SSEA. I HAVE NO IDEA.I THINK IT WILL TAKE A LITTLE TIME,THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS BEFORE THE NEGOTIATORS.THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENT HAS MADE A NUMBER OF NEW PROPOSALS THAT HAVE NOT/NOT BEEN ACCEPTED.THE SOVIET UNION HAS INSISTED,AND STILL CONTINUES TO INSIST.THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT/NOT BASE ANY LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE.AS I POINTED OUT IN THE HOUSE,THE SOVIET UNION,ITSELF,HAS DEPLOYED HUNDREDS OF ITS SS-20S

...2

PAGE TWO FPR1119 UNCLAS

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IT HAS NEVER BEEN PART OF THE NATO POLICY TO GIVE THE SOVIET UNION THE MONOPOLY OF THESE MISSILES IN EUROPE, TO DENY THE UNITED STATES ANY DEPLOYMENT WHATSOEVER, AND THAT IS REALLY THE CRUX OF THE ISSUE AS IT HAS BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THE SOVIET UNION.

Q. DOES THIS WALK-OUT COMING WITH THE REACTION TO PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S INITIATIVE INDICATE ANYTHING ABOUT THE SOVIETS' GOODWILL OR INTENT. IN YOUR OPINION? HAS YOUR OPINION CHANGED IN ANY WAY AS A RESULT OF THESE TWO EVENTS? DO THEY REALLY WANT A DISARMAMENT, OR IS IT LESS LIKELY THAT..

SSFA. WELL, I THINK THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF, MAYBE MISUNDERSTANDING IS NOT/NOT QUITE THE RIGHT WORD, BUT A GOOD DEAL OF ALLEGATIONS BY ONE GROUP TO THE OTHER THAT MAY BE THAT OTHER GROUP IS NOT/NOT SERIOUS. ONE WONDERS NOW WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION WANTS TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT; THEY'VE BROKEN-OFF NEGOTIATIONS, THAT IS A SERIOUS MOVE. WHEN I MENTIONED THE PRESIDENT, I MEANT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: OR WHETHER IT IS A DRAMATIC GESTURE THAT WILL BE FOLLOWED UP BY RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS. I HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE THE CASE. BUT WHAT I THINK WE ALL OUGHT TO UNDERSTAND IS THE SOVIET UNION AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAS MAINTAINED CONSISTENTLY THE VIEW THAT IT OUGHT TO HAVE, BE PERMITTED TO HAVE, LAND-BASED NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT/NOT HAVE ANY. THAT HAS NEVER BEEN ACCEPTABLE, EITHER TO THE UNITED STATES OR ITS ALLIES IN NATO.

...3

PAGE THREE FPR1119 UNCLAS

Q. DOES THIS MOVE BY THE SOVIET UNION PROMOTE A CLEAR POSSIBILITY OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE IS GETTING FURTHER SPLIT FROM ITS OWN PUBLIC, FROM ITS OWN VOTERS? THAT IS, THERE SEEMS TO BE A SPLIT INTERNATIONALLY, TO SOME DEGREE?

SSFA. NO, I THINK ITS A VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION. WHAT SHOULD IT HAVE KEPT, WHAT WOULD IT HAVE REQUIRED TO HAVE KEPT THE SOVIET UNION AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE? IT WOULD HAVE REQUIRED PRESUMABLY A DECISION BY THE ALLIES, NOT/NOT TO DEPLOY OR TO POSTPONE DEPLOYMENT, THAT WOULD HAVE MEANT, IN MY VIEW, A POLITICAL VICTORY FOR THE SOVIET UNION THAT WOULD PROBABLY TAKE MANY YEARS TO RECOVER FROM, AND I...

Q. MR. MACEACHEN, DO THESE EVENTS BRING A GREATER SENSE OF URGENCY TO BETTERING THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE, THAT YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT?

SSFA. WELL, I THINK THAT, AS I SAID SO OFTEN IN THE HOUSE, THAT THERE ARE GOOD ARMS PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE. AT ONE TIME, THE VIEW WAS IF WE COULD JUST THINK UP A MORE INGENIOUS COUNTER-PROPOSAL, MAYBE IT WOULD BRING THE THING OFF, I DONT THINK THATS VERY VALID. THEREFORE, WHAT HAS TO BE DONE IS THE TRY TO IMPROVE THE OVERALL ATMOSPHERE AND IMPROVE THE TRUST THAT EVEN A LITTLE BIT, AND THE GOOD FAITH OF THE OTHER NEGOTIATORS, BECAUSE I DONT THINK THERE IS A DEEP MUTUAL TRUST THAT WOULD LEAD TO QUICK RESULTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

...4

PAGE FOUR FPR1119 UNCLAS

Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY INDICATION FROM MR. PEARSON AS TO WHETHER HIS TRIP TO CHINA WAS A SUCCESS, WHETHER THERE WILL BE A MEETING WITH MR. TRUDEAU AND THE CHINESE LEADERS ON HIS PEACE INITIATIVE? SSEA. I HAVE NOT/NOT RECEIVED A REPORT YET FROM MR. PEARSON. I HAVEN'T READ A REPORT. THERE IS ONE AVAILABLE BUT I'LL HAVE A CHANCE TO DO THAT. HE WILL BE BACK IN OTTAWA AND HE WILL BE ABLE TO REPORT ON HIS VISIT TO CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL.

Q. DO YOU THINK ONE CONSIDERATION COULD BE THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF GOING TO MOSCOW?

SSEA. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS NOT/NOT MADE A DECISION TO GO TO MOSCOW. THAT WOULD DEPEND ON A NUMBER OF CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT CERTAINLY, IT IS A PROSPECT THAT OUGHT TO BE AT LEAST CONSIDERED, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT HE WILL HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS BY MID-JANUARY WITH ALL THE LEADERS OF THE SUPER-POWERS, WITH THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE SOVIET UNION. SO, THAT THAT IS A PROSPECT THAT HAS TO BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF THE PEACE INITIATIVE.

Q. ...INSTALLATION HOSTILE

DO YOU EXPECT ANY HOSTILE

SSEA. NO, I DON'T THINK THERE WOULD BE A HOSTILE REACTION. IF THAT IS THE CASE, THEN THE ATMOSPHERE IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN I THINK IT IS. THEN IT IS BAD ENOUGH.

...5

PAGE FIVE FPR1119 UNCLAS

Q. HAS PRESIDENT REAGAN AGREED TO A MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
TRUDEAU?HAS THERE BEEN A DATE SET?

SSFA. NO,THERE IS NO/NO DATE TO MY KNOWLEDGE.THERE HAS BEEN
AGREEMENT ABOUT A MEETING,BUT NO/NO DATE.UNQUOTE.

UUU/014 232236Z FPR1119

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace
Mission

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PEKIN WJGR0880 23NOV83

TO PMDELDELHI FLASH

INFO MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY EXTOTT (IDDZ/DELVOIF ONLY
IMMED

RFF OURTEL 0877 23NOV YOURTEL PMDL0053 23NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:VISIT TO CHINA-NOV28/29

FOLLOWING DISPATCH OF REFTEL WE HAD MTG WITH SENIOR PROTOCOL DEPT
OFFICIAL WHO WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PMS PROGRAM.HIS COMMENTS
SUPPLEMENTS THOSE IN REFTEL:

(A)CONTACT CONFIRMED THAT PMS DEL WOULD BE ACCOMMODATED AT STATE
GUEST HOUSE.HE REFERRED TO HOTEL ACCOMMODATION PROBLEMS IN PEKIN
AND SAID THAT HE HOPED WE WOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP MEDIA PARTY AS
SMALL AS POSSIBLE.HE SUGGESTED THAT IF NO/NO MORE THAN SIX OR
SEVEN JOURNALISTS CAME THEY COULD BE ACCOMMODATED ALSO AT STATE
GUEST HOUSE IF PM HAD NO/NO OBJECTION.IF SO JOURNALISTS WOULD BE
EXPECTED TO PAY THEIR OWN EXPENSES.IF LARGE GROUP CAME CONTACT
WARNED IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO FIND HOTEL ACCOMMODATION THIS
LATE IN DAY.

(B)MEDIA REPS-MFA WILL REQUIRE NAMES AND AGENCY AS WELL AS PASSPORT
DETAILS.

(C)AIRCRAFT CREW WILL PROBABLY BE ACCOMMODATED AT AIRPORT HOTEL.

(D)ROUTING--CONTACT WAS NOT/NOT COMPETENT TO COMMENT ON ROUTING
SUGGESTED REFTEL.HOWEVER HE PROMISED TO CONSULT WITH APPROPRIATE

...2

PAGE TWO WJGR0880 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

AUTHORITIES AND GET BACK TO US. HE DID SAY THAT DIRECT ROUTING DELHI-PEKIN WOULD ONLY CAUSE CHINESE PROBLEMS IF IT DEVIATED FROM INTERNATL AIR ROUTES. IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR AIRCRAFT TO FLY DELHI-PEKING CROSSING SINO/BURMESE BORDER AND OVER FLYING KUNMING AND WUHAN. ARRIVAL TIME PEKING IN YOURTEL FMDEL0053 CORRUPT. PLS REPEAT.

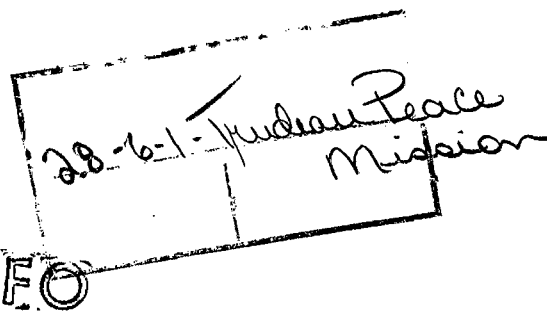
F) PROGRAM--CONTACT CONFIRMED THAT PM WOULD BE RECD BY PM ZHAO ZIYANG WHO WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY HOST BANQUET FOR PM EVENING OF 28NOV. CONTACT ASKED IF PM WOULD WISH SON JUSTIN TO ATTEND. BANQUET WOULD BEGIN APPROX 1900 HRS AND WOULD LAST APPROX TWO HOURS. CONTACT SUGGESTED THAT MTG WITH PM ZHAO ZIYANG BEGIN AFTER LUNCH 28NOV. HAS PM ANY WISHES FOR AM 28NOV OR WILL HE WISH TO REST? CONTACT PROMISED TO ADVISE US LATER ABOUT CALL ON DENG XIAO PING.

GAUVIN

CCC/002 230910Z WJGR0880

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

INFO



S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PEKIN WJGR0877 23NOV83

TO PMDFLDELHI FLASH

INFO MOSCO/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY IMMEDIATE

EXTOTT IIDZ/DELVOIE ONLY

FOR

REF PMDL0053 23NOV

ONLY

---PMLINITIATIVE:VISIT TO CHINA-NOV28/29

HAVE REQUESTED MTG WITH ASST MIN ZHU QIZHEN THIS AFTERNOON.
UNTIL THEN WISH TO ANSWER TENTATIVELY SOME OF YOUR QUERIES
ON BASIS OF OUR EXPERIENCE HERE AND WILL CONFIRM AFTER MTG
WITH ZHU.

A)PMS DEI EXCEPT PRESS WILL MOST LIKELY BE ACCOMMODATED
AT GUFST HOUSE.PRESS PARTY SHOULD IF POSSIBLE BE LIMITED
TO MINIMUM BECAUSE OF GREAT DIFFICULTY IN FINDING HOTEL
ACCOMMODATION.

B)CHINESE ARE PAST MASTER AT KEEPING LID ON NEWS AND WILL
DO SO UNTIL YOU CONFIRM TIME THEY SHOULD FEEL FREE TO ANNOUNCE
VISIT.THEREFORE AS MATTER OF COURTESY TO THEM,LEAK SHOULD
BE AVOIDED.

C)CALL FROM ZHU NOT/NOT WU REPRESENTS OFFICIAL AGREEMENT TO
PMS VISIT.UNABLE TO CONFIRM YET WHETHER PM WILL MEET ZHAO
AND DENG.

D)STOPOVER OF TWO NIGHTS AND ONE AND HALF WORKING DAYS
NOT/NOT EXCESSIVE BUT HOPE TO BE ABLE TO BE MORE PRECISE

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SECRET

PAGE TWO WJGR0877 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

ABOUT PROGRAM AFTER SEEING ZHU.

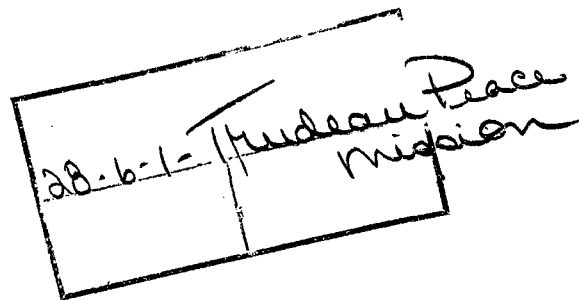
W MAY WE KNOW ASAP FUEL AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS FOR AIRCRAFT.

W REGARDING VISAS WE WILL REQUEST MFA TO ADVISE THEIR EMIASSY
IN DELHI.

G) PENDING MTG WITH ZHU HAVE ALREADY INFORMED MFA OF NAMES OF
DEL MEMBERS AND DETAILS CONCERNING AIRCRAFT

GAUVIN

CCC/299 230734Z WJGR0877



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

FM VMFR XTDR0213 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR DELIVER BY 230900

INFO BNATO CANMILREPNATO WSHDC LDN PARIS BONN NDHQOTT/

CPP/DNACPOL

DISTR IFB IDD IDDZ IDRA IDRL IDA IDAO IDAN

REF BNATO TEL YEGR7120 22NOV

---MEFR--ORAL REPORT AND NAC MINISTERIAL

FOR REASONS WE HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED WE FULLY AGREE WITH REFTEL THAT IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO PURSUE IN NAC ON 25NOV IDFA THAT NATC RESPONSE BE FOLLOWED BY MTG IN VIENN AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. AT SAME TIME WE WONDER WHETHER IT WOULD NOT/NOT BE HELPFUL TO USE 25NOV ORAL REPORT AND RESULTING DISCUSSION TO TRY TO GIVE IDEA OF NATO REVIEW OF WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION TO DEVELOP SOME KIND OF WESTERN RESPONSE TO EASTERN MOVE A PUSH FORWARD.

2. ONE WAY TO DO THIS WOULD BE TO POSE QUOTE LEADING QUESTIONS UNQUOTE TO FRG RAPPORTEUR (AMB BOSS) ABOUT. FOR EXAMPLE, (1) CURRENT STATE OF NEGS, (2) WHERE WE CAN GO FROM HERE AND (3) WHETHER IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE REF IN NAC MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE ON IMPORTANCE WEST ATTACHES TO MAINTAINING DIALOGUE IN MBFR FORUM. THIS WOULD ENABLE AME BOSS IN HIS REPLIES TO GO AS FAR AS HE DARES IN REFLECTING FRG VIEWS ON NEED TO LOOK CONSTRUCTIVELY FOR NEW NEGOTIATING MATERIAL IN LIGHT OF TACTICAL SITU CREATED BY EASTERN PROPOSALS.

...2

PAGE TWO XTDR0213 CONF

3. AT ANY RATE AMF BOSS (PLS PROTECT) HAS TOLD ME THAT HE IS HOPING THAT SOMEONE, QUOTE LIKE THE CANADIANS GIVEN THE PMS SUGGESTIONS UNQUOTE, WILL TRY TO QUOTE START BALL ROLLING UNQUOTE IN THIS WAY.

4. WE VENTURE THIS SUGGESTION BECAUSE IT HAS LONG BEEN PRACTICE FOR VMBFR TO SUGGEST QUESTIONS THAT YOU AND BNATO MIGHT CONSIDER USEFUL DURING CONSIDERATION OF AHG ORAL REPORT.

CCC/060 231050Z XTDR0213

28-6-1-*Bureau Peace Mission*

Rec'd & (already rec'd)

25/11/83 - 1.15 p.m.

23/11/83

Division Phone

Person

Local Time

[Handwritten signature]

ACTION
CONFIDENTIAL

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

FM WSHDC UNGR0184 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT URR MINA IDDZ DELIVER BY 231700

INFO MOSCO BNATO

DISTR USS DMF IDR RGB RBR RCP UGB CPD

---CDN INITIATIVE:DPM/SSEA CHCGO SPEECH

ON BASIS OF MANY DISCUSSIONS IN PAST WEEK IN WSHDC WITH SOVIET EXPERTS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS CONCERNING CDN INITIATIVES AND EAST-WEST SITUATION, I THINK IT WOULD BE TIMELY FOR DPM/SSEA TO MAKE SOV-USA RELATIONS A CENTRE-PIECE OF HIS CHCGO TALK. IN THIS CONTEXT CDN INITIATIVES WILL BE HIGHLIGHTED.

2. BASIC POINTS TO HAVE EMERGED FROM TEXTS AND OBSERVATIONS IN CONTEXT OF INITIATIVES WHICH CLD DESERVE PARTICULAR STRESS MIGHT BE THE FOLLOWING:

- (1) CDAS CONCERNS AND INITIATIVES ARE AIMED AT PROMOTING NEW TYPE OF DISCOURSE BETWEEN USA AND USSR (AND EAST AND WEST GENERALLY):
- (2) NEW TYPE OR LEVEL OF DISCOURSE IS BASED ON RECOGNITION OF MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS;
- (3) ON BASIS OF POLITICAL REALISM AND WESTERN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND WITHOUT NAIVETE ABOUT NATURE OF SOVIET SYSTEM, A NUMBER OF AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST CAN BE IDENTIFIED;
- (4) THESE ENCOMPASS CRISIS COMMUNICATION, NON-PROLIFERATION, RESTRAINT IN THIRD-WORLD CONFLICT AREAS, MUTUAL SECURITY AND FREEDOM FROM FEAR OF SURPRISE ATTACK OR ACCIDENTAL WAR;

...2

PAGE TWO UNGR0184 CONF D

(5) THAT A SPECIAL AREA OF MUTUALITY OF INTEREST IS IN TAPERING OFF AND ENDING THE ARMS RACE;

(6) OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE IN NEW TYPE OF DISCOURSE IS NEED TO BASE IT ON RESPECT OR AT LEAST REESTABLISH MEASURE OF RESPECT FOR LEGITIMACY OF SOVIET SYSTEM, WHATEVER WE THINK OF ITS VALUES, EFFICIENCY OR FAILURES;

(7) THAT NEW TYPE OF DISCOURSE WOULD ITSELF BE POLITICAL ACT OF HIGH SIGNIFICANCE (AND PERHAPS MOST WE CAN HOPE FOR IN VERY NEAR FUTURE);

(8) THAT FIVE POWER NUCLEAR CONF, SUFFICATION STRATEGY (INCLUDING CUTTING-OFF OF WORK ON HIGH ALTITUDE DEFENSE SYSTEM) ALL BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT;

(9) THAT SPECIAL REPONSIBILITIES OF FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL WHO ARE ALSO NUCLEAR POWERS PUT ADDED ACCENT ON NEED FOR THEM TO ADDRESS SUCH ISSUES AS NON-PROLIFERATION AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT ON AN URGENT BASIS.

2. AS A RESULT OF NUMEROUS AND WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS THE EMB HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN REGARDING CDN INITIATIVE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO SOME OF THESE IDEAS WILL APPEAR IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN FORESEABLE FUTURE. IT WOULD IN OUR VIEW BE ESPECIALLY TIMELY TO HAVE THIS CENTRAL THEME ADDRESSED BY A PROMINENT WESTERN POLITICAL FIGURE IN PRESTIGIOUS USA FORUM. COMING FROM A CDN I BELIEVE THEY WOULD BE GENERALLY WELL-RECEIVED BY THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS ALTHOUGH MOSTLY NOT/NOT APPLAUDED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AT THIS TIME

GOTLIEB

CCC/230 232134Z UNGR0184

000460

• FBIS 119

XINHUA VIEWS EUROMISSILE ISSUE

04231910 BEIJING XINHUA IN ENGLISH 1830 GMT 23 NOV 83

28-6-1 Nuclear Peace mission

JB
PD
1002

(*COMMENTARY: DANGEROUS GAMBLE -- THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF EUROMISSILES" AA XINHUA HEADLINE)

(TEXT) LONDON, NOVEMBER 22 KXINHUA CORRESPONDENT CHENG KEXIONG)
-- THE SOVIET DELEGATE TO THE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILE TALKS IN GENEVA TODAY ANNOUNCED HIS COUNTRY'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TALKS AND THE TALKS SUSPENDED INDEFINITELY, THUS SETTING THE STAGE FOR GREATER CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE QUESTION OF EUROMISSILES.

THE EUROMISSILE HAS BECOME A REALITY IN THE LIFE OF THE EUROPEANS WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST BATCH OF CRUISE MISSILES IN BRITAIN IN MID-NOVEMBER. THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT HAS APPROVED THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. MISSILES IN ITS COUNTRY AND THE FEDERAL GERMANY'S BUNDESTAG (FEDERAL ASSEMBLY), AFTER TWO DAYS OF DEBATE, ALSO APPROVED A RESOLUTION TODAY TO STATION U.S. MISSILES ON ITS SOIL.

WITH THIS, THE SOVIET UNION LOOKS SET TO GO AHEAD WITH ITS ANNOUNCED "COUNTER-MEASURES."

THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROMISSILES MARKED THE DANGEROUS ESCALATION OF THE SOVIET-U.S. NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND THE DETERIORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IT ADDED A NEW ELEMENT OF INSTABILITY TO THE UNREST IN EUROPE, AND MADE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN THE EUROPEAN NATIONS MORE COMPLICATED. IT ALSO BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW UPSURGE IN THE POPULAR ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT.

SO LONG AS THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, SEEK HEGEMONY, THERE CAN BE NO TRANQUILITY IN THE WORLD. AS EUROPE IS THE FOCUS OF THEIR CONTENTION, EACH OF THEM ATTEMPTS TO GAIN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE.

IN 1977, THE SOVIET UNION BEGAN TO DEPLOY ITS SS-20 MISSILES WHICH CAN HIT ANY TARGET IN WESTERN EUROPE FROM WITHIN THE SOVIET BORD^{ER}, AND THE MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD DEPLOYED IN EUROPE WERE NO MATCH FOR THE NEW SOVIET MISSILES. THE UNITED STATES WAS WORRIED THAT MOSCOW WOULD CARRY OUT NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL BY DINT OF ITS NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE, AND ACCORDINGLY SPLIT EUROPE AND DISINTEGRATE NATO. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES HAD RECOURSE TO CRUISE MISSILES AND PERSHING-2.

SS-20, CRUISE AND PERSHING-2 MISSILES ARE ADVANCED MILITARY WEAPONS, OF COURSE, HOWEVER, THEY ARE ALSO POLITICAL WEAPONS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS FOR SUPREMACY IN EUROPE.

ON THE ONE HAND, THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING IN EVERY WAY TO THWART THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN ITS SUPERIORITY ACHIEVED BY DEPLOYING SS-20'S. THE UNITED STATES, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS DETERMINED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT UNLESS THE SOVIET UNION DISMANTLES ITS SS-20'S. THAT IS WHY THEIR GENEVA TALKS ON EUROMISSILES HAVE GOT NOWHERE AFTER MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED MEETINGS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.

FOR WASHINGTON, THE EUROMISSILE HAS AN IMPORTANT BEARING ON ITS POSITION AS LEADER OF THE ALLIANCE WITH WESTERN EUROPE. IT HOPES THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE AND PERSHING-2 MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE WILL NOT ONLY STRENGTHEN ITS COMPETITIVENESS IN THE CONTEST WITH MOSCOW BUT ALSO HELP TO PREVENT NEUTRALISM FROM GAINING GROUND IN WESTERN EUROPE.

FACED WITH THE SOVIET NUCLEAR MENACE ON THE ONE HAND AND AN ISOLATIONIST TREND IN THE UNITED STATES ON THE OTHER, LEADERS OF SOME WEST EUROPEAN NATIONS WELCOME THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. MISSILES IN THE HOPE THAT IT MAY BIND WASHINGTON TO ITS COMMITMENT SO THAT WESTERN EUROPE MAY NOT BE ABANDONED IN CASE AGREEMENT IS REACHED SOMEDAY BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

HOWEVER, AS THE TIME CAME TO START THE PROJECTED DEPLOYMENT, WHAT HAPPENED RECENTLY HAS ADDED MUCH TO THEIR CONCERN. THE UNITED STATES, REGARDLESS OF ITS WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES' OPPOSITION, INVAD^{ED} GRENADA, AND IS NOW CONCENTRATING ITS FORCES IN THE TURBULENT MIDDLE EAST. NOW, WITH THESE MISSILES ON THEIR SOIL BUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF AMERICANS, WHO CAN GUARANTEE THAT WASHINGTON WILL LISTEN ATTENTIVELY TO THE OPINIONS OF ITS WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES BEFORE PRESSING THE BUTTON OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON WHEN AN EMERGENCY COMES IN THE SOVIET-U.S. CONTEST FOR HEGEMONY? SINCE THE THEORY OF "A LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IN EUROPE" HAS BEEN ADVOCATED BY SOME PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND IN CASE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PUTS IT INTO PRACTICE, WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT?

THESE CONCERNS ARE NOT ONLY HAUNTING THE PUBLIC AND THE
OPPOSITIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE BUT ALSO MAKING THOSE IN POWER THINK
HAR.

WHILE THE EUROMISSILE ISSUE HAS AGGRAVATED TENSIONS IN U.S.-
SOVIET RELATIONS, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER RECENTLY
REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE NECESSITY OF COEXISTENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND THE WEST ON THE EARTH. SHE STATED THAT SHE WOULD HAVE DIALOGUE
WITH THE SOVIETS AT A PROPER TIME AND ANNOUNCED THAT SHE WOULD VISIT
HUNGARY EARLY NEXT YEAR. WHAT SHE HAS SAID INDICATED SOME CHANGES
IN THE ANGLO-U.S. AND ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE BRITISH OPPOSITION PARTIES IS MORE
OBTUS. AFTER A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE, THE OPPOSITION PARTIES
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED AGAINST THE DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES AND
OPENLY DEMANDED BRITISH INDEPENDENCE FROM ITS U.S. AND EUROPEAN
ALLIES, AND CALLED FOR DOUBLE CONTROL OF CRUISE MISSILES.

THE EUROMISSILE ISSUE HAS EVOKED STRONG PUBLIC OPPOSITION IN
WESTERN EUROPE. MILLIONS OF EUROPEANS DEMONSTRATED AGAINST U.S. AND
SOVIET MISSILES. NO DOUBT, THE ANTI-NUCLEAR PEACE MOVEMENT HAS AN
IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN WESTERN
EUROPE.

IT IS NOT WITHOUT REASON FOR EUROPEANS TO WORRY ABOUT THE
ESCALATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF U.S.
MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS WILL SURELY MAKE SOME
RESPONSE. IN ADDITION TO BUILDING UP ITS SS-20 MISSILES, THE
SOVIETS WILL WORK ON A NEW GENERATION OF MISSILES TO FIGHT FOR
SUPERIORITY OVER THE UNITED STATES. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WILL
DEPLOY NEW MISSILES AT PLACES NEARER TO WESTERN EUROPE, SUCH AS
CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. THE
CONFRONTATION OF U.S. AND SOVIET MISSILES WILL ONLY CREATE MORE
THREATS TO EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.

THE PROCESS OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF EUROMISSILES INDICATES THAT BOTH
SUPERPOWERS SET STORE BY MILITARY STRENGTH, AND THAT IS WHERE THE
DANGER OF THE POLITICAL GAMBLE LIES.

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DISTR MINA USS DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR URR RCP ZSI UGB CPD

REF TOKYO TEL UNGR2529 23NOV

---PMS INITIATIVE: MOSCO VISIT, CRITICAL VIEW OF USA POLICIES
28NOV VISIT TO WSHDC BY CALDER AND HAGAN SHLD GIVE CLEARER
INDICATION OF USA REACTION TO SPECIFICS OF PMS PROPOSALS ON
TECHNICAL LEVEL. REACTIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR HAVE NOT/NOT
GONE INTO DETAILS OF USA OBJECTIONS, APART FROM OBSERVATIONS
PROPOSALS WILL NOT/NOT FLY, OR WILL PLACE PRESSURE ON USA AT
INOPPORTUNE TIME, OR CUT ACROSS USA CRITICAL PATH.
2. ASST SECY BURT HAS ON TWO OCCASIONS (ONCE TO AMB AND ONCE TO
MND BLAIS) SAID HOWEVER THAT THERE ARE HARD OBJECTIONS TO THE
SUFFOCATION PROPOSALS. HE HAS SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO THE ASAT
PROPOSAL SAYING USA WILL REJECT IT BECAUSE IT HAS HOPES OF
ACHIEVING MAJOR SUCCESS IN SPACE THAT WILL GIVE USA UPPER HAND.
SUFFOCATION WLD CUT ACROSS USA PROGRAMS TO USSR ADVANTAGE.
3. BURTS COMMENTS REFLECT DEGREE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENTS STAR WARS
SPEECH AND THE INITIATIVE IT SPAWNED HAVE PERMEATED OFFICIAL
THINKING. THE IDEA OF DOING A TECHNOLOGICAL END RUN ON THE SOVS
...2

PAGE TWO UNGR2461 CONFID

PERSISTS IN THIS ADMIN. THIS IS PART OF THE PROBLEM.

4. TO SOPHISTICATED CRITICAL OBSERVERS, ANTI-SAT PROGRAM CLD
REPRESENT TO ADMIN HARDLINERS MEANS WHEREBY USA CAN GET AROUND
ANTI-ABM AGREEMENT AND UNDERTAKE SERIOUS WORK ON SUCH THINGS AS
CHEMICAL LASERS WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE BE PROHIBITED.

5. ADMIN CRITICS, SUCH AS JOHN STEINBRUNER OF BROOKINGS, ARE VERY
WORRIED ABOUT SORT OF SIGNALS THIS IS SENDING TO SOVIET UNION.
THEY CONSIDER CDA SHOULD MAINTAIN PROPOSAL TO CUT OFF WORK ON
ANTI-SAT TECHNOLOGY.

6. THEY ALSO ATTACH SIGNIFICANCE TO RECENT REVISIONS TO CDA
ESTIMATES ON SOVIET DEFENCE SPENDING. IN THEIR VIEW, SOVIETS APPEAR
TO HAVE DECIDED BETWEEN 1968 AND 1971 TO CUT BACK CAPITAL SPENDING
IN DEFENCE BUT BECAUSE OF SLUGGISHNESS OF SOVIET SYSTEM, IMPACT OF
THESE DECISIONS HAS NOT/NOT REALLY BEEN NOTICED UNTIL QUITE
RECENTLY. SOVIET SYSTEM HAS IN FACT RESISTED FOR LAST DECADE
MILITARY PRESSURE FOR UPTURN IN SPENDING ON WEAPONS SYSTEMS.
IMPACT OF REAGAN ADMIN EXCESSES OF RHETORIC AND PROGRAMS SUCH
AS ANTI-SAT WEAPONRY IS TO TIP HAND IN USSR IN FAVOUR OF THOSE
WHO WANT GREATER SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING. SOVIET HARDLINERS CAN
POINT TO PATTERN COMPOSED OF PROPOSALS FROM USA IN ARMS CONTROL
NEGOS, SUCH PROGRAMS FOR ARMS BUILDUP SUCH AS ANTI-SAT, P2 DEPLOYMENT,
AND OVERALL RHETORIC TO BUILD CASE THAT USA IS AIMING AT FIRST

...3

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STRIKE CAPABILITY OF ITW OWN. EVENTUAL SPACE SHUTTLE BASED WEAPONS
COULD NOT/NOT DEFEAT MASSIVE ICBM ATTACK FROM USSR BUT COULD
CONCEIVABLY HAVE EFFECT ON RESIDUAL RESPONSE TO FIRST STRIKE.
ADMIN WLD CONSIDER SUCH CLAIMS GROUNDLESS, OF COURSE. HOWEVER,
STEINBRUNER CONSIDERS CLAIMS WLD BE AT LEAST AS CREDIBLE IN USSR
AS BASIS FOR NEW FILLIP TO ARMS RACE, AS WINDOW OF VULNERABILITY
THESES WAS HERE.

7. ALL OF THIS CONVINCES SUCH CRITICS RETURN TO SOME FORM OF CLIMATE
IN WHICH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IS POSSIBLE TO BE VITAL. BIZARRE EVENTS
SURROUNDING RECENT INF OFFERS AND DENIALS AND DEMARCHES IN ALLIED
CAPITALS AND COUNTER-DEMARCHES REVEAL TO THESE CRITICS (WHO
INCIDENTALLY DO NOT/NOT BELIEVE ADMIN SIDE OF STORY AND CONSIDER
NITZE MUST HAVE BEEN TOYING WITH 572 PROPOSAL AS SOMETHING TO BE
TAKEN SERIOUSLY IN MODIFIED FORM) BOTH HOW BADLY USA-USSR BILATERAL
SIT REALLY IS, AND HOW LITTLE CHANCE THERE IS RIGHT NOW FOR
PRODUCTIVE ARMS CONTROL NEGS. THEY BELIEVE THERE IS NO/NO ONE IN
ADMIN ABLE BY QUALIFICATION OR BY DISPOSITION TO APPRECIATE QUOTE
AMERICAN ERROR UNQUOTE EXCEPT POSSIBLY THOSE ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL
SIDE WHO MUST REALIZE THAT BY SPRING ARMS CONTROL WILL BECOME THE
MAJOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE. QUESTION THEY ASK IS WHETHER USA
JUDGEMENT WILL NOT/NOT BECOME DIVISIVE ISSUE IN ALLIANCE BEFORE
THEN.

CCC/230 232131Z UNGR2461

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PMDELDELHI PMDL0053 23NOV

TO PEKING/GAUVIN ONLY FLASH

INFO MOSCOW/PEARSON/ARCHDEACON/SMITH ONLY IMMEDIATE

EXTOTT LEDZ/DELVCIE ONLY

REF YOURTEL WJGR0871 22NOV

---PM INITIATIVE: VISIT TO CHINA NOVEMBER 28/29

1. FOLLOWING ARE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL

A) COMPOSITION OF DEL;

(I) PM. JUSTIN, MASSE, FOWLER, JOHNSON, COLEMAN, JOHNSTONE.

CARTER TOTAL 8/8.

PEARSON/SMITH AND PROBABLY ARCHDEACON WE BELIEVE WOULD JOIN
SEPARATELY FROM MOSCOW AND RETURN FROM PEKING DIRECT TO OTTAWA.

(II) SIZE OF ACCOMPANYING PRESS DEL WILL BE ANYWHERE FROM POOL
OF 6/6 TO FULL CONTINGENT OF 25/25. (IF LATTER WE WOULD ADD DURDIN
PMO TO HANDLE LARGER GROUP). WE WILL NOT/NOT BE IN POSITION TO
ADVISE SIZE OF PRESS CONTINGENT AT LEAST UNTIL WEDNESDAY EVENING.
PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU EXPECT FINDING HOTEL ACCOMODATION WILL BE
DIFFICULT.

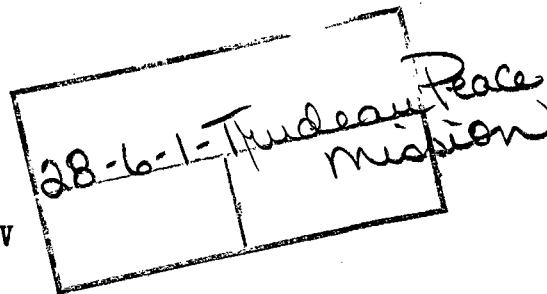
B) DETAILS OF AIRCRAFT

I) FLIGHT NUMBER-CAM3880

II) COMMANDER MAJOR WHITMAN-CREW TOTAL 11/11

III) TYPE OF AIRCRAFT AND REGISTRATION NUMBER BOEING 707-13702

...2



PAGE TWO PMDL0053 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

IV) RADIO CALL SIGN-CAM3880

V) CONFIRM NO/NO MUNITIONS OF WAR, PHOTOGRAPHIC OR ANTI-ELECTRONIC
MEASURES EQUIPMENT CARRIED

VI) PROPOSED ITINERARY ALL TIMES LOCAL)

NOV27/27 DEPART GOA 1300 HRS

ARRIVE DELHI 1500 HRS

DEPART DELHI 1630 HRS

ARRIVE PEKING 2399 HRS

NOV29/29 DEPART PEKING 1530 HRS

ARRIVE DELHI 1900 HRS

VII) ROUTINGS-AIRCRAFT NAVIGATOR USING CHARTS AVAILABLE TO HIM
RECOMMENDS USING ROUTING DIRECT PEKING/DELHI AS FOLLOWS:

DELHI W37 HW DIRECT 3100N 8000E

DIRECT WUZ DIRECT TYN DIRECT VYK

DIRECT TO PEKING ENTER CHINESE AIRSPACE

AT 3100N 8000E TAKE OFF PLUS 40 MINUTES.

TIMINGS MUST BE CONSIDERED TENTATIVE IN THAT

A) IT HAS ONLY BEEN CLEARED IN GENERAL TERMS WITH PM

B) WE ARE NOT/NOT AWARE OF MRS GANDHI'S PLAN FOR SUNDAY AFTERNOON
IN GOA. HOWEVER WE ANTICIPATE THERE WILL BE NO/NO SIGNIFICANT
REASONS FOR NOT/NOT LEAVING GOA AT NOON.

C) FLEETING 707 MAY NOT/NOT BE ABLE TO OPERATE OUT OF GOA AS IT MAY

...3

PAGE THREE PMDL0053 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

NOT/NOT HAVE PROPER EQUIPMENT TO HANDLE PMS AIRCRAFT. AIRCRAFT.
RUNWAY MAY BE TOO SHORT TO TAKE OFF WITH FULL FUEL LOAD AND
AIRCRAFT WOULD THEN HAVE TO:

MAKE STOP IN DELHI FOR FUEL. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL BE
REQUIRED TO ASK INDIANS TO ADVANCE PMS DEPARTURE (NOW SET FOR
1600 HRS) EARLIER FOR DELHI.

SHOULD CHINESE NOT/NOT GRANT DIRECT ROUTING CONSIDERABLE TIME COULD
BE ADDED TO FLIGHT IN ORDER TO OVERFLY ADDITIONAL 6/6 COUNTRIES
AND ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCES AT VERY LAST MINUTE.
DELHI/PEKING DIRECT IS ESTIMATED AT 4 1/2 HOURS WHEREAS ENTER VIA
SHANGHAI COULD BE AS MUCH AS 16/16 HOURS. IT IS THEREFORE VERY
IMPORTANT THAT WE BE GIVEN AS DIRECT A ROUTING AS POSSIBLE. USUAL
PROCEDURE FOR CANADIAN MILITARY AIRCRAFT ENTERING CHINESE AIRSPACE
IS PROVISION OF CHINESE NAVIGATOR. IS THIS ESSENTIAL AND COULD
NAVIGATOR BOARD FLIGHT IN DELHI?

WILL REQUIRE HOTEL ACCOMMODATION FOR DEL. PRESS WOULD NOT/NOT
HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED AT SAME HOTEL. WILL GUEST HOUSE BE
OFFERED?

IF WE CAN HOLD STORY UNTIL THEN, PM WOULD NOT/NOT MENTION HIS
DEPARTURE FROM CONFERENCE TO MRS GANDHI UNTIL FRIDAY EVENING IN
GOA. IDEALLY, CANADIAN PRESS CONTINGENT WOULD BE INFORMED IN DELHI
SAME TIME. WHILE WE ARE BY NO MEANS CERTAIN OUR SHIP WILL NOT/NOT

...4

PAGE FOUR PMDL0053 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

LEAK, DO YOU THINK CHINESE WOULD AGREE TO KEEP MATTER QUIET UNTIL A
SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT (IF THEY DO SUCH THINGS) COULD BE MADE
FRIDAY EVENING.

RE YOUR TEL WJGR0973 OF 22 NOV. DOES CALL FM WU REPRESENT QUOTE OFFICIAL
AGREEMENT UNQUOTE WHICH YOUR WJGR0871 HAD NOT/NOT ANTICIPATED UNTIL
NOV 23 OR 24? THEREFORE GRATEFUL YOU CONFIRM ASAP WHETHER PM WILL SEE
BOTH ZHAO AND/AND DENG. THIS SCENARIO CALLS FOR TWO NIGHTS AND A
WORKING DAY AND A HALF IN PEKING. IS THIS EXCESSIVE? IDEALLY THERE
WOULD BE TWO EVENTS ON MONDAY (SAY, MEETING WITH ZHAO AND DINNER) AND
MEETING WITH DENG SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY MORNING.

SENDING BY FOLLOWING TEL PASSPORT DETAILS FOR DEL AND ALL/ALL MEDIA
NOT/NOT WITHSTANDING (A) (II).

CCC/068 230503Z PMDL0053



MGTC M. FILE DIARY

FILE/DOSSIER

MESSAGE

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SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

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

23 Nov 83 23

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FM/DE

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0209 23NOV83

TO/À

TO MOSCO *Delvoire 240900*

INFO

FOR PEARSON/SMITH

DISTR

INFO PMDELHI WSHDC BNATO PEKIN

REF

DISTR DMF IDA ~~MRCP~~ URR RBR IDA

SUBJ/SUJ

REF TEL FM TOKYO UIGR2529 OF NOV 23

---PM S INITIATIVE: MOSCO VISIT

OUR RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS POSED IN YOUR REFTEL ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1) FIVE POWER CONFERENCE: IT SEEMS TO US THAT PM MADE OUR POSITION ON TIMING QUITE CLEAR WHEN HE SAID QUOTE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE COURSE OF THE COMING YEAR UNQUOTE. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, ALWAYS RECOGNIZED THAT CONCLUSION OF FIVE POWER LIMITATION AGREEMENT MIGHT HAVE TO AWAIT OUTCOME OF START. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, OTHER QUESTIONS, E.G. INCLUSIONS/EXCLUSIONS, WHICH FIVE POWERS WOULD HAVE TO SETTLE WHICH THEY COULD BEGIN TO DISCUSS NOW. ACT OF BEGINNING SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE SIGNIFICANT. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO KNOW NUMERICAL VALUES OF RATIOS BEFORE DISCUSSING WHETHER SUCH APPROACH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

2) ASAT: OUR PROPOSAL WAS DESIGNED TO BE MORE NEGOTIABLE THAN THAT OF USSR AND COULD BE PRESENTED TO THEM AS FIRST STEP TOWARDS THEIR OBJECTIVE. COMPREHENSIVE ASAT BAN IS, ACCORDING TO OUR INFO, UNACCEPTABLE TO USA. PUBLIC RATIONALE USA HAS USED TO JUSTIFY THAT OPPOSITION IS BASED ON EXISTING USSR CAPABILITIES AT LOWER ALTITUDES AND, THEREFORE, DOES NOT APPLY TO OUR PROPOSAL. OUR PROPOSAL MAY BE NO

28-6-1-Thudreau Peace Mission

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

K. CALDER
K. CALDER

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A. DELVOIRE
L.A. DELVOIRE



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0209 CONFIDENTIAL

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MORE ACCEPTABLE TO USA BUT IF THAT IS SO USA WILL HAVE TO DEVELOP
NEW PUBLIC RATIONALE FOR REJECTING IT.

3. ACCORDING TO IDA CDA HAS NOT YET SPOKEN AT UNGA ON SOVIET DRAFT
TREATY. ^{WE} WERE [^] TO DO SO WE WOULD PROBABLY SUGGEST THAT ELEMENTS OF
SOVIET PROPOSAL ARE ONE-SIDED IN IGNORING EXISTING SOVIET SYSTEM
WHILE FOCUSING ON US DEVELOPMENTS. WE WOULD PROBABLY ALSO ^{DINT} ~~PRIEST~~
^{THERE ARE} OUT THAT [^] ~~UNCERTAINTIES~~ ^I IN SOVIET PROPOSAL IN RELATION TO VERIFICATION
AND DEFINITION.

4. MOBILITY: WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT MOBILE WEAPONS ARE UNVERIFIABLE.
WE DO BELIEVE THAT MOBILITY MAKES VERIFICATION MORE DIFFICULT. OUR
PROPOSAL REFERS TO MIDGETMAN ON USA SIDE AND ON NEW MOBILE ICBM
BEING DEVELOPED BY SOVIETS.

5. EXCHANGES: WE WOULD PREFER YOU EXPRESS HOPE RATHER THAN EXPECTA-
TION OF GENEXAG MIXED COMMISSION MEETING IN 1984. WE REMAIN COMMIT-
TED TO DEVELOPMENT OF SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE PROGRAMME OF DEMONSTRABLE
BENEFIT TO CANADA AS DIRECTED BY CABINET. FACT REMAINS, HOWEVER, THAT
CANADIAN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY IS NOT/NOT PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE,
EVEN BY RECEIVING SOVIETS, IN EXCHANGE PROGRAM. COMMUNITY HARBOURS
TWO MAIN CONCERNS: A. EXCHANGES IN PAST HAVE BEEN ONE-SIDED WITH
VERY LITTLE BENEFIT TO CANADIANS. B. HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, ESPECIAL-
LY SAKHAROV, IS NOT IMPROVING. TO GAIN NRC/NSERC COOP, THEY FIRST NEED
SOME ASSURANCE THAT PROBLEMS WHICH PLAGUED EARLIER CONTACTS WILL BE
REDUCED. TO THIS END, WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH SANDT MINISTER JOHNSTON
...3



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PAGE THREE IDDZ0209 CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO IS PREPARING COMPENDIUM OF SCIENCE COMMUNITY CONCERNS WHICH WE
WILL BE ASKING AMB ROBERTS TO TRANSMIT TO GORBACHEV (WHO ORIGINAL-
LY REQUESTED INFO).AT SAME TIME,SOV PERFORMANCE IN NEGOTIATING AND
IMPLEMENTING SCIENCE COMPONENT OF ARCTIC EXCHANGES WILL BE TEST OF
INTENTION FOR CANADIAN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.SOV HAVE NOT/NOT REPLIED
TO CDN PROPOSALS ALTHOUGH RESPONSE QUOTE VERY SOON UNQUOTE HAS BEEN
FREQUENTLY PROMISED SINCE SEP83.ANY OR ALL OF ABOVE COULD BE USED
WITH SOV AUTHORITIES.HOWEVER,THIS MATTER WILL BE PURSUED AS PART
OF OUR ONGOING AGENDA AND WE CONTINUE TO BE OF VIEW THAT REFERENCE
TO BILATERAL TOPICS DURING OUR TALKS IN MOSCOW SHOULD BE KEPT TO
MINIMUM.WE WOULD STILL,OF COURSE,WISH YOU TO TAKE OPPORTUNITY TO
FLAG,AS DISCUSSED WITH RBD/RBR,FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND KAL COMPEN-
SATION ISSUES.



MESSAGE

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23 Nov 83 22 120 22 10

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

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0208 23NOV83
TO/À TO LDN
INFO
DISTR INFO WSHDC MOSCO BNATO ROME BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU PRMNY TOKYO DELHI
REF PEKIN NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP
SUBJ/SUJ DISTR MINA DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR UCB URR RCP ZSI RCD RCR
REF YOURTEL XNGR4158 22NOV
---PMS MTG WITH GEORGI ARBATOV
YES/YES.

28-6-1 - Trudeau Peace mission

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

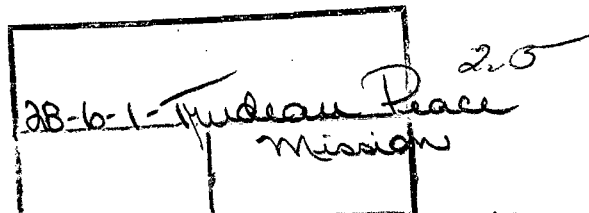
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L.A. Delvoie



202-6B

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPENING REMARKS AT
THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN NEW DELHI, INDIA,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1983

TRANSCRIPTION DES COMMENTAIRES DU PREMIER MINISTRE À LA
CÉRÉMONIE D'OUVERTURE DE LA CONFERENCE DES CHEFS DE
GOUVERNEMENT DU COMMONWEALTH, NEW DELHI, INDE, LE 23 NOVEMBRE 1983

Madam Chairman, distinguished colleagues and friends, Secretary General, ladies and gentlemen, if it be true that the difference between the politician and the statesman is that the former worries about the next election and that the latter is concerned with the next generation. If that be true, then we are fortunate indeed to be meeting at a Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

The very nature of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) inspires us to set aside the attitudes and the generalities whereby problems are often avoided, because through the agenda and the format we are challenged every time we do so. The agenda is so structured that we are turned away from the kind of question that we have to deal with daily in our own nations, or indeed, often between us, bilaterally, and we are guided towards the kind of problem, that great swirl of problems which sometimes threaten to engulf mankind. And as for the format, well, we meet between leaders of sovereign nations, we communicate with each other in the same language, and we know that sophistry can be challenged in our discussions in a much more forthright way than even in our more vital democratic forums -- because in this forum, we are challenged by equals and not by Official Oppositions, or by media who often have an anti-establishment bias.

.../2

-2-

So, we are fortunate to be meeting here and yet we are challenged to be statesmen and women because we meet - as several of my colleagues mentioned this morning - at particularly perilous times in the life of our planet. Perilous economically and perilous politically, and particularly dangerous, as you pointed out, Madam Chairman, because of the threat of a nuclear holocaust which indeed enjoins us not to be concerned about the next generation, but to be concerned about all generations - that is to say the future of mankind. But to say no to annihilation is not sufficient to make statesmen out of us. We must also provide the alternatives. And I believe that they can be found in the sense of dialogue, in the sense of understanding which flows from tolerance, which flows from the belief that diverse beliefs, diverse and divergent ideologies still can be transcended by what mankind hold in common. And in that sense we are here to bear witness, by our deeds, to the fundamental unity of the human family.

We are fortunate too to be meeting in this great country because its contribution to modern statescraft has been to demonstrate that out of the diversity of language, religion, ethnic origin, culture, economic and political difference, out of that diversity can be born one of the most vibrant democracies, this great democracy of some 800 million people. Reference was made to Indira Gandhi's distinguished father and how his decision, politically agonizing though it must have been, was a brilliant act of statescraft multiracial Commonwealth. That principle of his action was inspired by India's first Prime Minister's sense of tolerance, and no doubt it came - as has been mentioned this morning - in a body-politic which had been inspired by the great Mahatma Gandhi whose spirituality and moral courage helped the founding of this nation.

.../3

-3-

You, Madam Chairman, in a speech in 1968 indicated how that spirituality was founded on the Hindu texts, sacred texts, of Hinduism but also on the teachings of Christianity and of Islam, and there too is a reconciliation of differences which can guide us.

So, Madam Chairman, we are fortunate to be meeting in India and I believe we are fortunate to be meeting under your chairmanship. You have shown, in the past year, through your leadership to the non-aligned nations, that they can follow paths of moderation and of realism. You have shown, in those summits you convened in New York - and to which the Secretary General has made reference - that the straightforward approach of the Commonwealth, the no-nonsense format can be of great use even to the rather stultifying atmosphere of the United Nations.

In these things, we are grateful to be here, Madam Chairman, we thank you for bringing us together. It has been said that the highest form of hope is despair overcome. And representing, as we do, one quarter of the human race, I think that my best response to your address, Madam Chairman, would be to wish that these following days can permit us to give that kind of hope to our brothers and sisters of the world.

-30-

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In these things, we are grateful to be here, Madam Chairman, we thank you for bringing us together. It has been said that the highest form of hope is despair overcome. And representing, as we do, one quarter of the human race, I think that my best response to your address, Madam Chairman, would be to wish that these following days can permit us to give that kind of hope to our brothers and sisters of the world.

-30-

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPENING REMARKS AT
THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN NEW DELHI, INDIA,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1983

TRANSCRIPTION DES COMMENTAIRES DU PREMIER MINISTRE À LA
CÉRÉMONIE D'OUVERTURE DE LA CONFÉRENCE DES CHEFS DE
GOUVERNEMENT DU COMMONWEALTH, NEW DELHI, INDE, LE 23 NOVEMBRE 1983

Madam Chairman, distinguished colleagues and friends, Secretary General, ladies and gentlemen, if it be true that the difference between the politician and the statesman is that the former worries about the next election and that the latter is concerned with the next generation. If that be true, then we are fortunate indeed to be meeting at a Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

The very nature of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) inspires us to set aside the attitudes and the generalities whereby problems are often avoided, because through the agenda and the format we are challenged every time we do so. The agenda is so structured that we are turned away from the kind of question that we have to deal with daily in our own nations, or indeed, often between us, bilaterally, and we are guided towards the kind of problem, that great swirl of problems which sometimes threaten to engulf mankind. And as for the format, well, we meet between leaders of sovereign nations, we communicate with each other in the same language, and we know that sophistry can be challenged in our discussions in a much more forthright way than even in our more vital democratic forums -- because in this forum, we are challenged by equals and not by Official Oppositions, or by media who often have an anti-establishment bias.

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So, we are fortunate to be meeting here and yet we are challenged to be statesmen and women because we meet - as several of my colleagues mentioned this morning - at particularly perilous times in the life of our planet. Perilous economically and perilous politically, and particularly dangerous, as you pointed out, Madam Chairman, because of the threat of a nuclear holocaust which indeed enjoins us not to be concerned about the next generation, but to be concerned about all generations - that is to say the future of mankind. But to say no to annihilation is not sufficient to make statesmen out of us. We must also provide the alternatives. And I believe that they can be found in the sense of dialogue, in the sense of understanding which flows from tolerance, which flows from the belief that diverse beliefs, diverse and divergent ideologies still can be transcended by what mankind hold in common. And in that sense we are here to bear witness, by our deeds, to the fundamental unity of the human family.

We are fortunate too to be meeting in this great country because its contribution to modern statescraft has been to demonstrate that out of the diversity of language, religion, ethnic origin, culture, economic and political difference, out of that diversity can be born one of the most vibrant democracies, this great democracy of some 800 million people. Reference was made to Indira Gandhi's distinguished father and how his decision, politically agonizing though it must have been, was a brilliant act of statescraft multiracial Commonwealth. That principle of his action was inspired by India's first Prime Minister's sense of tolerance, and no doubt it came - as has been mentioned this morning - in a body-politic which had been inspired by the great Mahatma Gandhi whose spirituality and moral courage helped the founding of this nation.

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You, Madam Chairman, in a speech in 1968 indicated how that spirituality was founded on the Hindu texts, sacred texts, of Hinduism but also on the teachings of Christianity and of Islam, and there too is a reconciliation of differences which can guide us.

So, Madam Chairman, we are fortunate to be meeting in India and I believe we are fortunate to be meeting under your chairmanship. You have shown, in the past year, through your leadership to the non-aligned nations, that they can follow paths of moderation and of realism. You have shown, in those summits you convened in New York - and to which the Secretary General has made reference - that the straightforward approach of the Commonwealth, the no-nonsense format can be of great use even to the rather stultifying atmosphere of the United Nations.

In these things, we are grateful to be here, Madam Chairman, we thank you for bringing us together. It has been said that the highest form of hope is despair overcome. And, representing, as we do, one quarter of the human race, I think that my best response to your address, Madam Chairman, would be to wish that these following days can permit us to give that kind of hope to our brothers and sisters of the world.

-30-

Mr Delvise
JANNE
CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 23-30, 1983

PROVISIONAL TIMETABLE

28-6-1-Trudeau Peace Mission

Tuesday, November 22

- 1430 - Meeting of Senior Officials at Vigyan Bhavan
- 1730 - Prime Minister's aircraft arrives New Delhi
- 2000 - Dinner for Senior Officials by Indian Foreign Ministry at Oberoi Hotel (Lounge Suit)
- 2030 - Prime Minister's meeting with Secretary-General Ramphal

Wednesday, November 23

- 0815 - Invitees other than Heads of Government at
- 0845 - Conference Hall (Gate Number 2)
- Each Delegation allowed six places plus High Commissioner
- 0850 - Commonwealth Secretary-General arrives
- 0855 - Indian Prime Minister arrives
- 0900 - Heads of Government arrive and are received by
- 0920 - Commonwealth Secretary-General in Lounge
- 0925 - Heads of Government and Commonwealth Secretary-General move from Lounge to Rostrum in main Conference Hall
- 0943 - Indian National Anthem
- 0945 - Opening Session

The Opening Session will be in the presence of a large number of invited guests and the media. PM Gandhi will be in the chair and give the Address of Welcome followed by that of the Secretary-General. In addition there will be five speeches in reply. The Prime Minister has been asked by Sonny Ramphal to deliver one of these. ~~The formal photograph of Heads of Delegation will be taken immediately following the speeches.~~

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- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1100 - The First Session (expected to be short) will consider the Agenda and the suggested guidelines on Style and Format (for Heads of Government and Commonwealth Secretary-General only)
- 1230 - Secretary-General's reception at Vigyan Bhavan
This will include the Indian and world press
- Lunch
- 1500 - Second Session commences with discussion of the World Political Scene. Prime Minister will be lead speaker
- 1730 - Reception for Heads of Government by President of India at Rashtrapati Bhavan
- 2000 - Banquet given by the Queen for Heads of Government and spouses (Black tie or national dress and decorations)

Thursday, November 24

- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1215 - Visit to Trade Fair Exhibition followed by Prime Minister's Lunch for Caribbean Group
- 1500 - Executive Session
- Audience for Prime Minister with the Queen
(alternative is Friday)
- 2030 - Dinner for Heads of Government given by PM Gandhi at Ashoka Hotel followed by cultural program (Lounge suit)
- Dinner for Foreign Ministers by Indian Foreign Minister Rao at Maurya Hotel (Lounge suit)

Friday, November 25

- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1200
- 1230 - Heads of Government fly to Goa for Retreat (approx)
- 1500 - Arrive Goa (Fort Aguada Hotel) (approx)
- 1900 - Queen's reception for Foreign Ministers, High Commissioners and Senior Officials (Lounge suit)

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- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Sunday, November 27

- 0830 - Senior Officials depart for Agra
- 1800 - Return to Delhi
- 1830 - Heads of Government return from Goa
- 2000

Monday, November 28

- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1200
- 1230 - Lunch hosted by Mrs. Thatcher for 21 Heads of Government, including Prime Minister (Antigua and Barbuda to Malaysia)
- 1500 - Executive Session
- 2000 - Dinner and cultural program for Foreign Ministers and Senior Officials at Trade Fair Exhibition (Lounge suit)

Tuesday, November 29

- 0930 - Executive Session
 - 1500 - Executive Session
 - 1700 - Closing press conference chaired by PM Gandhi and the Secretary-General, and release of Communiqué
- Following this any Head of Delegation may give a press conference or call upon their officials to do so

Wednesday, November 30

- 0930 - Leave Delhi for the Gulf States

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

FM PMDELROME PMDL0006 10NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 100830

INFO PCOOTT/OSBALDESTON/DURAND

FROM FOWLER

REF FOWLER/DELVOIF TELCON 29NOV

---PM INITIATIVE: TOUCHING THE PEKIN BASE

YOU ARE AWARE THAT PM BELIEVES THAT THERE IS LOGIC IN HAVING PERSONAL EMISSARY WHO HAS BEEN DESIGNATED TO EXPLORE TRUDFAUS POSSIBLE VISIT TO MOSCO TAKE ON A SIMILAR VISIT TO PEKIN AND THAT PM BELIEVES IF GEOFF PEARSON IS PREPARED TO GO TO MOSCO HE MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER PEKIN. PM IS AWARE OF PROPOSAL WHEREBY PEARSON (PERHAPS ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBER OF TASK FORCE) MIGHT ACCOMPANY CHOGM DELEGATION TO TOKYO FOR MEETING WITH PM NAKASONE ON 19NOV AND PROCEED FROM JAPAN TO PEKIN FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS.

2. FROM THE OUTSET PM AND OSBALDESTON HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT 8-DAY CHOGM PLUS ATTENDANT TRAVEL TO BANGLADESH AND THE PERSIAN GULF NOT ONLY KEEP PM TOO LONG AWAY FROM BUSINESS OF CDN GOVT BUT ALSO DETRACT FROM IMPACT AND URGENCY OF PEACE INITIATIVE. THUS WE CAN HARDLY ADD TO IT INFRARY. WE CONSIDERED WHETHER PM MIGHT LEAVE INDIA AND CHOGM IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING RESTRICTED SESSION OF HEADS OF GOVT TO BE HELD IN GOA 26-27NOV TO UNDERTAKE INITIATIVE RELATED ACTIVITIES; THEREBY MISSING FINAL 2 DAYS OF CHOGM. WE HAD INITIALLY REJECTED THIS SCENARIO IN THAT (A) IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PROGRAM

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PAGE TWO PMDL0006 CONF CDN EYES ONLY

LONG IN ADVANCE WITHOUT MAINTAINING SPONTANEITY OF GESTURE AND WITHOUT COMPROMISING BOTH CANADA'S COMMITMENT TO COMMONWEALTH AND INTEGRITY OF MRS GHANDI'S MEETING, AND (B) TO DO SO WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY REQUIRE CANCELLATION, SINCE THE VISIT TO GULF STATES AND THIS AGAINST SOMEWHAT UNHAPPY BACKGROUND OF MANY CANCELLATIONS AND RESCHEDULINGS OVER PAST FEW YEARS.

3. PM BELIEVES THAT IF INITIATIVE IS TO BE FULLY CREDIBLE, AND PARTICULARLY IF PROPOSAL RELATING TO FIVE POWER NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS IS TO HAVE CHANCE OF SUCCESS HE MUST CONSULT WITH ALL 5 NUCLEAR POWERS. HE WILL OF COURSE HAVE CONSULTED WITH FRANCE AND UK DURING CURRENT EUROPEAN TRIP AND HE IS TAKEN WITH IDEA THAT INITIATIVE-OR AT LEAST CURRENT PHASE OF INITIATIVE-SHOULD CONCLUDE WITH VISITS TO BOTH SUPER-POWERS, MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON (IN NO/NO PARTICULAR ORDER). PM APPRECIATES, OF COURSE, THAT CHINESE PREMIER ZHOU WILL VISIT OTT IN MID-JANUARY AND WHILE THIS WILL AFFORD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS INITIATIVE WITH SENIOR MEMBER OF CHINESE GOVT, THE TIMING IS SOMEWHAT TOO LATE AND THE LEVEL OF THE INTERLOCUTOR NOT/NOT PERFECT.

4. THUS BEARING IN MIND THE ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT OF SPONTANEITY, PM WISHES US TO CONSIDER WHETHER PEARSON MIGHT EXPLORE 20 OR 21 NOV WITH CHINESE IN PEKIN POSSIBILITY THAT TRUDEAU COULD COME TO PEKIN FROM DELHI MON MONDAY 28 NOV WITH A VIEW TO CONSULTING WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF PRC GOVT (INCLUDING DENG) AND RETURN TO EITHER PICK-UP DEL IN DELHI

...3

PAGE THREE PMDL0006 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

30NOV OR, MORE LIKELY, PROCEED DIRECTLY TO ABU DHABI FOR SCHEDULED
BEGINNING OF PROGRAM THERE ON 30NOV. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS
AS TO: A) WHETHER THIS MAKES SENSE FROM A SUBSTANTIVE, INITIATIVE
RELATED, POINT OF VIEW; B) FROM A CHOGM POINT OF VIEW AND C) WHETHER IT
IS LOGISTICALLY FEASIBLE IE CAN IT BE DONE? IF SO, HOW?).

CCC/050 100816Z PMDL0006

TO/A

FROM/DE

AC5
IDDZ RBR URE URT CPDS LCR
IDR JLE IDA CPOS GMR

URR

REFERENCE •
RÉFÉRENCE

Our Memo 948 of October 28, 1983

SUBJECT •
SUJET

SHULTZ/MACEACHEN BILATERAL:
BRUSSELS, DECEMBER 9, 1983

Mr. McHee
De Spoke
ED

Security/Sécurité	RESTRICTED
Accession/Référence	
File/Dossier	
Date	November 23, 1983
Number/Numéro	URR-995

ENCLOSURES
ANNEXES

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28-6-1-Mudanus Peace mission

The purpose of this memorandum is to confirm URR consultations with all addressees and to request contributions to the briefing material to be prepared for the next bilateral between the DPM/SSEA and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz scheduled to take place on the margin of the NATO Ministerial meeting in Brussels, December 9. Since the breakfast meeting is expected to last one hour, we will only be preparing brief scenarios. East/West relations and the PM's initiative is the one single item that can be expected to take up most of the time.

In order to be able to put together the briefing book for submission to the DPM/SSEA by December 2, it is absolutely essential that contributions be received in URR by the end of November 28 on word processing with the work slips attached so that last minute changes can be made.

Scenario contributions must be a maximum of two pages with the exception, if necessary, of the PM's Peace Initiative.

The following contributions are hereby solicited from the lead divisions:

<u>Division</u>	<u>Subject</u>
<u>Multilateral</u>	
IDDZ/RBR	East/West Relations: P.M.'s Peace Initiative
IDA/IDR	Arms Control: INF, START, MBFR, CDE
GMR	Middle East
LCR	Grenada/Nicaragua

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- 2 -

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Bilateral

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Current Environmental Issues

URT/CPOS

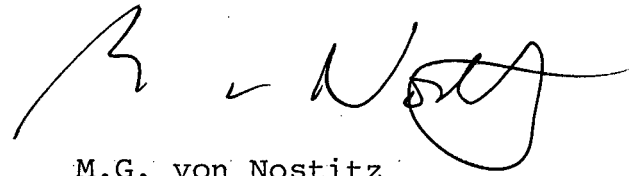
Current Trade Issues

IDR

Current Defence Issues

URT/JLE

Extraterritoriality/Unitary
Tax



M.G. von Nostitz
Director
United States General
Relations Division

MF
LD

November 23, 1983

Note to DPM/SSEA
from: IDDZ-Gossage

Subject - Chicago Speech, PM Initiative and U.S. Media

1. U.S. Media Reaction to PM Initiative

28-6-1-Trudeau Peace
mission

- Basic Coverage

Most major print dailies have adequately and positively covered the substance of the PM's two speeches - the New York Times devoting front page treatment to the second speech. The Wall Street Journal provided a factual summary following the second speech, and noted rather sarcastically his swing through Europe on the editorial page. The Chicago Tribune, among other majors took a basic Reuters story of the second speech, and the Christian Science Monitor and Washington Post have covered both on inside pages. James Reston mentioned the initiative favourably in the context of a longer column on East-West. The speeches have been considered newsworthy and have been so covered. Administration reaction has not been covered or probed as in Canada.

- Serious Comment

There have been number of encouraging editorials in newspapers outside the majors (The Los Angeles Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the Dallas Times Herald, and the Seattle Post Intelligencer). The tone of these pieces is typified by the November 4 Milwaukee Journal (background material provided by Chicago):

"If he (PM) can cleanse the polluted atmosphere of East-West nuclear diplomacy and help achieve a new arms agreement, he will end his career with a magnificent flourish"

- 2 -

2. U.S. Media Attitudes

The majority of senior columnists, editorial writers and diplomatic correspondents in the United States have been silent on the substance and process of PM's program. Briefings with senior U.S. press by the Ambassador, senior officials in Washington and New York uncovered the following attitudes to the initiative:

- they are skeptical that the administration could be brought onside.
- they are preoccupied with covering the primordial role of their own government in arms control talks and with their administration's very different approach to relations with the Soviet Union - their normal leftish tendencies were severely tested by overwhelming public support for the Grenada adventure.
- they are convinced that "nobody is home" in the Kremlin and that the PM may lack an interlocutor for a key element of his plan.
- they assume that other NATO allies, however much domestic difficulty they are having, are playing to the overall U.S. tune, and would not be/should not be distracted by new ideas.
- they have difficulty seeing the PM as a major player in this field - not because of our alleged lack of commitment to NATO - but because we are not seen to have a track record, and because the fact that this may be the PM's swansong is well known.

-3-

3. DPM/SSEA Meeting with Chicago Media

There is considerable interest in Chicago media circles in the PM's initiative. The Chicago Tribune, the major daily, covers Canadian affairs well in its editorial pages, and has dealt twice with Canada's defence roles in op-ed columns. Richard Perle was a recent visitor and received wide media coverage for his East-West views.

In addition, Kevin Klose, who covers Canada for the Washington Post is stationed in Chicago, and correspondents of the Wall Street Journal and Christian Science Monitor, as well, possibly as local CBS can be expected to attend and ask "big" questions.

In sum, Chicago, while not a national media centre is influential nationally and this can be considered as a capitol opportunity to reinforce the PM's and government's concerns on Peace and Security. While major national attention to the initiative will await a PM visit to Washington, we can gather respectable coverage locally and in one or two nationally influential papers on this go round.

4. Suggested Media Approach

The DPM/SSEA should bear in mind that knowledge of the details of the initiative will be limited amongst many of the press who attend this kind of luncheon, and he should therefore emphasize the range and depth of consultations underway.

Following are other themes that could be developed in answer to media questions which try to strike a balance between "pressuring" the administration and strongly making our case:

- 4 -

- the PM is putting his considerable seniority and international reputation at the service of peace making. Not a new role for him or for Canada. He is doing something no other leader in the western alliance could credibly do. He and Canada have a track record.
- he is right now, at CHOGM, discussing non-proliferation - one of several elements of his programme, but one which addresses perhaps one of the deepest anxieties felt by all nations - the risk that a nuclear war could be triggered by a third party's irrational resort to use of such a weapon in a regional conflict.
- His interest is less in pushing individual prescriptions to reduce East-West tensions, more in encouraging politicians to address the dangerous political issue of lack of East-West dialogue. There are any number of fora in which dialogue could be reopened and built on.
- Canada does not in any way question the U.S.'s absolutely central role in negotiating directly with the Russians to reduce the threat of nuclear war. We completely support their efforts at the INF and START. But we are convinced that there is a role for other powers in working to improve the chances of success at these negotiations. How can Canada and the European NATO allies be bystanders when a nuclear war would be fought on or over our territories. The PM is searching for parallel kinds of dialogue between the two blocs that can increase confidence, and allay fears that world problems only have military solutions. This is the deeper purpose of his initiative which he himself is working on with governments on both sides.

-5-

- Can the PM get Reagan and Andropov together? The PM does not see himself as a go-between. This is not shuttle diplomacy. He would like to create a political atmosphere in which such a meeting could be held with some chance of success.

-If you are asked about the PM going to Moscow you might surmise that given that the PM has an invitation, he could accept it with the feeling that just the fact of the visit itself might contribute to reducing tensions. But it ~~is~~ too early to tell.

-As for a visit to Washington, this is in the early stages of planning. He and the President agree it would be useful, and it is critical that the PM have a chance to discuss his mission face to face with the President in the near future.

TRANSMITTAL SLIP - NOTE D'ENVOI

TO/À MINA/Robertson

FROM/DE IDDZ


SUBJECT/SUJET Suggested reply to Questions in The Senate November 17 on The Prime Minister's Initiative.

ATTACHMENT
PIÈCE JOINTE

Security Sécurité	UNCLASSIFIED
File Dossier	
Date	November 23, 1983.

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L.A. Delvoie
Chairman
Task Force Working Group

TO BE RETAINED WITH FILE COPY - A CONSERVER AVEC L'EXEMPLAIRE DESTINÉ AU DOSSIER

EXT 401

The Prime Minister's initiative on East/West relations and international security was discussed by the Deputy Prime Minister/Secretary of State for External Affairs and the American Deputy Secretary of State in the course of consultations on November 15.

The Secretary of State of External Affairs outlined the Prime Minister's primary purpose, which is to arrest and reverse the downward trend in East/West relations and thus reduce international tensions and the risks of confrontation. He referred to the Prime Minister's proposals, which relate to the need to restore confidence and re-establish high-level political dialogue between East and West and include a series of arms control and disarmament proposals.

The American government's official position is general support for the broad purposes of the Prime Minister's initiative, although they have queried some of the specific proposals. It was agreed there would be further discussions and consultations on these points.

It is hoped that a meeting between the Prime Minister and President Reagan can be arranged in the near future. Arrangements have not been made at this time for a meeting with Chairman Andropov.

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

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28-6-1 - Nuclear Peace
mission

INFO DELHI/PMDEL BONN BRU WSHDC MOSCO VMEFR GENEV PARIS HAGUE
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NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPD/CORAE/DSTRATA/DNACPOL/CIS
DISTR MINA DMF IDA RCR RBR ZSI ZSP CPD RGX IDRL IDRA IDDZ IFB
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---SPECIAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP MTG 22NOV

DRAFT INF PASSAGE FOR NAC COMMUNIQUE

PLS FIND BELOW QUOTE DRAFT INF PASSAGE FOR NAC COMMUNIQUE UNQUOTE
REFERRED TO IN SUMMARY OF REFTEL

2.QUOTE:

THE ALLIANCE REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE GOAL OF A
BALANCE OF FORCES IN INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES WITH
THE SOVIET UNION AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL. IT REITERATES
ITS STRONG PREFERENCE THAT THIS GOAL BE ACHIEVED THROUGH
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE USSR. THIS HAS BEEN THE OBJECTIVE OF
THE ALLIANCE EVER SINCE THE PARALLEL AND COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAM
OF INF ARMS CONTROL AND MODERNIZATION WAS ADOPTED IN THE 1979
DUAL-TRACK DECISION. THE PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SCG IS A
COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF ALLIANCE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT
DECISION AND THE CONDUCT OF THE GENEV NEGOTIATIONS BY THE
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

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PAGE TWO YBGR7122 CONF

THE ALLIANCE HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS ENDURING COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF FORCES THROUGH THE VIGOROUS USA NEGOTIATING EFFORT IN GENEV AND THROUGH THE PARALLEL INF DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM. UNFORTUNATELY, NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEV HAVE NOT YET ACHIEVED CONCRETE RESULTS DUE TO SOVIET EFFORTS TO BLOCK USA DEPLOYMENTS ALTOGETHER, WHILE INSISTING UPON THE MAINTENANCE OF A SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET MONOPOLY IN LRINF MISSILES. AS A RESULT OF THE USA INITIATIVES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN ON SEP26, ALL THE ELEMENTS FOR AN EQUITABLE AND VERIFIABLE AGREEMENT ARE ON THE TABLE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT CAN BE ATTAINED IF THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO (RETURN TO GENEV AND) TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT UNACCEPTABLE PRECONDITIONS. (NEGOTIATIONS ON INF SHOULD RESUME AT AN EARLY DATE TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.)

INITIAL DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING II AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES ARE PROCEEDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEC 1979 DECISION. DEPLOYMENTS WILL CONTINUE ON SCHEDULE IN THE ABSENCE OF A CONCRETE ARMS CONTROL RESULT IN GENEV OPVIATING THE NEED FOR DEPLOYMENTS. AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR, DEPLOYMENTS CAN BE ABLTED, MODIFIED OR REVERSED WHEN AN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT IS REACHED. THE ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO SEEK THE ELIMINATION OF THE ENTIRE CATEGORY OF LAND-BASED LRINF MISSILES, OR, AT A MINIMUM, AN INTERIM AGREEMENT AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL. THE ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF INF. UNQUOTE.

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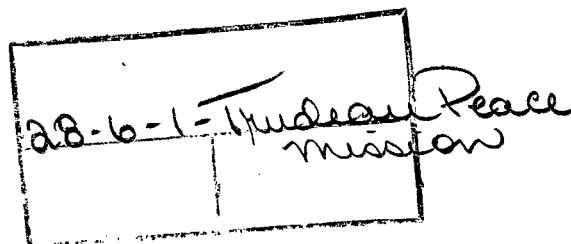
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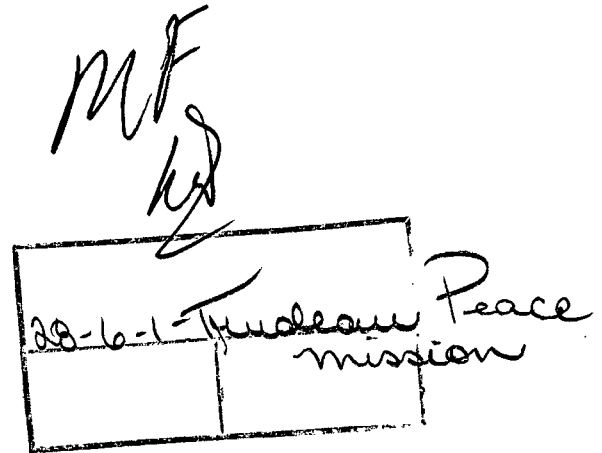
---INITIATIVE DU PM:DISCOURS MONTL

N AVONS PAS RECU VERSION ANGLAISE DU DISCOURS DU 13NOV,
POURTANT PREFERABLE EN GRECE A CELLE EN FRANCAIS QUI NOUS
EST PARVENUE. A MOINS QUE DATE D ENVOI PAR VALISE DE VERSION
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PRMNY PCOOTT/CARON WSHDC

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REF YOURTEL IDDZ0191 19NOV

---CHOGM:PMS INITIATIVE ON EAST-WEST RELNS AND INTERNATL SECURITY
REFTL RECD 22NCV TOO LATE TO CONVEY INFO BUT TEXT DELIVERED TO
MFA 230900.A/DIR LEGAL AND INNATL ORGS DIV CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD
NEED AND UNDERTOOK TO ARRANGE IMMED TRANSMISSION TO HEAD OF
TANZ DEL TO CHOGM.

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28-6-1 Trudeau Peace
mission

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---PM INITIATIVE

MFA TODAY PROVIDED COPY OF PM WILLOCHS REPLY TO PMS NOV17 LETTER AS REPORTED IN IDDZ0206.

2. PM WILLOCH WILL HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO DISCUSSION OF PMS INITIATIVE AT NATO AMES DINNER NOV22 IN BRUSSELS ASPECT WHICH MEVIK OF MFA APPRECIATED. IN RESPONSE TO QUOTE PERSONAL SUGGESTION UNQUOTE MEVIK EXHIBITED COMMENT MADE EARLIER BY PM WILLOCHS STATE SECTY HOLDING THAT INSPIRED PRESS QUESTION MIGHT PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR WILLOCH TO MAKE SOME PUBLIC SUPPORTIVE COMMENT ON PMS PROPOSALS. THIS IDEA EMERGED FROM RECOGNITION THAT COMPETING INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AND NOV21 NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON FUNDING OF NORWEGIAN SHARE FOR INF MISSILE INFRASTRUCTURE HAD TENDED TO DISTRACT LOCAL PRESS. DESPITE PROVISION OF TEXTS BY EMBASSY, DAGBLADET, MORGENBLADET AND STATE NATL TELEVISION HAD GIVEN ONLY LIMITED COVERAGE TO MONTREAL SPEECH. MEVIK AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR ANY ENDORSEMENTS OF PMS INITIATIVE TO BE REINFORCED BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY GOVT LEADERS IF IT WERE TO DEVELOP MOMENTUM NEEDED TO INFLUENCE TREND OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS. IN ABSENCE OF WILLOCH IN BRU MEVIK COULD NOT/NOT HOWEVER PROMISE WHETHER HE WOULD TAKE TO IDEA OF MORE

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PAGE TWO WGGR4346 CONF

ACTIVE PUBLIC STANCE.

3. MEVIK HIMSELF SHORTLY TO BE ANNOUNCED AS AMBASSADOR TO STOCKHOLM CONF. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT EEC HAD TAKEN DECISION FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO TAKE PART IN INAUGURAL MTG AND WHILE WSHDC HAD SO FAR SEEMED UNDECIDED AS TO WHETHER SCHULTZ WOULD DO SO, HE THOUGHT THAT IN THE EVENT HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO STAY AWAY. OBVIOUSLY NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MIN STRAY WOULD BE THERE.

4. TO SUM COMMENT NORWEGIAN ATTITUDE TO PMS INITIATIVE, IT HAS BEEN ACCORDED OFFICIAL SUPPORT, IS APPRECIATED BY POLITICAL LEADERS INCLUDING MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY (LABOUR) BUT IS NOT/NOT YET AT FOCUS OF MUCH PUBLIC ATTENTION. NORWEGIAN PUBLIC OR OFFICIALS DO NOT/NOT YET SEE CAUSE TO CLIMB ON ANY BANDWAGON BUT MIGHT BE DISPOSED TO DO SO IF ONE SHOULD COME IN SIGHT AND THEY THUS AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS

WARDROPER

CCC/061 231508Z WGGR4346

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

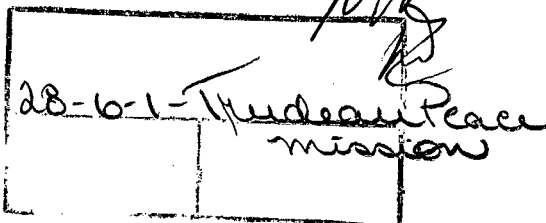
C O N F I D E N T I A L CDN EYES ONLY

FM TOKYO UIGR2549 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT *LDDZ* DELIVER BY 230900

INFO MOSCO CHOGMDELDELHI/FOWLER PEKIN

FROM SMITH



---INITIATIVE:REQUEST FOR INFO AND SUGGESTIONS

GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD PROVIDE US WITH INDICATION OF DPM/SSEA INVOLVEMENT IN INITIATIVE IN NEAR FUTURE.WILL HE:

A)BE IN TOUCH WITH SHULTZ ON 28NOV IN CHICAGO EITHER BY PHONE OR IN PERSON TO BRIEF SHULTZ ON VISITS TO EUROPE AND JPN. PEARSON MISSION TO CHINA AND USSR AS WELL AS TO INFORM HIM OF PM VISIT TO PEKING;

B)BE HAVING MTG WITH NATO AMES IN OTT PRIOR TO 08DEC BRU MTG IN ORDER TO PUSH MBFR AND CDE PROPOSALS;

C)BE FOLLOWING UP ON IDEA OF VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE IN JAN AND POSSIBLE INVITATION OF ROMANIAN FM TO OTT?

2.AS FAR AS WE CAN SEE THERE STILL HAS NOT/NOT BEEN ANYTHING SUBSTANTIVE IN INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE ON INITIATIVE.

MAYBE EFFORT CAN BE MADE BY EMB PARIS TO SPEAK WITH COLUMNIST FLORA LEWIS,WHO IS BASED IN PARIS,WITH OBJECTIVE OF GETTING HER TO WRITE SOMETHING POSITIVE BEFORE 08DEC NAC MTG.

3.HOW ABOUT UN AS POSSIBLE FORUM FOR THIRD SPEECH PRIOR TO XMAS. IT WOULD GET GOOD MEDIA COVERAGE AND BE OPPORTUNITY TO TOUCH BASE AND OBTAIN PUBLIC SUPPORT FROM UN SECGEN.ALTERNATIVE MIGHT BE UN ASSOCIATION IN CDA OR CIIA AUDIENCE.

4.CHEERS.

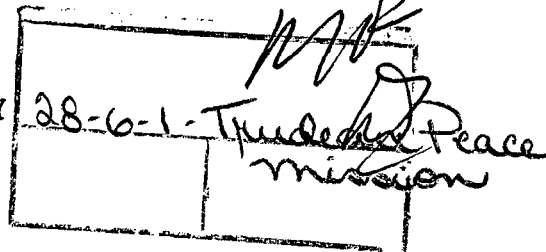
CCC/195 230748Z UIGR2549

ACTION
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CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

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

FM TOKYO UIGR2548 23NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDEZ DELIVER BY 230900



INFO WSHDC MOSCO PEKIN PARIS BONN ROME BNATO BRU HAGUE CHOGMDFLDELH/

OSFALDESTON/FOWLER/JOHNSTONE DELIVER BY 231200

PCOOTT/CARON NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB IDA IDR RBR RSR UGI URR RCR RGI RSD RBD

FROM SMITH

---PM INITIATIVE: THATCHER ON 5 POWER CONFERENCE

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS RECORD OF TRUDEAU-THATCHER CONVERSATION THIS
SUBJ ON 11NOV.PM DID NOT/NOT HAVE REAL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN
DETAILS OF HIS PROPOSAL FOR 5 POWER CONFERENCE TO MRS THATCHER
AS SHE RPTDLY INTERRUPTED HIS PRESENTATION.COMMENTS SHE MADE
APPFARED TO REPRESENT MISUNDERSTANDING OF PROPOSAL SHE MAY HAVE
OBTAINED BEFOREHAND FROM HER OFFICIALS.MAIN WORRY SHE EXPRESSED WAS
THAT UK FORCES NOT/NOT BE AGGREGATED WITH THOSE OF FRANCE AND USA
TO EQUAL THOSE OF SOVIETS AND REQUIREMENT FOR MODERNIZATION OF
UK FORCES TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE DETTERENT.FURTHER EFFORT TO EXPLAIN
DETAILS OF CDN PROPOSAL TO UK OFFICIALS AND MRS THATCHER WILL BE
REQUIRED.

2.REPORT: SUBJ OF 5 POWER CONFERENCE WAS TOUCHED UPON ONLY BRIEFLY
IN PRE-LUNCHEON TETE-A-TETE AT 10 DOWNING ST 11NOV AND THEN ONLY
BY MRS THATCHER WHO SAID SHE WAS NOT/NOT AT ALL SURE SHE LIKED
FIVE-POER PROPOSAL IN THAT SHE CONSIDERED TIMING WAS NOT/NOT RIGHT.

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PAGE TWO UIGR2548 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

HER NEGATIVE REACTION BEFORE PM TRUDEAU HAS OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT GENERAL OUTLINE AND DETAILS OF CDN PROPOSAL MAY WELL HAVE RESULTED FROM BRIEFING SHE RECEIVED IN ADVANCE FROM HER OFFICIALS WHICH DID NOT/NOT PROPERLY CHARACTERIZE CDN POSN).

3.PM TRUDEAU RETURNED TO SUBJ TOWARD END OF LUNCHEON(WHICH DEALT MAINLY WITH GRENADA AND COMWEL)BUT WAS INTERRUPTED BY MRS THATCHER WITH COMMENT QUOTE PIERRE,I TOLD YOU I DO NOT/NOT LIKE THIS IDEA UNQUOTE.PM COUNTERED THAT QUOTE YOU DO NOT/NOT LIKE IT BECAUSE POINT BEHIND IT IS THAT IT WILL CALL ON YOU TO COUNT AND LIMIT YOUR STRATEGIC MISSILES UNQUOTE.THATCHER RETORTED THAT REQUIREMENT TO CALL ON UK MISSILES TO BE COUNTED IS BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT USSR IS ON ONE SIDE AND UK,FRANCE AND USA ARE ON OTHER.PM SAID HE WAS NOT/NOT MAKING THIS ASSUMPTION.THATCHER REMARKED THAT UK STRATEGIC FORCES WERE DEFENSIVE ONLY AND WERE THREAT TO NO/NO ONE.SOVIET MISSILES ON OTHER HAND WERE THREATENING AND WE COULD NOT/NOT AGREE TO LET USSR EQUATE 3 WESTERN COUNTRIES TO ITS OWN ARSENAL.PM SUGGESTED THAT BEFORE SHE DESTROYED HIS ARGUMENTS SHE SHOULD FIRST LISTEN TO THEM.HE SAID HE HAD MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT SOVIETS HAD NO/NO RIGHT TO COUNT UK,FRENCH AND USA STRATEGIC SYSTEMS TOGETHER.CHINA FOR ITS PART HAD PROPOSED FIVE-POWER CONFERENCE IF USA AND USSR WOULD CUT THEIR STRATEGIC FORCES IN HALF.PM STRESSED HIS PROPOSAL ENVISAGED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN 5 SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS.NOT/NOT ON A BLOC TO FLOC BASIS. HE REALIZED UK NUCLEAR FORCES WERE NOT/NOT INTENDED TO WIN A

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PAGE THREE UIGR2548 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

NUCLEAR WAR BUT TO DETER ONE BY HAVING CAPABILITY TO CAUSE UNACCEPTABLE DAMAGE TO USSR.

4.MRS THATCHER SAID THERE COULD BE A FIRST STRIKE SCENARIO. PRFSUMABLY SHE COULD PUT HER FINGER ON NUCLEAR BUTTON WERE UK TO BE ATTACKED.PM REPLIED THAT HE WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE CONTRARY.THAT THESE WEAPONS WERE QUOTE SECOND STRIKE UNQUOTE TO BE USED ONLY AS A DETERRENT FORCE.THATCHER THEN SUGGESTED CHINA MIGHT LAUNCH A FIRST STRIKE.SMITH NOTED THIS MIGHT BE QUESTIONABLE AS SOVIETS HAD NUCLEAR RETALIATORY CAPABILITY THAT COULD DO MASSIVE DAMAGE TO CHINA.MRS THATCHER RESPONDED THAT CHINESE HAD DIFFERENT VALUES THAN PEOPLE IN WEST;CHINA HAD A BILLION PEOPLE MANY OF WHOM WOULD SURVIVE NUCLEAR ATTACK;ONE HAD TO REMEMBER THAT THINGS WERE GROWING AGAIN ONE YEAR AFTER HIROSHIMA WAS ATTACKED. (LATTER REMARK CAUSED CERTAIN AMAZEMENT AROUND TABLE AND SLIGHT PAUSE IN CONVERSATION.)PM TRUDEAU THEN POINTED OUT THAT CHINA WOULD NOT/NOT WIN A NUCLEAR WAR AND THEREFORE WOULD NOT/NOT START ONE. ACCORDINGLY,NUCLEAR WEAPONS IT POSSESSED WERE NOT/NOT FIRST STRIKE. 5.PM WENT ON TO REFER TO RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS UNDER NPT AND CONCERN ABOUT HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION.WORLD WAR THREE WAS UNLIKELY TO START BETWEEN USA AND USSR BUT AS RESULT OF PROLIFERATION OF WFAPONS INTO UNSTABLE ENVIRONMENTS IN THIRD WORLD AREAS.THATCHER COMMENTED THAT THOSE COUNTRIES DID NOT/NOT HAVE QUOTE OUR NATL SENSE OF RESTRAINT UNQUOTE.PM COUNTERED THAT MOST NATIONS WOULD LIKE TO ...4

PAGE FOUR UIGR2548 CONFID CDN EYES ONLY

SURVIVE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. THATCHER SAID SHE DID NOT/NOT ACCEPT PMS LOGIC THAT THERE SHOULD BE FIVE POWER CONFERENCE JUST BECAUSE OF RISK OF HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION. PM ASKED HER TO HEAR HIM OUT; THAT HIS PROPOSAL WAS NOT/NOT A NON SEQUITER. NPT PARTIES HAD AN OBLIGATION AND THERE WAS AN OBLIGATION ON UK AS WELL UNLESS IT SIGNED TREATY IN JEST. FIRST WAS TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARSENALS AND SECOND WAS TO SHARE NUCLEAR BENEFITS. OBLIGATION TO REDUCE WAS PRIMARILY ON USA AND USSR AND NOT/NOT UK AND FRANCE. THATCHER SAID SHE WAS FEARFUL ABOUT IDEA UNTIL UK HAD ACHIEVED MINIMUM LEVEL OF NUCLEAR FORCES ESSENTIAL TO MAINTENANCE OF UK DETERRENT. PM SAID UK AND FRANCE COULD INCREASE ITS NUCLEAR FORCES UNDER TERMS OF HIS PROPOSAL. HE RECOGNIZED UK REQUIREMENT FOR MODERNIZATION AND HIS PROPOSAL WOULD ALLOW IT TO REACH ITS NECESSARY MINIMUM. THATCHER RPTD AGAIN THAT UK WAS OPPOSED TO ANY PROPOSAL THAT WOULD AGGREGATE WESTERN FORCES WITH THOSE OF USSR. SHE ACKNOWLEDGED CONCERN HOWEVER ABOUT HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION. PM SAID SHE WAS BRINGING QUOTE WATER TO HIS MILL UNQUOTE. NEAR-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES NEEDED TO BE GIVEN AN INCENTIVE TO REDUCE BY 5 NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES.

LUNCHEON ENDED WITH MRS THATCHER'S COMMENT THAT CONVENING OF A FIVE-POWER CONFERENCE WOULD NOT/NOT INFLUENCE PEOPLE SUCH AS GHADAFI.

6. ON WAY OUT IT WAS STRESSED TO SIR ANTHONY ACLAND (FCO PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY) THAT MRS THATCHER HAD NOT/NOT GIVEN PM OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN HIS PROPOSAL IN DEPTH AND THAT CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY MRS

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PAGE FIVE UIGR2548 CONFD CDN EYES ONLY

THATCHER ABOUT AGGREGATION AND NON-INCLUSION OF UK FORCES IN INF
HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN ACCOUNT OF IN PMS PROPOSAL. HE WAS TOLD THAT
WORKING PAPER ON 5 POWER PROPOSAL WOULD BE LEFT WITH HIGH
COMMISSION FOR FOLLOW-UP PURPOSES WITH HIM. HE APPRECIATED THIS INFO
AT LUNCHEON HE HIMSELF HAD MADE POINTED REF TO MRS THATCHERS HABIT
OF INTERRUPTING OTHERS BY REMARKING IN MANNER THAT COULD BE
OVERHEARD QUOTE NOW YOU SEE WHAT I HAVE TO DEAL WITH UNQUOTE).
HE MADE ADDITIONAL COMMENT THAT UK MODERNIZATION PROGRAM HAD TO
BE SUFFICIENT TO HANDLE ANY POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT BY SOVIETS
IN ABM FIELD.

7. SUB OF MBFR WAS NOT/NOT DISCUSSED IN ANY DETAIL EXCEPT FOR
PASSING REF BY PM WHEN EXITING THAT HE HAD PROPOSAL TO MAKE
IN THIS AREA ABOUT INJECTING POLITICAL ATTN INFO NEGOTIATION AND
WOULD BE FOLLOWING THIS UP WITH HER LATER. REPORT ON EARLIER
TETE-A-TETE WHEN CPE STKHM MTG WAS DISCUSSED IS CONTAINED IN
REPORT LEFT WITH YOU BY FOWLER.

CCC/232 230809Z UIGR2548

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

FM TOKYO UIGR2530 23NOV83

TO CHOGMDELDELHI/FOWLER IMMED

INFO MOSCO WSHDC BNATO ROME LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU PRMNY

NDHQOTT/ADMPO/CPD PCOOTT

DISTR MINA DMF IDR IDA IDDZ RGB RBR UCB URR RCR ZSI PGB PED PER

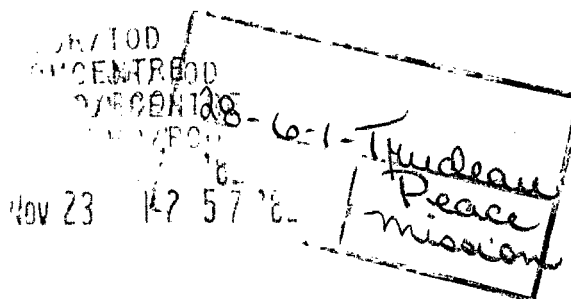
REF PEKIN TEL WJGR0874 22NOV

---PM INITIATIVE: CHINESE RESPONSE

I WAS RECEIVED WARMLY IN PEKIN AND EXPECT THAT CHINESE WILL GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO FACILITATE DIALOGUE WITH PM WHOM THEY RPTDLY STRESSED IS GOOD AND OLD FRIEND OF CHINA HAVEING ESTABLISHED DIPLO RELNS WITH PEKIN AND BEING FIRST CDN PM TO OFFICIALLY VISIT CHINA. WHILE CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENT WITH DENG XIAOPING MAY BE DELAYED, IT APPEARS TO ME PROBABLE THAT PM WILL SEE HIM.

2. YOU WILL HAVE NOTED THAT CHINESE RESPONSE TO SPECIFICS OF INITIATIVE IS GUARDED. WIDE-RANGING AND SPONTANEOUS SURVEY OF EAST/WEST RELNS BY FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOTABLE FOR ITS PESSIMISTIC EVALUATION OF USA/SOVIET POLICIES, ESPECIALLY THAT OF USSR. CHINESE DO NOT/NOT APPEAR TO ANTICIPATE EARLY AGMT ON INF OR START, NOR/NOR ON SOVIET TROOP DEPLOYMENTS NEAR CHINA OR IN AFGHANISTAN. MINISTER REITERATED CHINESE VIEW THAT CONVENING OF 5 POWER CONFERENCE MTG SHOULD ONLY TAKE PLACE AFTER SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS OF SUPER-POWER ARMAMENTS. WEAKNESS OF CHINESE ARGUMENT IS THAT THEY HAVE NO/NO ANSWER TO QUESTION OF HOW THESE REDUCTIONS ARE TO BE OBTAINED EXCEPT THROUGH PRESSURE OF QUOTE WORLD OPINION

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PAGE TWO UIGR2530 CONF CDN EYES ONLY

UNQUOTE.PRESUMABLY THEY THINK THAT THREAT OF THIRD COUNTRY.
INCLUDING CHINESE,MILITARY POTENTIALS WILL BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN
SUPER-POWER ATTITUDES.

3.ISSUE WHICH WE MIGHT EMPHASIZE IS NEEDED TO PREVENT HORIZONTAL
PROLIFERATION.CHINESE RPTD WELL-KNOWN VIEWS ON NPT,BUT THEY MAY
BE READY TO LISTEN MORE CAREFULLY NOW TO ARGUMENTS FOR ADHERENCE.
THEY MUST WISH TO PREVENT PROLIFERATION AS MUCH AS OTHER NUCLEAR
WEAPONS STATES AND MOST KNOW THAT INDIA AND OTHERS WILL NOT/NOT
WAIT INDEFINITELY FOR GREAT POWERS TO DISARM BEFORE THEY DO DOWN
SAME ROAD.AT SAME TIME CHINESE WILL BE LOATHE TO ABANDON VIEW
THAT TREATY IS DISCRIMINATORY AS LONG AS IT ERECTS NO/NO BARRIERS
TO SUPER-POWER ARMS RACE.IF LATTER CAN BE LTD BY AGMT GOING BEYOND
SALT LIMMIS CHINESE MIGHT BE WILLING TO LOOK MORE POSITIVELY
AT NPT.FIVE POWER CONFERENCE COULD BE DEFENDED AS COMPLEMENTARY
MEANS OF SETTING SUCH LIMITS,ALTHOUGH START WILL REMAIN PRINCIPAL
VEHICLE FOR DOING SO.

CCC/232 230630Z UIGR2530

Pearson

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

C O N F I D E N T I A L
FM TOKYO UIGR2529 23NOV83
TO EXTOTT ADDZ DELIVER BY 230900
INFO PMDELDELHI MOSCO WSHDC BNATO PEKIN
DISTR RBR IDA

28-6-1-Trudeau Peace
Mission

---PMS INITIATIVE: MOSCO VISIT

GRATEFUL YOU TRY TO PROVIDE BY THU, OR AT LATEST FRI AT 0900 HRS
MOSCO TIME, RESPONSE TO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WHICH I EXPECT SOVIETS
TO RAISE DURING MY VISIT THERE.

1) FIVE POWER CONFERENCE-TIMING OF THIS CONFERENCE IS CRUCIAL TO
RECEPTION OF IDEA BY NWS. CHINESE TOLD ME THAT SUPERPOWERS WOULD
HAVE TO REDUCE STRATEGIC INVENTORIES SUBSTANTIALLY (FIGURE OF 50
PERCENT WAS NEGOTIABLE THEY SAID) BEFORE THEY WOULD ATTEND. FRENCH
HAVE ADOPTED SOMEWHAT SIMILAR POSN. OUR BRIEFING MATERIAL SUGGESTS
THAT INF AND START AGMTS WOULD BE DESIRABLE, PERHAPS EVEN ESSENTIAL,
PRE-CONDITION IN ORDER TO SET QUANTITATIVE LIMITS TO SUPERPOWER
WEAPONS. PM HAS SAID PUBLICLY HOWEVER THAT CONFERENCE SHOULD MEET
IN 1984. QUESTION IS THEREFORE HOW RATIOS COULD BE WORKED OUT, OR
WHETHER ANYONE WOULD AGREE TO DO SO, UNLESS QUANTITATIVE LIMITS HAD
ALREADY BEEN AGREED FOR USA/USSR. PRESUMABLY WE ARE UNLIKELY TO GET
START AMGT IN 1984, ALTHOUGH INF AGMT MIGHT BE REACHED SOONER.

2) ASAT-SOVIETS HAVE TABLED COMPREHENSIVE TREAT AT UNGA WHICH WE
REGARD AS GENERALLY COMPATIBLE WITH CDN OBJECTIVES. THEY WILL ASK
US WHY WE ARE PROPOSING MORE LTD CONCEPT. PRESUMABLY WE BELIEVE
THAT SOVIET DRAFT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO USA, BUT CAN WE BE CONFIDENT

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PAGE TWO UIGR2529 CONF

THAT OUR PROPOSAL IS ANY MORE SO? WHAT HAVE WE SAID AT UNGA ON SUFJ,
IF ANYTHING?

3) WHAT SCVIET WEAPONS SYSTEMS DO WE THINK MIGHT BE UNVERIFIABLE
BECAUSE OF MOBILITY? WHAT ABOUT MIDGETMAN? DO YOU PREFER THAT SUCH
QUESTIONS BE EVADED FOR TIME BEING? IF SO, WHEN DO YOU EXPECT TO
PROVIDE MORE DETAILED EXPLANATIONS FOR GOVTS CONCERNED?

4) EXCHANGES: PM IS CONCERNED THAT POLITICAL CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
PROCESS INCLUDE EXCHANGES. I SHALL SAY, IF YOU AGREE, THAT CDA LOOKS
FORWARD TO NEGOTIATING NEW AGMT ON THIS SUBJ IN 1984.

CCC/232 230619Z UIGR2529

Pearson

28-6-1

TRUDEAU PEACE	
MISSION	
	44

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

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

FM BGRAD ZLGR5134 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT (REF)

INFO LDN WSHDC PARIS BONN BNATO MOSCO FPST FUCST WSAW
PRGUE GENEV ATHNS ROME HSNKI STKHM VIENN DELHI
PCOOTT/FOWLER NDHQOTT/MND/CIS/PPP/DCIS VMFR
DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB RGB RSD RSR RCD RCR RED FPR IDR
IDA IDD RBRD IDX IDDZ ZSP ZSI REP
REF OURTEL ZLGR5132 21NOV

---PMS DISARMAMENT INITIATIVE:YUGOSLAV INTEREST
DURING NOV21 CALL ON MFA UNDERSECTY KOMATINA(SOON TO
BECOME SEC GEN OF UN CTTEE ON DISARMAMENT),HE MENTIONED
THAT HE WAS WRESTLING WITH REPLY TO LET FROM PM GANDHI
ASKING FOR VIEWS ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED FROM HER UNGA
SUMMIT.KOMATINA SUPPOSED THAT WE HAD RECEIVED SIMILAR
QUERY AND WONDERED IF PM TRUDEAUS INITIATIVE WOULD BE
RELEVANT TO OUR REPLY.HE WONDERED,INDEED,HOW PMS
INITIATIVE WAS FARING.FROM YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW IT
WAS RIGHT IDEA AT RIGHT TIME AND THEY WISHED IT EVERY SUCCESS.
2.I REFERRED TO WHAT I KNEW OF PMS MTL SPEECH,IN
PARTICULAR TO HIS PROPOSAL FOR MTG OF FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS.KOMATINA
IMMEDLY ASKED WHETHER THIS IDEA HAD BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO
PRES MITTERAND.I SAID THAT I DID NOT/NOT KNOW,BUT
VENTURED OPINION THAT PM WOULD NOT/NOT HAVE MADE IT PUBLIC

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PAGE TWO ZLGR5134 CONF

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IN WAY HE DID IF HE KNEW MITTERAND TO BE CATEGORICALLY
OPPOSED. KOMATINA ASKED TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS
IN PMS INITIATIVE, AND I UNDERTOOK TO PASS ON FURTHER INFO
AS IT BECAME AVAILABLE TO US. GIVEN YUGOSLAV INTEREST AND
CENTRAL ROLE IN NAM, I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KEEP THEM
AU COURANT AT LEVEL OF FRANKNESS AT LEAST SLIGHTLY BEYOND
WHAT IS ALREADY IN PUBLIC REALM, EVEN IF PM DOES NOT/NOT
ENVISAGE INCLUDING THEM IN HIS CONSULTATIONS (WHICH I SEE
NO/NO COMPELLING REASON FOR HIM TO DO).

3. BEFORE ASKING ABOUT PMS INITIATIVE, KOMATINA DISCUSSED
IN SOME DETAIL YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT OF WPO REACTION TO
NATO INF DEPLOYMENT. THEIR INFO WAS, HE SAID, THAT
HUNGARY, DDR, AND POLAND ALL WANTED INF NEGS TO CONTINUE
EVEN AFTER DEPLOYMENT. SO, THEY BELIEVED, DID GROMYKO. FOR
REASONS OF PRESTIGE, HOWEVER, USSR COULD NOT/NOT LET TALKS
GO ON AFTER OUR DEPLOYMENT AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. IT
WAS THEREFORE LIKELY THAT GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD
BE BROKEN OFF-TO BE SUCCEEDED SOME WEEKS OR MONTHS LATER
BY THEIR RESUMPTION IN SOME OTHER FORM. PERHAPS IT SHOULD
BE ONE THAT APPROACHED QUESTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
GLOBALLY-WITHOUT SUBDIVISION BETWEEN INTERMEDIATE AND
STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. PERHAPS THERE SHOULD BE MORE PARTICIPANTS
(HE DID NOT/NOT MENTION BRITISH OR FRENCH, BUT NO/NO

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PAGE THREE ZLGR5134 CONFID

DOUET HAD THEM IN MIND).IN ANY CASE,HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT NEGOTIATING PROCESS WOULD CONTINUE.HE WAS ALSO SURE THAT MOSCO INTENDED TO CONTINUE IT.AS SOME SOVIET REP HAD SAID(I AM NOT/NOT SURE TO WHOM),DEPLOYMENT,WHILE EAD.WOULD NOT/NCT BE END OF WORLD.

4.KOMATINA BELIEVED THAT SS20 DEPLOYMENT HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN BY SOVIET MILITARY,RIDING ROUGHSHOD OVER WARNINGS THAT POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES WOULD ENSUE.GENERALS HAD EVIDENTLY THOUGHT THAT THEY COULD CARRY OFF SS20 PROGRAMME AS NOTHING MORE THAN QUOTE MODERNIZATION UNQUOTE WITHOUT ANYONE REALLY NOTICING.THEY HAD BEEN WRONG.KOMATINA THOUGHT THAT SOVIET OFFER TO REDUCE NUMBER OF SS20S TO 140 REFLECTED TACIT ADMISSION BY POLITICAL LEADERSHIP THAT BALANCE HAD INDEED BEEN UPSET BY SS20 DEPLOYMENT.

5.IN DISCUSSING VARIOUS FORMS OF NEGS ON DISARMAMENT,KOMATINA DOUETED THAT USSR WOULD ABANDON START OR MBFR TALKS EVEN IF THEY WALKED OUT OF INF NEGS.HE NOTED, HOWEVER,THAT THERE WAS ONE RESPECT IN WHICH PATTERN OF SALT AGMTS WAS OUT DATE.THEY COULD BE VERIFIED BY NATL TECHNICAL MEANS.ADVANCES IN TECHNOLOGY/MOBILITY MADE THIS NO/NO LONGER POSSIBLE.VERIFICATION MEANS WOULD BE KEY ISSUE IN FUTURE TALKS.

6.NOT/NOT BEING EXPERT IN DISIZALMENT MATTERS I DO NOT/NOT

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PAGE FOUR ZLGR5134 CONF

KNOW HOW MUCH OF THIS IS NEW OR INTERESTING. PUT REPORT IT
FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH. KOMATINA, FORMER YUGOSLAV PERMREP
IN NY. IS THOUGHTFUL AND ARTICULATE ON MATTERS PERTAINING
TO DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT. HE IS ALSO CLEARLY INTERESTED
IN AND SYMPATHETIC TO PMS INITIATIVE.

FRASER

CCC/148 221500Z ZLGR5134



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

28-6-1-~~THUNDER~~ PEACE
MISSION

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

23 Nov 83 00 13 9 2 10

SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

R E S T R I C T E D

FM/DE

FM EXTOTT RSR0380 22NOV83

TO/A

TO COPEN STKHM OSLO

INFO

DISTR

---PMS INITIATIVE

REF

DELVOIE(IDDX)DEBRIEFED THREE NORDIC AMBASSADORS AT THEIR REQUEST

SUBJ/SUJ

ON PMS INITIATIVE.FOCUS WAS ON REACTIONS IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS TO
FIVE MAIN POINTS OF INITIATIVE.ALSO TOUCHED ON KENNETH DAM VISIT
TO OTT,AND PMS PERCEPTIONS OF CDE IN STKHM.IDDX STRESSED PRINCIPLE
FOCUS OF INITIATIVE IS POLITICAL,NOT ARMS CONTROL.THOROUGH
DEBRIEFINGS DID NOT/NOT INTRODUCE^{NEW} INFO.

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG D MCCUE/YDL

RSR

6-1892

SIG J LORANGER



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

FACSIMILE

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

SECURITY
SÉCURITÉ

UNCLASSIFIED

FM/DE

FM EXTOTT IDR4452 22NOV83

TO/À

~~TO~~ ^{PRNNY} /COL MORRISON

INFO

DISTR

---CDN DEFENCE AND PRIME MINISTERS INITIATIVE

REF

SUBJ/SUJ

~~20-1-1-1~~
28-6-1-TRUDEAU
121 10

PEACE MISSION

EURO

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

J.R. FRANCIS/RÉ
SIG

IDR

2-7921

SIG

Original signed by
J. R. FRANCIS

PAGE TWO WJGR0874 CONFD

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

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TO EXTOTT 1IDDZ DELIVER BY 220900

CHOGMDELDELHI/FOWLER DELIVER BY 230900

INFO TOKYO/PEARSON/SMITH DELIVER BY 230900

MOSCO WSHDC BNATO ROME LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE ERU PRMNY

NTFQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP PCOOTT/OSFALDESTON

DISTR MINA DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR UCB URR RCR ZSI PGB PED PER

---DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN PEARSON AND CHINESE OFFICIALS 21NOV

SUMMARY:DURING VISIT TO PEKIN PEARSON HAD LENGTHY MTG WITH MFA

OFFICIALS FOLLOWED BY MTG WITH FM WU XUEQIAN.DISCUSSION SHOWED

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**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PEKIN WJGR0873 22NOV83

TO PMDELDHAKA/FOWLER ONLY FLASH

INFO CHOGMDELHI/FOWLER ONLY DELIVER BY 221600

TOKYO/PEARSON ONLY MOSCO/ARCHDEACON ONLY EXTOTT IDZ/DLVOIF ONLY

REF OURTEL WJGR0871 22NOV

---PM INITIATIVE-VISIT TO CHINA 28-29NOV

ZHU QIZHEN, ASST FOREIGN MINISTER, PHONED ME THIS AFTERNOON TO
CONFIRM THAT PMS VISIT WOULD BE WELCOME. HE SAID TIMING WAS
SUITABLE TO CHINESE AUTHORITIES.

2. Awaiting info requested para two my REFTel.

GAUVIN

CCC/002 220655Z WJGR0873

LEASE GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DISTR OF THIS TEL

**CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS**

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PEKIN WJGR0871 22NOV83

TO PMDEL DHAKA/FOWLER ONLY FLASH

INFO CHOGMDELHI/FOWLER ONLY DELIVER BY 221600

TOKYO/PEARSON ONLY MOSCO/ARCHDEACON ONLY EXTOTT LIDDZ/DELVOIE ONLY

REF YOURTEL PMDL0051 22NOV

---PM INITIATIVE-VISIT TO CHINA 28-29NOV

PEARSON AND SMITH WERE TOLD AT AIRPORT BY CHINESE OFFICIALS PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FOR TOKYO 22NOV THAT QUOTE BECAUSE OF CERTAIN INTERNAL PROCEDURES THAT HAD TO BE FOLLOWED UNQUOTE OFFICIAL AGREEMENT WOULD NOT/NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR PMS PROPOSED VISIT TO PEKIN UNTIL WED 23NOV OR THURS 24NOV.HOWEVER,THEY WERE TOLD THAT UNOFFICIALLY CHINESE AGREED TO VISIT AND WE WERE ASKED TO PROCEED WITH MAKING APRANGEMENTS.ALTHOUGH WE HAVE ASKED FOR APPOINTMENTS WITH BOTH ZHAO AND/AND DENG,MFA OFFICIALS CANNOT/NOT SAY AT THIS TIME WHETHER BOTH WILL RECEIVE PM.I SHALL PRESS THEM FOR THIS INFO AND ADVISE YOU ASAP.

2.MAY WE HAVE DETAILS ABOUT COMPOSITION OF PARTY AND ABOUT AIRCRAFT. TO REQUEST AIRCRAFT CLEARANCE FROM CHINESE AUTHORITIES WE NEED FOLLOWING INFO:

- (A)FLT NUMBER
- (B)NAME OF AIRCRAFT COMMANDER AND NUMEER OF CREW
- (C)TYPE OF AIRCRAFT AND REGISTRATION NUMEER
- (D)RADIO CALL SIGN

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SECRET
PAGE TWO WJGR0871 SECRET GDN EYES ONLY

(E)CONFIRMATION THAT NO/NO MUNITIONS OF WAR,PHOTOGRAPHIC OR
ANTI-ELECTRONIC MEASURES EQPT WILL BE CARRIED

(F)PROPOSED ITINERARY

(G)PROPOSED ROUTING.

GAUVIN

CCC/002 220355Z WJGR0871

mf
E

INFO

R E S T R I C T E D

FM PEAIN WJGR0868 22NOV83

TO MOSCO IMMED

INFO EXTOTT UDDZ TOKYO

REF YOURTEL XYGR4142 21NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:PEARSON VISIT TO MOSCO

PEARSON AND SMITH SCHEDULED TO ARR MOSCO THURSDAY 24NOV VIA
JAL441 FROM TOKYO ETA 1615.ETD EVENING OF SATURDAY 26NOV.

CCC/299 220654Z WJGR0868

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

MF
ID

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

DE ROME WTGR0433 22NOV83

A EXTOTT(IDDZ RCR GMR LIVRAISON 230900

INFO VATCN LDN BONN WSHDC HAGUE IRU MOSCO PARIS BNATO NDHQOTT/MND/
CDS/ADMPOL/CPD

SAC MILAN DE ROM

DISTR MINA USS IMF UGI IFF IDD IDR IDA RGF RCD RSR RBR ZSS ZSI GMD
RFF NOTRETEL WTGR0432 22NOV

---RAID SUR BAALBEK ET REEXAMEN ITALIEN DE LA FORCE MULTINATIONALE
RESUME: SITOT RECOMPOSEE, SITOT L UNITE DU GOUVT CRAXI EN POLITIQUE
ETRANGERE SEMBLE VOLER DE NOUVEAU EN ECLATS A LA SUITE DU RAID
FRANCAIS SUR BAALBEK. SENSIBLE A LA CONDAMNATION DE CETTE ACTION
PAR LE VATCN, DEMOCRATIE CHRETIENNE S EST MAINTENANT RALLIEE AU MAE
ANDREOTTI POUR DEMANDER LE REEXAMEN DE LA PARTICIPATION ITALIENNE
A LA FORCE MULTINATIONALE (FMN) DE BERUT. LA FRANCE EN A COMPROMIS
LA NEUTRALITE ET, POUR ANDREOTTI TOUT AU MOINS, SEMBLE AVOIR BASCULE
VERS LA PROPENSION AMERICAINE A L AVENTURISME. PLUS PROFONDEMENT,
LA POLARISATION S EFFECTUE SUR LA CONCEPTION DE LA CONDUITE DES
RELATIONS EST/OUEST: AUTOUR D ANDREOTTI, LES PARTISANS D UNE
CERTAINE PRUDENCE PAR RAPPORT AUX INITIATIVES AMERICAINES ET
DU MAINTIEN DE CONTACTS AVEC DES PAYS COMME L URSS OU LA SYRIE;
SANS CHEF AUSSI IDENTIFIABLE, LES PARTISANS D UN LIEN ATLANTIQUE
PRESQU INCONDITIONNEL. D ENFANT TERRIBLE SOUS LES GOUVTS PRECEDENTS,
CRAXI RISQUE DE DEVOIR SE CONTENTER DU ROLE DE MEDiateur.

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NOIT2A

224500 A 37102

PAGE DEUX WTGR0433 CONF

2.RAPPORT:LE SOMMET SEMESTRIEL ITALO-FRANCAIS DE VENISE,LES 17-18NOV, AURA PLUTOT SERVI DE CAISSE DE RESONNANCE A UN DESACCORD ENTRE LES DEUX PAYS SUR LE ROLE DE LA FMN ET A UNE DEPLORABLE POLEMIQUE ENTRE MINISTRES ITALIENS AU SUJET DE LA POLITIQUE ETRANGERE DU MAE ANDREOTTI.

3.DANS SON ENSEMBLE,OPINION ET GOUVT ONT RESSENTI COMME UN CAMOUFLET L ABSENCE DE PREAVIS DE L OPERATION FRANCAISE CONTRE LES CHIITES DE BAALBEK,MENEE A QUELQUES HEURES DU DEBUT DES ENTRETIENS.CONTRAIREMENT AUX EUA,ET,SEMBLE-T-IL,A ISRAEL,GOUVT MITTERRAND N A PAS CONSULTE SES HOTES ITALIENS,PARTENAIRES DANS LA FMN.QU IL AIT OMIS DE LE FAIRE PARCE QU IL SAVAIT QUE CRAXI AUSSI BIEN QU ANDREOTTI S Y SERAIENT OPPOSES,NE FAIT QUE SOULIGNER LA DIVERGENCE ENTRE ROME ET PARIS SUR LA CONCEPTION MEME DE CETTE FORCE.

4.POUR LA DIPLOMATIE ITALIENNE,COINCEE ENTRE UNE OPINION PEU FAVORABLE A LA PRESENCE D UN CONTINGENT A BEHUT ET UN PARTI COMMUNISTE NETTEMENT CONTRAIRE,PARTICIPATION A LA FMN A ETE JUSTIFIEE PAR SA NEUTRALITE,SON CONCOURS AU SALUT DES POPULATIONS CIVILES ET SA CONTRIBUTION POSSIBLE A LA FORMULATION D UNE SOLUTION NEGOCIEE.AU COURS DE SES CONSULTATIONS AVEC LES PAYS ARABES A L AGNU ET,PLUS RECEMMENT,A DAMAS,GIULIO ANDREOTTI S ETAIT APPLIQUE A OBTENIR CONFIRMATION DE CETTE PERCEPTION DE LA FORCE ET PARTICULIEREMENT DU ROLE ITALIEN.MEME APRES LES ATTENTATS CONTRE ...3

PAGE TROIS WTGR0433 CONF

AMERICAINS ET FRANCAIS, LA RENCONTRE DES MAE DES PAYS MEMBRES AVAIT POUR ANDREOTTI CIT REJOINT UN ACCORD A L EFFET QUE LE MAINTIEN DE LA FMN DEPENDAIT D UNE INITIATIVE POLITIQUE. CETTE INDICATION EUT L EFFET POSITIF DE MENER QUELQUES JOURS PLUS TARD A UNE PREMIERE ENTENTE ENTRE LES FACTIONS LIBANAISES FINCIT, QUI S EST REVELEE FAVORABLE AUX CONSULTATIONS DE GENEV. SELON CETTE CLE DE LECTURE, LES REPRESAILLES FRANCAISES DE BAALBEK ONT DONC ROMPU UN PROCESSUS DE PACIFICATION D UNE EXTREME SENSIBILITE.

5. PRISONNIER DE SON ROLE PENDANT LE SOMMET, PM CRAXI TENTA DE SON MIEUX DE MANIFESTER SA COMPREHENSION POUR LA POSITION DE LA FRANCE ET DE SAUVER CE QU IL POUVAIT DES CONSULTATIONS BILATERALES ET COMMUNAUTAIRES. PAR UN RENVERSEMENT DES ROLES, CE SPECIALISTE DE LA PROVOCATION ASSUMAIT UNE RESPONSABILITE DE MODERATEUR. PLUS QU A LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE EN CONCLUSION DU SOMMET, LES NUANCES DE SA POSITION ONT ETE FORMULEES DANS UN EDITORIAL DE L ORGANE SOCIALISTE AVANTI DU 20 NOV: CIT SI PERSONNE NE PEUT SINCEREMENT S INDIGNER CONTRE L ACTION DE L ARMEE FRANCAISE CONTRE DES TERRORISTES ET DES ASSASSINS, NOUS NE POUVONS QU EXPRIMER NOTRE PREOCCUPATION DEVANT TOUT CE QUI POURRAIT EXACERBER LA SITUATION AU LIBAN FINCIT.

6. POUR LE VIEUX SORCIER DE LA POLITIQUE QU EST ANDREOTTI, CETTE DECOUVERTE DE LA LITOTE PAR CRAXI ETAIT TROP BELLE. EN QUELQUES MOTS, PAR CONVICTION ET PAR SAGACITE, IL SUT SE DEMARQUER DU PRESIDENT DU

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PAGE QUATRE WTGR0433 CONFD

CONSEIL ET RAPPELER LA POSITION ORTHODOXE DE L ITALIE SUR LE LIBAN.
IMPLICITEMENT MAIS CLAIREMENT IL CONDAMNA LE RAID SUR BAALBEK.
POUR UN INSTANT, LE GOUVT SEMBLA SE DECOMPOSER DEVANT LA PRESSE.
DANS UNE VERITABLE INVECTIVE, LE TRES ATLANTISTE MINISTRE DU BUDGET
PIETRO LONGO ACCUSA LE MAE DE DENATURER LA POLITIQUE ETRANGERE
DE L ITALIE ET SE DECLARA EN DESACCORD CIT AVEC LA QUASI TOTALITE
DES ACTES ET DES ATTITUDES D ANDREOTTI FINCIT.

7. PERDANT IL Y A DIX JOURS DEVANT L ASSAUT CONJUGUE DE CEUX QUI
LUI REPROCHAIENT SES CONTACTS SYRIENS, SA CONDAMNATION DE
L INTERVENTION AMERICAINE A GRENADE ET LA PRESENCE DE L AMBASSADEUR
D ITALIE SUR LA PLACE ROUGE POUR LA COMMEMORATION DE LA REVOLUTION
D OCT. ANDREOTTI REPEND AINSI L ASCENDANT. L UN APRES L AUTRE,
TOUS LES DIRIGEANTS DE LA DEMOCRATIE CHRETIENNE, SON CRITIQUE LE
PLUS VIRULENT EMILIO COLOMBO COMPRIS, SE RALLIENT A SA CONDAMNATION
ET EXIGENT UN REEXAMEN DE LA PARTICIPATION ITALIENNE A LA FMN.
L UNITE DU PRINCIPAL PARTI POLITIQUE ITALIEN SE REFAIT DERRIERE
LUI. ET IL SE MERITE EN MEME TEMPS L APPUI TACITE DES COMMUNISTES.
8. LE DEBAT A DONC FLAMEE SUR UNE QUESTION QUI TOUCHE D ABORD
LA PRESENCE ITALIENNE A BERUT MAIS QUI REJOINT DE FAIT LA
CONCEPTION MEME DES RAPPORTS EST/OUEST. POUR ANDREOTTI, LE RAID SUR
BAALBEK REPRESENTA UN PEU LA PARAGON DE TOUT CE QUI DEVRAIT ETRE
EVITE DANS LA GESTION D UNE CRISE: LE SACRIFICE DE LA RATIONALITE
AU SENTIMENT, SI JUSTIFIE SOIT-IL: LE COUP D ECLAT QUI COMPROMET

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PAGE CINQ WTGR0433 CONFD

LES EFFORTS LES PLUS PATIENTS ET LES PROGRES LES PLUS MINIMES
QUI SONT SOUVENT LES SEULS MOYENS DE DESAMORCER UN ENGIN.

9. SUR LA FMN, ANDREOTTI A DONC MARQUE UN POINT NON NEGLIGEABLE.

REFUSSANT MAL A SE DEGAGER DE L'APPUI GENANT QUE LUI MANIFESTAIENT

LES ATLANTISTES INCONDITIONNELS, CRAXI A EU QUELQUE MAL A AFFIRMER

SON AUTONOMIE. MAIS IL A EU LA SAGESSE DE S'ASTENIR DE LA MELEE

ET DE FAIRE AUCUNE DECLARATION DEPUIS LA CONCLUSION DU SOMMET.

CE N'EST QU'HIER SOIR, 21 NOV., QUE PARTI SOCIALISTE A EMIS UNE BREVE

DECLARATION DANS LE SENS DE L'APAISEMENT. SON SECGEN ADJOINT

CLAUDIO MARTELLI A CONSTATE LA LEGITIMITE DES INTERROGATIONS SUR

LE ROLE ET L'AVENIR DE LA FMN. EN MEME TEMPS, PRESIDENCE DU CONSEIL

INDIQUAIT QUE QUESTION SERAIT A L'ORDRE DU JOUR DE LA PROCHAINE

REUNION DU CABINET. PRUDENCE SEMBLE ENFIN PREVALOIR DE LA PART

DES PRINCIPAUX INTERESSES ET SOLUTION DE COMPROMIS SERA MISE AU

POINT. MAIS REACTION QUASI EPIDERMIQUE QU'ANDREOTTI SEMBLE SUSCITER

CHEZ SES ADVERSAIRES CONSTITUE UNE GARANTIE QUE LA POLITIQUE

ETRANGERE DEMURERA A L'AVANT PLAN.

CCC/191 230840Z WTGR0433

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

FM VMBFR XTDR0209 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR DELIVER BY 220900

INFO BNATO

DISTR IDDZ

RFF YOURTEL IDR4357 16NOV

---MEFR AND NAC MINISTERIAL

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELS CONTAIN DRAFT BRIEF AND DRAFT TALKING POINTS AS REQUESTED. BRIEF WHEN TYPED UP WILL AMOUNT TO ABOUT FOUR AND HALF PAGES, WHICH I TAKE IT IS NOT/NOT TOO LONG FOR TOPIC ON WHICH MINISTER IS TO MAKE MAJOR INTERVENTION.

2. I HAVE REPEATED TEXTS TO BNATO SO THEY WILL BE ABLE GIVE THEIR VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS.

3. GRATEFUL TO LEARN WHETHER DRAFTS FILL THE BILL AND TO RECEIVE FOR MY OWN GUIDANCE COPIES OF BRIEF AND TALKING POINTS IN FORM IN WHICH THEY ARE ULTIMATELY APPROVED

HAMMOND

CCC/076 220758Z XTDR0209

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

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0204 22NOV83

TO PMDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 230800

DISTR DMF IDA MRCP URR

REF TEL FM ROME WTGR0432 OF 21NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:ITALIAN VIEWS

IN COURSE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON INF,14-16NOV,CRAXI,AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY ROME,REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO PROPOSALS WHICH PM PUT FORWARD DURING HIS VISIT TO ROME.CRAXI RECALLED IN PARTICULAR THAT PM TRUDEAU HAD ENVISAGED INSTITUTION DURING FORTHCOMING YEAR OF FORUM IN WHICH FIVE DECLARED NUCLEAR POWERS COULD CARRY OUT NEGOTIATIONS ON GLOBAL LIMITS TO ARMAMENTS.THAT QUESTION,CRAXI SAID,COULD NOT BE IGNORED OR PUT ASIDE INDEFINITELY,AS IF IT DID NOT EXIST.CRAXI ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE HAD AGREED WITH TRUDEAU IN ROME ON TIMELINESS AND USEFULNESS OF GIVING RENEWED POLITICAL IM,PUSLE TO MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGN MINISTER OF NATO AND WSAW PACT.IN SAME SPIRIT,HE UNDERLINED THAT CDE CONFERENCE IN STKHM WOULD OFFER SIMILAR POSSIBILITIES OF POLITICAL ACTION. HE WARNED AGAINST DANGERS OF HORIZONTAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.HE CONCLUDED BY ASSERTING THAT QUOTE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS INFLUENCE AND OF ITS CCNCRETE AND EFFECTIVE POSSIBILITIES OF INITIATIVE,THE ITALIAN GOVT ACTS,AND WILL CONTINUE TO ACT,IN SUCH A WAY AS TO OVERRIDE SITUATIONS OF CRISIS,TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS OF CONFLICTS AND TO REDUCE CONFRONTATION AND TENSION.ALONG WITH THE

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PAGE TWO IDDZ0204 CONFIDENTIAL

SECURITY MEASURES WHICH GUARANTEE IT, PEACE MUST BE CONSOLIDATED
THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF A DIFFERENT START HALFQUOTE STRUCTURE OF PCI
ITI-

OF POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP END HALFQUOTE AND A MORE INTENSIVE
DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND OF COOPERATION
IN GENERAL.

CCC/277 222344Z IDDZ0204

R E S T R I C T E D

FM EXTOTT CPD0184 22NOV83

TO PMDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 230800

DISTR DMF RBD IMD IMC PSR IDDZ CCB

REF OURTEL CPD0181 22NOV

FOLLOWING IS FRENCH TEXT OF NOTES FOR PMS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
FORWARDED TO YOU IN OURTEL CPD0181 22NOV.CIT:

NOTES POUR LE PREMIER MINISTRE

REUNION DES CHEFS DE GOUVERNEMENT DES PAYS DU COMMONWEALTH NEW DELHI
MADAME LA PRESIDENTE,ETC.

JE VOUS REMERCIE POUR CES GENTILS MOTS DE BIENVENUE.C EST LA
PREMIERE FOIS QUE LES CHEFS DES PAYS DU COMMONWEALTH SE REUNISSENT
EN INDE.POUR MOI,UN RETOUR EN INDE EST TOUJOURS UNE ESPECE DE
PELERINAGE.PLUS DE 30 ANNEES SE SONT ECOULEES DEPUIS L EPOQUE OU,
JEUNE HOMME,J AI DEPOSE MON SAC DANS UNE RUE DE DELHI.MAINTENANT,
TOUT COMME VOUS,MON FARDEAU EST PLUS LOURD:JE SUIS RECONNAISSANT DE
L APPUI ET DE LA COMPREHENSION DE VIEUX AMIS.JE SUIS REVIGORE PAR
L ESPRIT DE FRATERNITE QUI REGNE AU SEIN DU COMMONWEALTH.

ENSEMBLE,NOUS REPRESENTONS 46 NATIONS ET LE QUART DE LA POPULATION
MONDIALE.C EST CE QUI FAIT DE NOS REUNIONS BIENNALES UN VERITABLE
LIEU DE RENCONTRE DE L HUMANITE.CES REUNIONS SONT CIT L AGORA FINCIT
DU NORD ET DU SUD,OU NOUS POUVONS DISCUTER HONNETEMENT,TOUT EN
RESPECTANT NOS DIVERGEANCES ET EN BATISSANT SUR NOTRE CIT COMMUNIS
SENSUS FINCIT EN TANT QUE MEMBRES D UNE SOCIETE GLOPALE.

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PAGE TWO CPD0184 RESTR

CETTE ANNEE, NOUS ACCUEILLONS PARMI NOUS ANTIQUA ET BARBUDE, LES ILES MALDIVES ET SAINT-CHRISTOPHE-ET-NIEVES. LEUR PRESENCE NE PEUT QUE NOUS ENRICHIR. NOUS COMPTONS BIEN NOUS ATTIRER LEUR AMITIE ET LEUR DEMANDER CONSEIL.

LE COMMONWEALTH PERMET DE SITUER LES QUESTIONS GLOBALES DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE PARTICULIERE. IL S AGIT DE LA VISION UNIQUE D UNE COMMUNAUTE DONT NOUS AFFIRMONS ET RENOUVELONS CONSTAMMENT LES VALEURS ET LES TRADITIONS. LA MAGIE DU COMMONWEALTH RESIDE NON PAS DANS NOS INSTITUTIONS PARTICULIERES, MAIS DANS NOS ATTITUDES.

LE MONDE A BESOIN DE NOTRE GENEROSITE D ESPRIT ET DE NOTRE DETERMINATION COMMUNE. EN SEPTEMBRE DERNIER A NEW YORK, MADAME LA PRESIDENTE, VOUS AVEZ INNOVE. VOUS AVEZ INTRODUIT LA SIMPLICITE ET LA FRANCHISE DU COMMONWEALTH DANS L ATMOSPHERE TENDUE DES NATIONS UNIES.

L AN DERNIER, VOUS AVEZ DIRIGE AVEC MODERATION ET REALISME LE MOUVEMENT DES PAYS NON-ALIGNES, PRETE A PRENDRE DES MESURES CONSTRUCTIVES. CES QUALITES NOUS SERVIRONS TOUS PUISQUE L INDE DEVIENDRA EN JANVIER MEMBRE DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE DES NATIONS UNIES.

NOS MEILLEURS VOEUX VOUS ACCOMPAGNENT DANS CETTE ENTREPRISE, CAR NOUS CROYONS TOUS QUE LA SECURITE GLOBALE EST UNE RESPONSABILITE COLLECTIVE. A L HEURE ACTUELLE, LA TRISTE PERSPECTIVE D UN AFFRONTLEMENT NUCLEAIRE MENACE TOUTES LES NATIONS. POURTANT, QUE POUVONS-NOUS Y REPONDRE, NOUS QUI NE PARLONS PAS POUR LES SUPERPUISSANCES? COMME LE PERSONNAGE TESS DANS L OEUVRE DE HARDY, NOUS NOUS SENTONS OBLIGES

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PAGE THREE CPD0184 RESTR

D EMPRUNTER UNE VOIE DANGEREUSE CONTRE NOTRE GRE.

SI NOUS VOULONS REVENIR DANS LA BONNE VOIE ET CHANGER CE CLIMAT D HOSTILITE, NOUS DEVONS COMMENCER PAR COMMUNIQUER. SANS COMMUNICATION, IL NE PEUT Y AVOIR DE COMPREHENSION, DE NEGOCIATION SIGNIFICATIVE, NI DE SECURITE DURABLE POUR L HUMANITE.

EN TANT QUE DIRIGEANTS DU COMMONWEALTH, NOUS POUVONS ET DEVONS ENCOURAGER LE DIALOGUE POLITIQUE.

NOUS POUVONS TENTER DE MODIFIER L ATMOSPHERE DE MEFIANCE ET D AFFRONTMENT QUI REGNE DANS LES AFFAIRES INTERNATIONALES. NOUS POUVONS PROCLAMER L INTERET LEGITIME DE TOUTES LES NATIONS A L EGARD DE LA SECURITE GLOBALE. NOUS POUVONS RECOMMANDER LA MODERATION ET LA COMPASSION. NOUS POUVONS OEUVRER EN VUE DE RESTAURER LA CONFIANCE ENTRE L EST ET L OUEST.

NOUS NE DEVONS PAS ETRE IRREALISTES. IL Y A UNE LIMITE A CE QUE NOUS POUVONS FAIRE ICI A NEW DELHI. NOUS POUVONS TOUTEFOIS COMMENCER A RENVERSER CETTE TENDANCE QUI NOUS EXPOSE A UNE INCERTITUDE GRANDISSANTE ET A DES DANGERS DE PLUS EN PLUS NOMBREUX. C EST DANS CET ESPRIT QUE J ABORDE NOTRE REUNION CETTE SEMAINE. JE SUIS IMPATIENT D ENTAMER LES DISCUSSIONS. F INCIT.

CCC/149 222043Z CPD0184

Ms. Caron
for action pls
PC

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER
R E S T R I C T E D

FM PMDELHAKA PMCLPPTU WWNOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 221200

INFO WSHEC PCOOTT/CARON

FRO FOWLER

---THE DAY AFTER THE DAY AFTER

GRATEFUL YOUR VIEWS ON PUBLIC IMPACT OF THIS MUCH AWATED AND
PROBABLY OVER ANTICIPATE MEDIA EVENT. HOWEVER IN AFTERMATH THIS
PROGAM AND OTHER EXELLENT DOCUMENTARIES SUCH AS GWYNN DWYERS
QUOTE WAR UNQUOTE AND VARIOUS QUOTE JOURNAL NQUOTE PIECES, IS NORTH
AMERICAN PUBLIC AWARENESS/ANGST RIING?

CCC/090 221250Z PMDL0057

CORRECTED COPY
EXEMPLAIRE CORRIGE

CC 1DDZ / DELVOIE MF
NOV 24 1983

cc: IDDZ/Delvoie
FPR/JJ Noble:nl
24NOV83

CORRECTED COPY

UNCLASSIFIED (ORIGINAL MAY HAVE BEEN RECEIVED WITH PAGES MISSING)

FM PMDELDHAKA PMDL0056 22NOV83

TO PMOOTT/HUDON IMMED

INFO EXTOTT IDDZ

DISTR FPR

---PM SCRUM

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PM SCRUM FOLLOWING AMTG WITH REPS
OF THE GOVT OF BANGLADESH IN DHAKA, 21NOV. PLEASE RELEASE.

TEXT BEGINS:

Q. WHAT WERE THE MAIN ISSUES THAT YOU DISCUSSED WITH GEN ERSHAD
TODAY?

A. WE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME ON INNATL PROBLEMS--NORTH
SOUTH PROBLEMS AND EAST-WEST PROBLEMS. WE TALKED OF KAMPUCHEA,
AFGHANISTAN, THE MIDEAST, AND OTHER SUCH TROUBLE SPOTS. IT GAVE ME
AN OCCASION TO EXPLAIN ON BEHALF OF THE CDN GOVT THE PEACE
INITIATIVE THAT I HAVE BEEN PURSUING FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS. WE
ALSO DISCUSSED SOME BILATERAL SUBJECTS, THOUGH I MUST SAY THEY HAD
BEEN DEALT WITH MORE EXTENSIVELY BY OFFICIALS BEFORE THE GENERAL AND
I ENTERED THE ROOM, SO THE ACCORDS WE HAVE JUST SIGNED WERE PREPARED
IN ADVANCE. BUT WE TOOK SOME TIME TO EXPLAIN EACH OTHERS COUNTRY TO
EACH OTHER. FOR INSTANCE, WE WERE VERY INTERESTED IN HEARING THE
POINT OF VIEW OF YOUR MINISTER OF FINANCE ON THE NORTH-SOUTH SUBJ
AND THE INNATL FINANCIAL SITUATION AND WE DISCUSSED THAT FOR A
WHILE. WE DID THE SAME THING WITH YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER: SEEING THE
APPLICATIONS OF BANGLADESHI FOREIGN POLICY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF
THE WORLD. THATS ABOUT A SUMMARY OF WHAT WE DISCUSSED TODAY.

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PAGE TWO PMDL0056 UNCLAS

Q. WHAT ECONOMIC ISSUES DID YOU DISCUSS WITH BANGLADESH?

A. WELL, WE DISCUSSED THE WORLD FINANCIAL SITUATION AND WE DISCUSSED THE WAY IN WHICH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS MIGHT OR COULD BE REFORMED—THE IMF, THE WORLD BANK. WE TALKED ABOUT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND THE REASONS WHY, IN THE PAST, WE SEEMED TO HAVE FAILED TO FIND COMMON GROUND BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH TO BEGIN THE GLOBAL DIALOGUE, THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WAS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH, BUT AS I WAS SAYING TO YOUR COLLEAGUE, WE ALSO GOT INTO PROBLEMS NEAR AT HOME, AND WE HEARD FROM THE MINISTER OF FINANCE ABOUT THE INVESTMENT NEEDS AND PLANS FOR BANGLADESH. WE HEARD FROM YOUR MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE ON PROGRESS OF LAND REFORM. WE HEARD ABOUT THE DESIRE OF YOUR MINISTER OF FINANCE TO BALANCE INVESTMENT ON INFRASTRUCTURE WITH DEVELOPMENTAL INVESTMENT. THOSE ARE THE GENERAL SUBJECTS WE DISCUSSED.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, ON YOUR PEACE INITIATIVE. WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR MTG WITH MR (GEORGI) ARBATOV IN TOKYO THE OTHER DAY? WAS HE SUPPORTIVE IN ANY WAY AND DID HE GIVE ANY INDICATION OF WHAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S POSITION WOULD BE ON YOUR INITIATIVE?

A. ON THE LATTER QUESTION, THE ANSWER IS NO/NO. HE DID NOT/NOT PURPORT TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. ON THE FIRST QUESTION, THE SUPPORT WAS, I SUPPOSE, SOMEWHAT MUTED, TO BE FRANK.

MR ARBATOV IS SOMEWHAT PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND HE DIDN'T SEEM TO ENTERTAIN GREAT HOPES THAT I WOULD BE

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PAGE THREE PMDL0056 UNCLAS

ABLE TO CONVINCE THE USA TO BE, TO USE HIS WORDS, MORE REASONABLE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE EXPRESSED THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA AS BEING VERY WILLING TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT, BUT BEING MET WITH A NEGOTIATOR WHO WAS NOT--AND I AM, OF COURSE, PARAPHRASING MR ARBATOV--THESE ARE NOT/NOT MY THOUGHTS.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, COULD YOU DESCRIBE TO US WHAT KIND OF ROLE YOU THOUGHT MR ARBATOV WAS PLAYING? WAS HE IN FACT ACTING AS A EMISSARY FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, OR WAS HE ACTING ON A TOTALLY FREELANCE BASIS?

A. PERHAPS NEITHER ONE NOR THE OTHER. CERTAINLY NOT AS AN EMISSARY, BECAUSE I UNDERSTAND HE HAD BEEN IN TOKYO FOR SOME TIME AND WAS GOING TO REMAIN THERE FOR A WHILE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE HAD NOT/NOT COME TO TOKYO WITH ANY SPECIAL MSG FOR ME OR, AS FAR AS I KNOW, ANY SPECIAL PLAN TO MEET ME. HE JUST HEARD I WAS IN TOWN, LET US KNOW THAT HE WOULD MAKE HIMSELF AVAILABLE. AND SINCE EVENTUALLY I WILL PERHAPS BE HEARING FROM OR EVEN EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP--AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION--I THINK HE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, IF I WANTED TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, HE WAS AVAILABLE. AS MY WHOLE INITIATIVE IS IN TRYING TO LOWER THE TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST I THOUGHT IT MADE SENSE FOR ME TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH HIM SINCE HE WAS MAKING HIMSELF AVAILABLE--MUCH AS I HAVE TALKED TO A CERTAIN NUMBER OF AMERICANS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS ON THE SUBJECT OF EAST-WEST TENSIONS.

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PAGE FOUR PMDL0056 UNCLAS

Q.PRIME MINISTER,DO YOU THINK HE WAS PRIVY TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIPS THINKING ON YOUR INITIATIVE?

A.I HAVE NO/NO PARTICULAR REASON TO THINK THAT.MR ARBATOV IS SAID TO BE CLOSE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP BUT,I RPT,HE DIDNT INDICATE THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF MR ANDROPOV OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT.

Q.PRIME MINISTER,LAST NIGHT IN YOUR BANQUET SPEECH,YOU SAID THAT YOUR COUNTRY WOULD MAINTAIN HIGH LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION IN BANGLADESH.WOULD YOU KINDLY SPELL OUT THE SPECIFIC FIELDS WHERE YOU ARE OING TO COOPERATE WITH BANGLADESH,OR ARE GOING TO HELP BANGLADESH,OR GIVE LIGHT ON THE AGREFMENTS YOU HAVE JUST SIGNED WITH THE BANGLADESH HEAD OF GOVT.

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Q.FROM BANGLADESH YOU ARE GOING TO DELHI TO ATTEND THE COMMON-WEALTH MTG.WOULD YOU PLEASE SAY WHAT ISSUES WILL DOMINATE THE CONFERENCE OF COMMONWEALTH HEADS IN DELHI.

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THEN,I WOULD EXPECT THAT MOST OF THE NEXT TWO DAYS WOULD BE DISCUSSING THE INTERNATL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.THERE,WE WILL GET TO THE HELLINER REPORT WHICH HAS BEEN PRODUCED AT THE REQUEST OF THE MINISTERS OF FINANCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH IN SEP.IT WAS REFERRED TO US.WE WILL BE DISCUSSING THAT WHICH,AS YOU KNOW,IS A REPORT ...7

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A. IT ISN'T QUOTE THE LEFT HAND AND THE RIGHT HAND UNQUOTE—I THINK IT IS THE RIGHT HAND AND THE LEFT TOE. YOU KNOW, YOU CAN'T REALLY ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO WHAT SOME MID-LEVEL OFFICIAL FROM THE PENTAGON THINKS ABOUT MY PEACE INITIATIVE, PARTICULARLY WHEN HE PURPORTS TO TALK ABOUT THE EUROPEAN RECEPTION OF IT. I MAY BE OUT OF CONTEXT HERE, BUT I CAN'T SEE THAT IT MATTERS VERY MUCH WHAT, ONCE AGAIN, A THIRD-RATE—I MEAN, A THIRD-LEVEL—OFFICIAL FROM THE PENTAGON THINKS ABOUT MY PEACE INITIATIVE.

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A. WELL, THE RIGHT ONE, MAYBE.

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IN OTHER WORDS, DO YOU KNOW IF MR ANDROPOV IS IN ANY SHAPE TO RECEIVE YOU, SHOULD YOU WANT TO GO THERE?

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Q. WOULD YOU BE CONTENT, SIR, TO GO TO MOSCO AND SEE SOMEONE ELSE, OTHER THAN MR ANDROPOV?

A. THE QUESTION IS PRETTY HYPOTHETICAL. I DON'T EVEN KNOW IF THE RESPONSE THAT I WILL GET THROUGH MR PEARSON AND MR SMITH WILL BE MORE ENCOURAGING THAN SEEMED TO BE THE ATTITUDE OF MR ARBATOV, AND, THEREFORE, I DON'T KNOW IF I WILL WANT TO GO TO MOSCO. BUT IF I DO, I WOULDN'T THINK THAT I HAD TO SEE ANDROPOV IF ANDROPOV ISN'T SEEABLE. THERE IS A CERTAIN NUMBER OF LEADERS THERE, MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO. IT WOULD BE IN KEEPING CERTAINLY WITH MY FEELING OF

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EXEMPLAIRE CORRIGE

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2 INFO

CORRECTED COPY

UNCLASSIFIED (ORIGINAL MAY HAVE BEEN RECEIVED WITH PAGES MISSING)

FM PMDELDHAKA PMDL0056 22NOV83

TO PMOOTT/HUDON IMMED

INFO EXTOTT IDDZ

DISTR FPR

---PM SCRUM

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PM SCRUM FOLLOWING AMTG WITH REPS
OF THE GOVT OF BANGLADESH IN DHAKA, 21NOV. PLEASE RELEASE.

TEXT BEGINS:

Q. WHAT WERE THE MAIN ISSUES THAT YOU DISCUSSED WITH GEN ERSHAD
TODAY?

A. WE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME ON INNATL PROBLEMS--NORTH
SOUTH PROBLEMS AND EAST-WEST PROBLEMS. WE TALKED OF KAMPUCHEA,
AFGHANISTAN, THE MIDEAST, AND OTHER SUCH TROUBLE SPOTS. IT GAVE ME
AN OCCASION TO EXPLAIN ON BEHALF OF THE CDN GOVT THE PEACE
INITIATIVE THAT I HAVE BEEN PURSUING FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS. WE
ALSO DISCUSSED SOME BILATERAL SUBJECTS, THOUGH I MUST SAY THEY HAD
BEEN DEALT WITH MORE EXTENSIVELY BY OFFICIALS BEFORE THE GENERAL AND
I ENTERED THE ROOM, SO THE ACCORDS WE HAVE JUST SIGNED WERE PREPARED
IN ADVANCE. BUT WE TOOK SOME TIME TO EXPLAIN EACH OTHERS COUNTRY TO
EACH OTHER. FOR INSTANCE, WE WERE VERY INTERESTED IN HEARING THE
POINT OF VIEW OF YOUR MINISTER OF FINANCE ON THE NORTH-SOUTH SUBJ
AND THE INNATL FINANCIAL SITUATION AND WE DISCUSSED THAT FOR A
WHILE. WE DID THE SAME THING WITH YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER: SEEING THE
APPLICATIONS OF BANGLADESHI FOREIGN POLICY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF
THE WORLD. THATS ABOUT A SUMMARY OF WHAT WE DISCUSSED TODAY.

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PAGE TWO PMDL0056 UNCLAS

Q.WHAT ECONOMIC ISSUES DID YOU DISCUSS WITH BANGLADESH?

A.WELL,WE DISCUSSED THE WORLD FINANCIAL SITUATION AND WE DISCUSSED THE WAY IN WHICH INNATL INSTITUTIONS MIGHT OR COULD BE REFORMED--THE IMF,THE WORLD BANK.WE TALKED ABOUT INNATL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND THE REASONS WHY,INTHE PAST,WE SEEMED TO HAVE FAILED TO FIND COMMON GROUND BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH TO BEGIN THE GLOBAL DIALOGUE,THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS.THIS WAS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH,BUT AS I WAS SAYING TO YOUR COLLEAGUE, WE ALSO GOT INTO PROBLEMS NEAR AT HOME,AND WE HEARD FROM THE MINISTER OF FINANCE ABOUT THE INVESTMENT NEEDS AND PLANS FOR BANGLADESH.WE HEARD FROM YOUR MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE ON PROGRESS OF LAND REFORM.WE HEARD ABOUT THE DESIRE OF YOUR MINISTER OF FINANCE TO BALANCE INVESTMENT ON INFRASTRUCTURE WITH DEVELOPMENTAL INVESTMENT.THOSE ARE THE GENERAL SUBJECTS WE DISCUSSED.

Q.PRIME MINISTER,ON YOUR PEACE INITIATIVE.WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR MTG WITH MR(GEORGI)ARBATOV IN TOKYO THE OTHER DAY?WAS HE SUPPORTIVE IN ANY WAY AND DID HE GIVE ANY INDICATION OF WHAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIPS POSITION WOULD BE ON YOUR INITIATIVE?

A.ON THE LATTER QUESTION,THE ANSWER IS NO/NO.HE DID NOT/NOT PURPORT TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.ON THE FIRST QUESTION,THE SUPPORT WAS,ISUPPOSE,SOMEWHAT MUTED,TO BE FRANK.MR ARBATOV IS SOMEWHAT PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND HE DIDNT SEEM TO ENTERTAIN GREAT HOPES THAT I WOULD BE

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ABLE TO CONVINCE THE USA TO BE, TO USE HIS WORDS, MORE REASONABLE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE EXPRESSED THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA AS BEING VERY WILLING TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT, BUT BEING MET WITH A NEGOTIATOR WHO WAS NOT--AND I AM, OF COURSE, PARAPHRASING MR ARBATOV--THESE ARE NOT/NOT MY THOUGHTS.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, COULD YOU DESCRIBE TO US WHAT KIND OF ROLE YOU THOUGHT MR ARBATOV WAS PLAYING? WAS HE IN FACT ACTING AS A EMISSARY FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, OR WAS HE ACTING ON A TOTALLY FREELANCE BASIS?

A. PERHAPS NEITHER ONE NOR THE OTHER. CERTAINLY NOT AS AN EMISSARY, BECAUSE I UNDERSTAND HE HAD BEEN IN TOKYO FOR SOME TIME AND WAS GOING TO REMAIN THERE FOR A WHILE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE HAD NOT/NOT COME TO TOKYO WITH ANY SPECIAL MSG FOR ME OR, AS FAR AS I KNOW, ANY SPECIAL PLAN TO MEET ME. HE JUST HEARD I WAS IN TOWN, LET US KNOW THAT HE WOULD MAKE HIMSELF AVAILABLE. AND SINCE EVENTUALLY I WILL PERHAPS BE HEARING FROM OR EVEN EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP--AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION--I THINK HE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, IF I WANTED TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, HE WAS AVAILABLE. AS MY WHOLE INITIATIVE IS IN TRYING TO LOWER THE TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST I THOUGHT IT MADE SENSE FOR ME TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH HIM SINCE HE WAS MAKING HIMSELF AVAILABLE--MUCH AS I HAVE TALKED TO A CERTAIN NUMBER OF AMERICANS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS ON THE SUBJECT OF EAST-WEST TENSIONS.

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Q.PRIME MINISTER,DO YOU THINK HE WAS PRIVY TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIPS.THINKING ON YOUR INITIATIVE?

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PAGE EIGHT PMDL0056 UNCLAS

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UUU/090 220035Z PMDL0056

PLEASE GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DISTR OF THIS TEL:

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

FM PMDELHAKA PMDL0051 22NOV83

TO PEKIN/GAUVIN/PEARSON ONLY DELIVER BY 220830

INFO EXTOTT MINA/DUDOIT ONLY CHOGMDELHI/OSBALDESTON/SHENSTONE ONLY

MOSCO/ARCHDEACON ONLY

DISTR IDDZ/DELVOIE ONLY

REF YOURTEL WJGR0867 21NOV

---PM INITIATIVE - VISIT TO CHINA NOV28-29

GRATEFUL YOU CONFIRM ASAP WHETHER CHINESE WILL RECEIVE PM NOV28-29
AND WHETHER HE WILL BE RECEIVED BY ZHAO AND/AND DENG.

2.PMDEL CAN RECEIVE MSGS IN DHAKA TO APPROX 1400 LOCAL TIME 22NOV.
AFTER THAT PLEASE ADDRESS ANY MSGS TO CHOGMDELHI/FOWLER ONLY.

3.PM CONSIDERS IT VITAL THAT WORD OF HIS POSSIBLE VISIT TO PEKIN
NEXT WEEK NOT/NOT LEAK(AS DID STORY RE EMISSARIES TO PEKIN AND
MOSCO).UNTIL HE IS READY TO ANNOUNCE IT WHICH WILL NOT/NOT BE UNTIL
HE HAD HAD CHANCE TO EXPLAIN TO MRS GHANDI WHY HE MAY BE LEAVING HER
MTG(A MTG AT THE OUTSET OF WHICH HE WILL BE PLAYING KEY ROLE AND
MTG AT WHICH HE HOPES TO SECURE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT FOR HIS
INITIATIVE).DOUBTFUL HE WILL BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH GANDHI
BEFORE THUR OR FRI,THUS EVERY ATTEMPT MUST BE MADE TO HOLD INFO
THROUGH END OF WEEK IF PM IS TO AVOID ANY RISK OF BEING ACCUSED
OF SABOTAGING CHOGM.

4.FOR IDEZ:(DELVOIE)PLEASE INFORM AXWORTHY(PMO)OF EVOLVING
DEVELOPMENTS AND ABOVE INFO.

5.FOR MINA:(DUDOIT)PLEASE INFORM DPM/SSEA.

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SECRET
CDN EYES ONLY

PAGE TWO PMDL0051 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

6. IF CONFIRMATION RECEIVED WE WILL ADVISE FROM DELHI RE SIZE AND
PPT DETAILS (FOR VISAS WHICH WE HOPE MIGHT BE GRANTED ON ARRIVAL)
OF PM DEL AS WELL AS OF ANY ACCOMPANYING PRESS.

CCC/090 220046Z PMDL0051

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

FM MOSCO XYSV0032 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT RBR MGTC IMMED

INFO WSHIC BNATO ANKRA WSAW IUCST RFFST IGRAD PCOOTT/FOWLER

EH AGRICOTT NRCOTT/GINGRAS DE OTT UFANEOOTT DE OTZ INAO TT DF OCI

CANPARLASS/IMRIE DE OTT

DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS DMT DMF XDX SID RED RGE RPT RBRD RBP ZSI

CPD IFB IDD ILDZ

REF OURTEL XYGR4148 18NOV,MGTC9162 21NOV

---NEW SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CDA,A.A.RODIONOV

AMEND DISTR LINE OF RFFTEL TO READ SAME AS THIS SVC.

2.FOR MGTC:PLSE PROTECT TO IFB.

CCC/095 220913Z XYSV0032



United States Embassy
Ottawa, Canada, K1P 5T1

TEXT

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press

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(82-101)

REAGAN PROPOSES MEASURES TO LESSEN WAR RISK

WASHINGTON -- PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS PROPOSED TO THE SOVIET UNION NEGOTIATION OF MEASURES TO LESSEN THE RISK OF ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR.

IN A SPEECH TO THE NATION NOVEMBER 22, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD SENT A LETTER TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP PROPOSING ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MISSILE TEST FIRINGS, IMPROVEMENT OF THE DIRECT TELETYPE LINK BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE KREMLIN -- THE SO-CALLED "HOTLINE" -- AND ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF LARGE-SCALE MILITARY MANEUVERS.

THE PRESIDENT REPEATED HIS CALL FOR "DEEP CUTS" IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS FIELDED BY EACH SIDE, AND CALLED AS WELL FOR ADDITIONAL PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATING REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCES EACH SIDE FIELDS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS, AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY.

THE WEEK BEFORE LAST WAS AN ESPECIALLY MOVING ONE HERE IN WASHINGTON. THE VIETNAM VETERANS FINALLY CAME HOME ONCE AND FOR ALL TO AMERICA'S HEART. THEY WERE WELCOMED WITH TEARS, WITH PRIDE AND WITH A MONUMENT TO THEIR GREAT SACRIFICES. MANY OF THEIR NAMES, LIKE THOSE OF OUR REPUBLIC'S GREATEST CITIZENS, ARE NOW ENGRAVED IN STONE IN THIS CITY THAT BELONGS TO ALL OF US. ON BEHALF OF THE NATION, LET ME AGAIN THANK THE VIETNAM VETERANS FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART FOR THEIR COURAGEOUS SERVICE TO AMERICA.

SEEING THOSE MOVING SCENES, I KNOW MOTHERS OF A NEW GENERATION MUST HAVE WORRIED ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN AND ABOUT PEACE. AND THAT IS WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT TONIGHT -- THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN IN A WORLD WHERE PEACE IS MADE UNEASY BY THE PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

A YEAR AGO I SAID THE TIME WAS RIGHT TO MOVE FORWARD ON ARMS CONTROL. I OUTLINED SEVERAL PROPOSALS AND SAID NOTHING WOULD HAVE A HIGHER PRIORITY IN THIS ADMINISTRATION. NOW, A YEAR LATER I WANT TO REPORT ON THOSE PROPOSALS AND ON OTHER EFFORTS WE ARE MAKING TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE.

2.

THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT AND THE REDUCTION OF WEAPONS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT PUBLIC ISSUES OF OUR TIME. YET, ON NO OTHER ISSUE ARE THERE MORE MISCONCEPTIONS AND MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS. YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, DESERVE AN EXPLANATION FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT ON WHAT OUR POLICY IS ON THESE ISSUES. TOO OFTEN THE EXPERTS HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO DISCUSS GRANDIOSE STRATEGIES AMONG THEMSELVES, AND CLOUD THE PUBLIC DEBATE IN TECHNICALITIES NO ONE CAN UNDERSTAND. THE RESULT IS THAT MANY AMERICANS HAVE BECOME FRIGHTENED AND, LET ME SAY, FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN IS ENTIRELY UNDERSTANDABLE. UNFORTUNATELY, MUCH OF THE INFORMATION EMERGING IN THIS DEBATE BEARS LITTLE SEMBLANCE TO THE FACTS.

TO BEGIN, LET'S GO BACK TO WHAT THE WORLD WAS LIKE AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II. THE U.S. WAS THE ONLY UNDAMAGED INDUSTRIAL POWER IN THE WORLD. OUR MILITARY POWER WAS AT ITS PEAK, AND WE ALONE HAD THE ATOMIC WEAPON. BUT WE DID NOT USE THIS WEALTH AND THIS POWER TO BULLY, WE USED IT TO REBUILD. WE RAISED UP THE WAR-RAVAGED ECONOMIES, INCLUDING THE ECONOMIES OF THOSE WHO HAD FOUGHT AGAINST US. AT FIRST, THE PEACE OF THE WORLD WAS UNTHREATENED, BECAUSE WE ALONE WERE LEFT WITH ANY REAL POWER, AND WE WERE USING IT FOR THE GOOD OF OUR FELLOW MAN. ANY POTENTIAL ENEMY WAS DETERRED FROM AGGRESSION BECAUSE THE COST WOULD HAVE FAR OUTWEIGHED THE GAIN.

AS THE SOVIET'S POWER GREW, WE STILL MANAGED TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE. THE U.S. HAD ESTABLISHED A SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES WITH NATO AS THE CENTERPIECE. IN ADDITION, WE GREW EVEN MORE RESPECTED AS A WORLD LEADER WITH A STRONG ECONOMY AND DEEPLY-HELD MORAL VALUES. WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO HELP SHAPE A BETTER WORLD, THE U.S. ALWAYS PURSUED EVERY DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL FOR PEACE. AND FOR AT LEAST 30 YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES STILL CONTINUED TO POSSESS A LARGE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OVER THE SOVIET UNION. OUR STRENGTH DETERRED -- THAT IS, PREVENTED -- AGGRESSION AGAINST US.

THIS NATION'S MILITARY OBJECTIVE HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO MAINTAIN PEACE BY PREVENTING WAR. THIS IS NEITHER A DEMOCRATIC NOR A REPUBLICAN POLICY. IT IS SUPPORTED BY OUR ALLIES AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, IT HAS WORKED FOR NEARLY 40 YEARS.

WHAT DO WE MEAN WHEN WE SPEAK OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE? CERTAINLY WE DO NOT WANT SUCH WEAPONS FOR THEIR OWN SAKE. WE DO NOT DESIRE EXCESSIVE FORCES, OR WHAT SOME PEOPLE HAVE CALLED "OVERKILL". BASICALLY, IT IS A MATTER OF OTHERS KNOWING THAT STARTING A CONFLICT WOULD BE MORE COSTLY TO THEM THAN ANYTHING THEY MIGHT HOPE TO GAIN. AND, YES, IT IS SADLY IRONIC THAT IN THESE MODERN TIMES IT STILL TAKES WEAPONS TO PREVENT WAR. I WISH IT DID NOT.

WE DESIRE PEACE, BUT PEACE IS A GOAL NOT A POLICY. LASTING PEACE IS WHAT WE HOPE FOR AT THE END OF OUR JOURNEY; IT DOES NOT DESCRIBE THE STEPS WE MUST TAKE, NOR THE PATHS WE SHOULD FOLLOW TO REACH THAT GOAL. I INTEND TO SEARCH FOR PEACE ALONG TWO PARALLEL PATHS -- DETERRENCE AND ARMS REDUCTION. I BELIEVE THESE ARE THE ONLY PATHS THAT OFFER ANY REAL HOPE FOR AN ENDURING PEACE.

AND LET ME SAY I BELIEVE THAT IF WE FOLLOW PRUDENT POLICIES, THE RISK OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT WILL BE REDUCED. CERTAINLY THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER USE ITS FORCES EXCEPT IN RESPONSE TO ATTACK. THROUGH THE YEARS, SOVIET LEADERS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED A SOBER VIEW OF NUCLEAR WAR; AND IF WE MAINTAIN A STRONG DETERRENT, THEY ARE EXCEEDINGLY UNLIKELY TO LAUNCH AN ATTACK.

NOW, WHILE THE POLICY OF DETERRENCE HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME, THE THINGS WE MUST DO IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN DETERRENCE HAVE CHANGED.

YOU OFTEN HEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE IN AN ARMS RACE. THE TRUTH IS THAT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION HAS RACED, WE HAVE NOT. AS YOU CAN SEE FROM THIS BLUE U.S. LINE, IN CONSTANT DOLLARS OUR DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE 1960'S WENT UP BECAUSE OF VIETNAM AND THEN IT WENT DOWNWARD THROUGH MUCH OF THE 1970'S. NOW, FOLLOW THE RED LINE, WHICH IS SOVIET SPENDING. IT HAS GONE UP AND UP AND UP. IN SPITE OF A STAGNATING SOVIET ECONOMY, SOVIET LEADERS INVEST 12 TO 14 PER CENT OF THEIR COUNTRY'S GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IN MILITARY SPENDING, TWO TO THREE TIMES THE LEVEL WE INVEST.

I MIGHT ADD THAT THE DEFENSE SHARE OF OUR UNITED STATES FEDERAL BUDGET HAS GONE WAY DOWN, TOO. WATCH THE BLUE LINE AGAIN. IN 1962, WHEN JOHN KENNEDY WAS PRESIDENT, 46 PER CENT, ALMOST HALF OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET, WENT TO OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. IN RECENT YEARS, ABOUT ONE-QUARTER OF OUR BUDGET HAS GONE TO DEFENSE, WHILE THE SHARE FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS HAS NEARLY DOUBLED. AND MOST OF OUR DEFENSE BUDGET IS SPENT ON PEOPLE, NOT WEAPONS.

THE COMBINATION OF THE SOVIET'S SPENDING MORE AND THE U.S. SPENDING PROPORTIONATELY LESS CHANGED THE MILITARY BALANCE AND WEAKENED OUR DETERRENT. TODAY, IN VIRTUALLY EVERY MEASURE OF MILITARY POWER THE SOVIET UNION ENJOYS A DECIDED ADVANTAGE.

THIS CHART SHOWS THE CHANGES IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF INTER-CONTINENTAL MISSILES AND BOMBERS. YOU WILL SEE THAT IN 1962 AND IN 1972, THE UNITED STATES FORCES REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME, EVEN DROPPING SOME BY 1982. BUT TAKE A LOOK NOW AT THE SOVIET SIDE. IN 1962, AT THE TIME OF THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, THE SOVIETS COULD NOT COMPARE WITH US IN TERMS OF STRENGTH. IN 1972, WHEN WE SIGNED THE SALT I TREATY, WE WERE NEARLY EQUAL. BUT IN 1982, WELL, THAT RED SOVIET BAR STRETCHING ABOUT THE BLUE AMERICAN BAR TELLS THE STORY.

I COULD SHOW YOU CHART AFTER CHART WHERE THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF RED AND A MUCH LESSER AMOUNT OF U.S. BLUE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEPLOYED A THIRD MORE LAND-BASED INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES THAN WE HAVE. BELIEVE IT OR NOT, WE FROZE OUR NUMBER IN 1963 AND HAVE DEPLOYED NO ADDITIONAL MISSILES SINCE THEN.

THE SOVIET UNION PUT TO SEA 60 NEW BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES IN THE LAST 15 YEARS. UNTIL LAST YEAR WE HAD NOT COMMISSIONED ONE IN THAT SAME PERIOD.

4.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS BUILT OVER 200 MODERN BACKFIRE BOMBERS -- AND IS BUILDING 30 MORE A YEAR. FOR 20 YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS DEPLOYED NO NEW STRATEGIC BOMBERS. MANY OF OUR B-52 BOMBERS ARE NOW OLDER THAN THE PILOTS WHO FLY THEM.

THE SOVIET UNION NOW HAS 600 OF THE MISSILES CONSIDERED MOST THREATENING BY BOTH SIDES -- THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES BASED ON LAND. WE HAVE NONE. THE U.S. WITHDREW ITS INTERMEDIATE RANGE LAND-BASED MISSILES FROM EUROPE ALMOST 20 YEARS AGO.

THE WORLD HAS ALSO WITNESSED UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH IN THE AREA OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES; THE SOVIETS FAR EXCEED US IN THE NUMBER OF TANKS, ARTILLERY PIECES, AIRCRAFT AND SHIPS THEY PRODUCE EVERY YEAR. WHAT IS MORE, WHEN I ARRIVED IN THIS OFFICE I LEARNED THAT IN OUR OWN FORCES WE HAD PLANES THAT COULD NOT FLY AND SHIPS THAT COULD NOT LEAVE PORT, MAINLY FOR LACK OF SPARE PARTS AND CREW MEMBERS.

THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP MUST NOT BE IGNORED. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM AND TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES WE HAVE BEGUN TO CORRECT THE IMBALANCE. LOOK AT THIS CHART OF PROJECTED REAL DEFENSE SPENDING FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS. HERE'S THE SOVIET LINE. LET US ASSUME THE SOVIET'S RATE OF SPENDING REMAINS AT THE LEVEL THEY HAVE FOLLOWED SINCE THE 1960S. THE BLUE LINE IS THE UNITED STATES. IF MY DEFENSE PROPOSALS ARE PASSED, IT WILL STILL TAKE FIVE YEARS BEFORE WE COME CLOSE TO THE SOVIET LEVEL. YET THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES WILL ASSURE THAT DETERRENCE WORKS AND PEACE PREVAILS.

OUR DEPLOYED NUCLEAR FORCES WERE BUILT BEFORE THE AGE OF MICROCIRCUITS. IT IS NOT RIGHT TO ASK OUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM TO MAINTAIN AND OPERATE SUCH ANTIQUES. MANY HAVE ALREADY GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN MISSILE EXPLOSIONS AND AIRCRAFT ACCIDENTS CAUSED BY THE OLD AGE OF THEIR EQUIPMENT. WE MUST REPLACE AND MODERNIZE OUR FORCES, AND THAT IS WHY I HAVE DECIDED TO PROCEED WITH THE PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEW ICBM KNOWN AS THE MX.

THREE EARLIER PRESIDENTS WORKED TO DEVELOP THIS MISSILE. BASED ON THE BEST ADVICE I COULD GET, I CONCLUDED THAT THE MX IS THE RIGHT MISSILE AT THE RIGHT TIME. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN I ARRIVED IN OFFICE, I FELT THE PROPOSAL ON WHERE AND HOW TO BASE THE MISSILE SIMPLY COST TOO MUCH IN TERMS OF MONEY, AND THE IMPACT ON OUR CITIZENS LIVES.

I HAVE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT WE PROCEED TO PRODUCE THIS MISSILE, AND THAT WE BASE IT IN A SERIES OF CLOSELY-BASED SILOS AT WARREN AIR FORCE BASE NEAR CHEYENNE, WYOMING.

THIS PLAN REQUIRES ONLY HALF AS MANY MISSILES AS THE EARLIER PLAN AND WILL FIT IN AN AREA OF ONLY 20 SQUARE MILES. IT IS THE PRODUCT OF AROUND-THE-CLOCK RESEARCH THAT HAS BEEN UNDERWAY SINCE I DIRECTED A SEARCH FOR A BETTER CHEAPER WAY. I URGE THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO MUST PASS THIS PLAN TO LISTEN AND EXAMINE THE FACTS, BEFORE THEY COME TO THEIR OWN CONCLUSIONS.

SOME MAY QUESTION WHAT MODERNIZING OUR MILITARY HAS TO DO WITH PEACE. WELL, AS I EXPLAINED EARLIER, A SECURE FORCE KEEPS OTHERS FROM THREATENING US AND THAT KEEPS THE PEACE. AND JUST AS IMPORTANT, IT ALSO INCREASES THE PROSPECTS OF REACHING SIGNIFICANT ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND THAT IS WHAT WE REALLY WANT. THE UNITED STATES WANTS DEEP CUTS IN THE WORLD'S ARSENAL OF WEAPONS.

5.

BUT UNLESS WE DEMONSTRATE THE WILL TO REBUILD OUR STRENGTH AND RESTORE THE MILITARY BALANCE, THE SOVIETS, SINCE THEY ARE SO FAR AHEAD, HAVE LITTLE INCENTIVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH US. IF WE HAD NOT BEGUN TO MODERNIZE, THE SOVIET NEGOTIATORS WOULD KNOW WE HAD NOTHING TO BARGAIN WITH EXCEPT TALK. THEY WOULD KNOW WE WERE BLUFFING WITHOUT A GOOD HAND BECAUSE THEY KNOW WHAT CARDS WE HOLD -- JUST AS WE KNOW WHAT IS IN THEIR HAND.

YOU MAY RECALL THAT IN 1969 THE SOVIETS DIDN'T WANT TO NEGOTIATE A TREATY BANNING ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES. IT WAS ONLY AFTER OUR SENATE NARROWLY VOTED TO FUND AN ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE PROGRAM THAT THE SOVIETS AGREED TO NEGOTIATE. WE THEN REACHED AN AGREEMENT.

WE ALSO KNOW THAT ONE-SIDED ARMS CONTROL DOESN'T WORK. WE HAVE TRIED TIME AND AGAIN TO SET AN EXAMPLE BY CUTTING OUR OWN FORCES IN THE HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DO LIKEWISE. THE RESULT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT THEY KEEP BUILDING.

I BELIEVE OUR STRATEGY FOR PEACE WILL SUCCEED. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE U.S. PROPOSED SUCH A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL. NEVER IN OUR HISTORY HAVE WE ENGAGED IN SO MANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS AND TO FIND A STABLE PEACE. WHAT WE ARE SAYING TO THEM IS THIS: WE WILL MODERNIZE OUR MILITARY IN ORDER TO KEEP THE BALANCE FOR PEACE, BUT WOULDN'T IT BE BETTER IF WE BOTH SIMPLY REDUCED OUR ARSENALS TO A MUCH LOWER LEVEL?

LET ME BEGIN WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES THAT ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN GENEVA. AS I SAID EARLIER, THE MOST THREATENING OF THESE FORCES ARE THE LAND-BASED MISSILES, WHICH THE SOVIET UNION NOW HAS AIMED AT EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA.

THIS CHART SHOWS THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THESE SOVIET MISSILES. IN 1972, THERE WERE 600. THE UNITED STATES WAS AT ZERO. IN 1977, THERE WERE 600. THE U.S. WAS STILL AT ZERO. THEN THE SOVIETS BEGAN DEPLOYING POWERFUL NEW MISSILES WITH THREE WARHEADS AND A REACH OF THOUSANDS OF MILES -- THE SS-20. SINCE THEN THE BAR HAS GONE THROUGH THE ROOF -- THE SOVIETS HAVE ADDED A MISSILE WITH THREE WARHEADS EVERY WEEK. STILL YOU SEE NO UNITED STATES BLUE ON THE CHART. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET LEADERS EARLIER THIS YEAR DECLARED THEY HAD FROZEN DEPLOYMENT OF THIS DANGEROUS MISSILE, THEY HAVE IN FACT CONTINUED DEPLOYMENT.

LAST YEAR, ON NOVEMBER 18, I PROPOSED THE TOTAL, GLOBAL ELIMINATION OF ALL THESE MISSILES. I PROPOSED THAT THE U.S. WOULD DEPLOY NO COMPARABLE MISSILES -- WHICH ARE SCHEDULED FOR LATE 1983 -- IF THE SOVIET UNION WOULD DISMANTLE THEIRS. WE WOULD FOLLOW AGREEMENT ON THE LAND-BASED MISSILES WITH LIMITS ON OTHER INTERMEDIATE-RANGE SYSTEMS.

THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS STRONGLY SUPPORT OUR INITIATIVE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS THUS FAR SHOWN LITTLE INCLINATION TO TAKE THIS MAJOR STEP TO ZERO LEVELS. YET I BELIEVE AND I AM HOPING THAT, AS THE TALKS PROCEED AND AS WE APPROACH THE SCHEDULED PLACEMENT OF OUR NEW SYSTEMS IN EUROPE, THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL SEE THE BENEFITS OF SUCH A FAR-REACHING AGREEMENT.

THIS SUMMER WE ALSO BEGAN NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS, THE PROPOSAL WE CALL START. HERE WERE TALKING ABOUT INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES -- THE WEAPONS WITH A LONGER RANGE THAN THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE ONES I WAS JUST DISCUSSING. WE ARE NEGOTIATING ON THE BASIS OF DEEP REDUCTIONS. I PROPOSED IN MAY THAT WE CUT THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THESE MISSILES TO AN EQUAL NUMBER, ROUGHLY ONE-

6.

THIRD BELOW CURRENT LEVELS. IT ALSO PROPOSED THAT WE CUT THE NUMBER OF MISSILES THEMSELVES TO AN EQUAL NUMBER, ABOUT HALF THE CURRENT U.S. LEVEL. OUR PROPOSALS WOULD ELIMINATE SOME 4,700 WARHEADS AND SOME 2,250 MISSILES. I THINK THAT WOULD BE QUITE A SERVICE TO MANKIND.

THIS CHART SHOWS THE CURRENT LEVEL OF THE UNITED STATES BALLISTIC MISSILES, BOTH LAND AND SEA-BASED. THIS IS THE SOVIET LEVEL. WE INTEND TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS IT WOULD BE IN THEIR OWN BEST INTEREST TO REDUCE THESE MISSILES. LOOK AT THE REDUCED NUMBERS BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE UNDER OUR PROPOSAL -- QUITE A DRAMATIC CHANGE. WE ALSO SEEK TO REDUCE THE TOTAL DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THESE MISSILES AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF U.S. AND SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES.

IN 1977, WHEN THE LAST ADMINISTRATION PROPOSED MORE LIMITED REDUCTIONS, THE SOVIET UNION REFUSED EVEN TO DISCUSS THEM. THIS TIME THEIR REACTION HAS BEEN QUITE DIFFERENT. THEIR OPENING POSITION IS A SERIOUS ONE, AND EVEN THOUGH IT DOESN'T MEET OUR OBJECTIVE OF DEEP REDUCTIONS, THERE'S NO QUESTION WE'RE HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. ONE REASON FOR THIS CHANGE IS CLEAR. THE SOVIET UNION KNOWS THAT WE ARE NOW SERIOUS ABOUT OUR OWN STRATEGIC PROGRAMS AND THAT THEY MUST BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE IN EARNEST.

7.

WE ALSO HAVE OTHER IMPORTANT ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS UNDERWAY. IN THE TALKS IN VIENNA ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS, WE'VE PROPOSED CUTS IN MILITARY PERSONNEL TO A FAR LOWER AND EQUAL LEVEL. AND IN THE 40-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA, WE'RE WORKING TO DEVELOP EFFECTIVE LIMITATIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THE WHOLE WORLD REMAINS OUTRAGED BY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES USE OF BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST DEFENSELESS PEOPLE IN AFGHANISTAN, CAMBODIA AND LAOS. THIS EXPERIENCE MAKES IRONCLAD VERIFICATION ALL THE MORE ESSENTIAL FOR ARMS CONTROL.

THERE IS, OF COURSE, MUCH MORE THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. IN AN AGE WHEN INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES CAN SPAN HALF THE GLOBE IN LESS THAN HALF AN HOUR, IT'S CRUCIAL THAT SOVIET AND AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHERS CAPABILITIES AND INTENTIONS.

LAST JUNE IN BERLIN, AND AGAIN AT THE U.N. SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, I VOWED THAT THE U.S. WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REDUCE THE RISKS OF ACCIDENT AND MISUNDERSTANDING AND THUS TO STRENGTHEN MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION. SINCE THEN, WE'VE BEEN ACTIVELY STUDYING DETAILED MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THIS BERLIN INITIATIVE.

TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO ANNOUNCE SOME OF THE MEASURES WHICH I'VE PROPOSED IN A SPECIAL LETTER JUST SENT TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND WHICH I'VE INSTRUCTED OUR AMBASSADORS IN GENEVA TO DISCUSS WITH THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS. THEY INCLUDE BUT ALSO GO BEYOND SOME OF THE SUGGESTIONS I MADE IN BERLIN.

THE FIRST OF THESE MEASURES INVOLVES ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF ALL U.S. AND SOVIET TEST LAUNCHES OF INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES. WE WILL ALSO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT ON NOTIFICATION OF ALL SEA-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AS WELL AS INTERMEDIATE RANGE LAND-BASED BALLISTIC MISSILES OF THE TYPE WE'RE CURRENTLY NEGOTIATING. THIS WOULD REMOVE SURPRISE AND UNCERTAINTY AT THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF SUCH MISSILES ON THE WARNING SCREENS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

IN ANOTHER AREA OF POTENTIAL MISUNDERSTANDING, WE PROPOSE TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE PROVIDE EACH OTHER WITH ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF OUR MAJOR MILITARY EXERCISES. HERE AGAIN, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO REDUCE THE SURPRISE AND UNCERTAINTY SURROUNDING OTHERWISE SUDDEN MOVES BY EITHER SIDE.

THESE SORTS OF MEASURES ARE DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THE IMMEDIATE ISSUES OF MISCALCULATION IN TIME OF CRISIS. BUT THERE ARE DEEPER, LONGER-TERM PROBLEMS AS WELL. IN ORDER TO CLEAR AWAY SOME OF THE MUTUAL IGNORANCE AND SUSPICION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, I WILL PROPOSE THAT WE BOTH ENGAGE IN A BROAD-RANGING EXCHANGE OF BASIC DATA ABOUT OUR NUCLEAR FORCES. I AM INSTRUCTING OUR AMBASSADORS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON BOTH STRATEGIC AND INTERMEDIATE FORCES TO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT ON AN EXPANDED EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. THE MORE ONE SIDE KNOWS ABOUT WHAT THE OTHER SIDES IS DOING, THE LESS ROOM THERE IS FOR SURPRISE AND MISCALCULATION.

PROBABLY EVERYONE HAS HEARD OF THE SO-CALLED HOTLINE, WHICH ENABLES ME TO COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN THE EVENT OF A CRISIS. THE EXISTING HOTLINE IS DEPENDABLE AND RAPID -- WITH BOTH GROUND AND SATELLITE

8.

LINKS. BUT BECAUSE IT IS SO IMPORTANT, I'VE ALSO DIRECTED THAT WE CAREFULLY EXAMINE ANY POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE EXISTING HOTLINE SYSTEM.

NOW, ALTHOUGH WE'VE BEGUN NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE MANY PROPOSALS, THIS DOESN'T MEAN WE'VE EXHAUSTED ALL THE INITIATIVES THAT COULD HELP TO REDUCE THE RISK OF ACCIDENTAL CONFLICT. WE'LL LEAVE NO OPPORTUNITY UNEXPLORED, AND WE'LL CONSULT CLOSELY WITH SENATORS NUNN, JACKSON, AND WARNER, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS WHO'VE MADE IMPORTANT SUGGESTIONS IN THIS FIELD.

WE ARE ALSO MAKING STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF WE SUCCEEDED IN REDUCING EXISTING ARSENALS ONLY TO HAVE NEW THREATS EMERGE IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD.

EARLIER I SPOKE OF AMERICAS CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II, OF ALL WE DID TO PROMOTE PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR OUR FELLOW MAN. WELL, WE ARE STILL THOSE SAME PEOPLE. WE STILL SEEK PEACE ABOVE ALL ELSE.

I WANT TO REMIND OUR OWN CITIZENS AND THOSE AROUND THE WORLD OF THIS TRADITION OF AMERICAN GOODWILL BECAUSE I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS THE NUCLEAR FEAR IS HAVING ON OUR PEOPLE. THE MOST UPSETTING LETTERS I RECEIVE ARE FROM SCHOOLCHILDREN WHO WRITE TO ME AS A CLASS ASSIGNMENT. ITS EVIDENT THEY'VE DISCUSSED THE MOST NIGHTMARISH ASPECTS OF A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST IN THEIR CLASSROOMS. THEIR LETTERS ARE OFTEN FULL OF TERROR. THIS SHOULD NOT BE SO.

THE PHILOSOPHER SPINOZA SAID, "PEACE...IS A VIRTUE, A STATE OF MIND, A DISPOSITION FOR BENEVOLENCE, CONFIDENCE, JUSTICE." THOSE ARE THE QUALITIES WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO INHERIT, NOT FEAR. THEY MUST GROW UP CONFIDENT IF THEY ARE TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW, AS WE WILL MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY.

I BEGAN THESE REMARKS SPEAKING OF OUR CHILDREN AND I WANT TO CLOSE ON THE SAME THEME. OUR CHILDREN SHOULD NOT GROW UP FRIGHTENED. THEY SHOULD NOT FEAR THE FUTURE. WE ARE WORKING TO MAKE IT PEACEFUL AND FREE. I BELIEVE THEIR FUTURE CAN BE THE BRIGHTEST, MOST EXCITING OF ANY GENERATION. WE MUST REASSURE THEM AND LET THEM KNOW THAT THEIR PARENTS AND THE LEADERS OF THIS WORLD ARE SEEKING ABOVE ALL ELSE TO KEEP THEM SAFE, AND AT PEACE. I CONSIDER THIS TO BE A SACRED TRUST.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, ON THIS THANKSGIVING, WHEN WE HAVE SO MUCH TO BE GRATEFUL FOR, LET US GIVE SPECIAL THANKS FOR OUR PEACE, OUR FREEDOM, AND OUR GOOD PEOPLE. I'VE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THIS LAND WAS SET ASIDE IN AN UNCOMMON WAY, THAT A DIVINE PLAN PLACED THIS GREAT CONTINENT BETWEEN THE OCEANS TO BE FOUND BY A PEOPLE FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH WHO HAD A SPECIAL LOVE OF FAITH, FREEDOM AND PEACE. LET US REAFFIRM AMERICAS DESTINY OF GOODNESS AND GOOD WILL. LET US WORK FOR PEACE, AND, AS WE DO, LET US REMEMBER THE LINES OF THE FAMOUS HYMN, "O GOD OF LOVE, O KING OF PEACE, MAKE WARS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO CEASE."

THANK YOU, GOOD NIGHT, AND GOD BLESS YOU.

- - - - -

Sheila
Pls do reply to all addressees
saying "yes/yes"

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

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

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

FM LDN XNGR4158 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ PRIORITY

INFO WSHIC MOSCO ENATO ROME BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU PRMNY TOKYO

DELHI PEKIN NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CP

DISTR IDDZ MINA DMF IDR IDA RGF RER UCB URR RCP ZSI RCD RCR

REF PEKINTEL WJGR0865 21NOV

---PMS MTG WITH GEORGI ARBATOV

WE ASSUME REFTTEL AND OTHERS REPORTING PMS CONVERSATIONS SHOULD
BE TREATED AS CEO.

CCC/253 221048Z XNGR4158



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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

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SUBJ/SUJ

---THE DAY AFTER:TWO DAYS LATER

TWIN AVALANCHES OF BIG MEDIA BUILD-UP PRIOR TO BROADCAST OF QUOTE THE DAY AFTER UNQUOTE (TDA) AND EXTENSIVE FOLLOW-UP COMMENTARY ON TELEVISION AND IN PRESS HAVE MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH IMPACT OF PROGRAM ITSELF FROM MEDIA ENVIRONMENT. NEVERTHELESS, AUDIENCE FIGURES WERE HIGHER THAN ANTICIPATED, WITH AN ESTIMATED 100 MILLION US VIEWERS. HAVE NOT SEEN INDEPENDANT FIGURES ON CANADIAN AUDIENCE BUT AS MEDIA BLITZ IN CANADA WAS AS INTENSE AS IN US, EXPECT PROPORTIONALLY SAME NUMBER OF CANADIAN VIEWERS WERE AWARE OF AND SAW PROGRAM (~~EXCEPT THOSE WITH GOOD TASTE WHO WATCHED CBC PRESENTATION OF OLIVIER S LEAR~~).

2. INEVITABLY, PROGRAM ITSELF WAS ALMOST ANTI-CLIMACTIC. USING WELL-HONED HOLLYWOOD TECHNIQUE OF THRUSTING ^{TOGETHER} VARIOUS SYMPATHETIC BUT OTHERWISE UNRELATED CHARACTERS IN TRAUMATIC CIRCUMSTANCES CREATED BY EXPLOSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (RATHER THAN HIJACK ^{RED} AIRPLANES OR TOWERING INFERNOS), PROGRAM FOCUSED ON SETTING UP AND THEN OBSERVING AFTERMATH OF NUCLEAR EXCHANGE BETWEEN US AND USSR. ~~MORE KUDOS GO TO MAKE UP DEPARTMENT THAN TO DIRECTORIAL EFFORTS~~ ^{IT} WHICH SHOWED THE RESULTS OF NUCLEAR DEVASTATION AS AMESOME RATHER THAN TRULY HAIR-

...2

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J. CARON

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A. DELNOIE



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0207 RESTRICTED

121

10

RAISING.

3. MUCH MORE INTERESTING HAS BEEN PUBLIC COMMENTARY FOLLOWING BROADCAST. ABC, WHICH CARRIED TDA, INVITED 6/6 FOREIGN POLICY/MEDIA ~~PERSONALITIES~~ STARS (KISSINGER, MACNAMARA, BILL BUCKLEY, CARL SAGAN, ELIE WIESEL AND BRENT SNOWCROFT) TO ASSESS IMPACT OF PROGRAM AND DETERMINE IF PROPER MESSAGE WAS BEING CONVEYED. CHARACTERISTICALLY, KISSINGER QUICKLY CUT THROUGH CANT BY STATING THAT IF ONLY MESSAGE OF PROGRAM WAS THAT NUCLEAR WAR IS HORRIBLE, LITTLE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN AMELIORATING PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF PROBLEM. HE REITERATED WELL KNOWN VIEW THAT ESSENCE OF PROBLEM IS MANAGEMENT OF US/USSR RELATIONS WITH ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS AS ADJUNCTS TO THE FIRST. SNOWCROFT AND MACNAMARA, COMING FROM DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF STRUCTURING NUCLEAR FORCES AT LOWER LEVELS BUT WITH OBJECTIVE OF PROTECTING DETERRENCE. BUCKLEY'S MESSAGE WAS THAT PROGRAM WOULD BE DISSERVICE TO UNITED STATES IF IT LED TO PACIFISM, IN LIGHT OF CONTINUING SOVIET THREATS.

4. GLOBAL TELEVISION, WHICH CARRIED PROGRAM ~~FOR CANADIAN CONSUMPTION,~~ ^{IN CDA} ~~HAD TO MAKE DUE WITH~~ ^{DO} ~~FEATURED COMMENTARY BY~~ PIERRE BERTON, CHARLES TEMPLETON, JIM STARK AND OTHERS. MUCH HAND-RINGING LED TO CONCLUSION THAT COUNTRY SUCH AS CANADA HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN REDUCING TENSIONS. TEMPLETON AND STARK WERE PARTICULARLY SUPPORTIVE OF PM'S INITIATIVE, WITH LATTER ATTRIBUTING IT TO SUCCESS OF PEACE MOVEMENT.

...3



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PAGE THREE IDDZ0207 RESTRICTED

12

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5. AS YOU ACCURATELY POINT OUT IN REFTEL, PROGRAM IS ONLY ONE OF MANY ON WAR (NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL) IN PUBLIC EYE AT PRESENT. WE HAVE TO GO BACK TO 50 S DECADE ^{ER} TO OBSERVE COMPARABLE INTEREST WITH NUCLEAR MATTERS. MANY COMMENTATORS ARE CONCERNED THAT PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THESE ISSUES MAY BE TOO SIMPLISTIC, AND MAY NOT LEAD TO HARD DECISIONS ON POLICY OPTIONS WHICH MIGHT REDUCE TREAT OF NUCLEAR DEVASTATION. OTHERS TAKE PERHAPS MORE SHORT-TERM VIEW THAT ANY EFFORT AT RAISING PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF THIS MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IS WORTH WHILE.

6. ONLY TIME WILL TELL IF PUBLIC INTEREST WILL BE SUSTAINED. TDA HOWEVER HAS SERVED TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM. OTHER PROGRAMS, MOVIES, ETC WILL NOW HAVE TO TAKE UP BURDEN OF MAINTAINING PUBLIC INTEREST. ONE SHOULD NOT LOOK HOWEVER TO MEDIA ALONE TO CARRY FULL LOAD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, FOR ITS ATTENTION, SOONER OR LATER, WILL INEVITABLY TURN ELSEWHERE.

UNANSWERED QUESTION RAISED BY MANY COMMENTATORS REMAINS: IS THIS TYPE OF FILM LIKELY TO INDUCE RESOLVE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT ARMS RACE, OR WILL IT SIMPLY ENGENDER ABJECT DESPAIR?

MGTC M-FILE DIARY

External Affairs Canada Affaires extérieures Canada

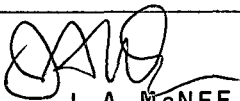

MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow
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22 NOV 83 23 412

SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ	CONFIDENTIAL		121	10
FM/DE	FM EXTOTT IDDZ0206 22NOV83			
TO/À	TO PMDEL/DELHI IMMEDIATE			
INFO	INFO OSLO MBFR/VIENN BIATO			
DISTR	DISTR MINA DMF DMFX RSD RSR IDR IDA			
REF	---			
SUBJ/SUJ	PM INITIATIVE			
<p>NORWEGIAN EMB ADVISE THAT PM INITIATIVE WAS SPECIFICALLY COMMENDED BY SEVERAL SPEAKERS IN DEBATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT 24NOV.</p> <p>2. FLWG IS REPLY FROM NORWEGIAN PM WILLOCH TO PM S 17NOV LET:</p> <p>QUOTE</p> <p>(COMCENTRE PLS COPY ATTACHED TEXT) UNQUOTE.</p>				

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
SIG  J.A. McNEE	IDDZ	995-5912	SIG  L.A. DELVOIE

ROYAL NORWEGIAN EMBASSY

ROYAL BANK CENTRE
90 SPARKS STREET, SUITE 932
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1P 5B4

Mr. Caron
Texte envoyé par télâ
PM d'Indelhi. Pour les
archives du PM

PD

XV-55/83

The Royal Norwegian Embassy presents its compliments to the Department of External Affairs and has the honour to forward the text of a letter, dated November 22, 1983 to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Pierre E. Trudeau, from the Prime Minister of Norway, Mr. Kåre Willoch. The letter is response to Mr. Trudeau's letter to Mr. Willoch of November 18, 1983.

The Royal Norwegian Embassy avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of External Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Ottawa, November 22, 1983



The Prime Minister's Office, Oslo

Oslo, November 22, 1983

My Dear Prime Minister,

With reference to your letter dated 17 November 1983 I would like to offer the following comments concerning the inaugural meeting of the CDE and the MBFR negotiations:

The Norwegian Government attaches great importance to the forthcoming Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is our opinion that this Conference must be used to continue and intensify the East/West dialogue on security and disarmament. The successful preparatory meeting in Helsinki has paved the way for an orderly opening of the Conference. Consequently, Norway will support the proposal that all NATO members should be represented at a high political level, preferably at the level of Foreign Ministers, at the opening of the Stockholm Conference.

In the view of the Norwegian Government, the latest Eastern proposals in Vienna have underscored the need for a thorough evaluation of our own negotiating position in the MBFR. A strategy should be developed for making some real movement in the negotiations.

The Norwegian Government would like to associate itself with your proposal for a decision on a new Western initiative to be taken at the forthcoming NATO Foreign Minister meeting. But before we decide on a

The Right Honourable Pierre E. Trudeau
Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa

- 2 -

follow-up meeting in Vienna at the Foreign Minister level, we ought to have a clear picture of the Western response. In principle we are positive to holding such a meeting, provided the conditions are favourable.

I look forward to remaining in close contact on the subject in the coming months.

Kåre Willoch /S/



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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22 NOV 83 23 432

SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASS 12 10

FM/DE FM EXTOTT IDDZ0205 22NOV83

TO/À TO PMDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 230800

INFO INFO: WASHDC, BNATO, NIDHQOTT/ADM POL/CP/CP/COMAE

DISTR DISTR DMF IDA MRCP URR

REF ---PM INITIATIVE:HIGH ALTITUDE ASAT

SUBJ/SUJ GLOBE AND MAIL PUBLISHED ARTICLE BY J.C.POLANYI, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, NOV 22 WHICH ARGUES STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OF PM'S PROPOSAL FOR BAN ON HIGH ALTITUDE ASAT.ACCORDING TO POLANYI QUOTE THIS IS A SHREWD AND IMPORTANT INITIATIVE,OF A PIECE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S DICTUM THAT ONE MUST ACT EARLY IF ONE WANTS TO IMPEDE DANGEROUS NEW WEAPONS DEVELOPMENTS.OF COURSE,TO ACT EARLY ONE MUST HAVE THE ABILITY TO SEE AHEAD.TOO OFTEN OUR GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED IN THIS. IT OBSERVES APPLAUSE NOW FOR ATTEMPTING TO TAKE THE LONGER VIEW ON A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN.UNQUOTE.

2.POLANYI GOES ON TO SAY QUOTE GIVEN THAT NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION NOR THE UNITED STATES HAS YET DESIGNED A STRATEGY THAT CAN BE THREATEN HIGH-ALTITUDE TARGETS,MR.TRUDEAU'S ADVISORS HAVE POINTED TO THIS AS THE PLACE TO DRAW THE LINE.THEY HAVE CALLED FOR A BAN SPECIFICALLY ON HIGH-ALTITUDE ASATS.IT IS A SOUND TACTIC IN THAT THE TWO MILITARIES ARE MOST LIKELY TO BE PERSUADED TO FOREGO WHAT THEY DO NOT YET POSSESS,RATHER THAN TO SURRENDER WHAT THEY HAVE.IT IS AT THE SAME TIME A RISKY TACTIC,SINCE IT ATTEMPTS TO BAN MILITARY ACTIVITY - OR MORE CORRECTLY TO BAN WEAPONS - FROM ONLY A PART OF SPACE.ANYTHING WE DO IN THE WORLD OF MODERN WEAPONRY IS FRAUGHT

...2

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG K.CALDER

IDDZ

995-5912

SIG L.A.DELVOITE



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0205 CONFIDENTIAL

12

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WITH RISK. HERE AT LEAST IS A PROPOSAL THAT WOULD HAVE US TAKE A
MODEST RISK IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, NAMELY THE LIMITATION OF ARMS.
FROM THIS STEP FURTHER STEPS CAN FOLLOW - INDEED IT IS IMPORTANT
THAT THEY DO SO. UNQUOTE



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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SÉCURITÉ

CONFIDENTIAL

22 Nov 83 23 12 44 2 10

FM/DE

FM EXTOTT IDZ0204 22NOV83

TO/À

TO PMDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 230800

INFO

DISTR

DISTR DMF IDA MRCP URR

REF

REF TEL FM ROME WTGR0432 OF 21NOV

SUBJ/SUJ

---PM INITIATIVE:ITALIAN VIEWS

IN COURSE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON INF, 14-16NOV, CRAXI, AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY ROME, REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO PROPOSALS WHICH PM ~~HAD~~ PUT FORWARD DURING HIS VISIT TO ^ROME. CRAXI RECALLED IN PARTICULAR THAT ^{PM} ^HTRUDEAU ^HHAD ENVISAGED INSTITUTION DURING FORTHCOMING YEAR OF FORUM IN WHICH FIVE DECLARED NUCLEAR POWERS COULD CARRY OUT NEGOTIATIONS ON GLOBAL LIMITS TO ARMAMENTS. THAT QUESTION, CRAXI SAID, COULD NOT BE IGNORED OR PUT ASIDE INDEFINITELY, AS IF IT DID NOT EXIST. CRAXI ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE ^HHAD AGREED WITH TRUDEAU IN ROME ON TIMELINESS AND ^NPOLITICAL IMPULSE TO ^RMBFR NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH USEFULNESS OF GIVING REVIEWED PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF NATO AND WSAW PACT. IN SAME SPIRIT, HE UNDECLINED THAT CDE CONFERENCE IN STKHM WOULD OFFER SIMILAR POSSIBILITIES OF POLITICAL ACTIONS. ^RTHE WAIVED AGAINST DANGERS OF HORIZONTAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. HE CONCLUDED BY ASSERTING THAT QUOTE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS INFLUENCE AND OF ITS CONCRETE AND EFFECTIVE POSSIBILITIES OF INITIATIVE, THE ITALIAN GOVT ACTS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO ACT, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO OVERRIDE SITUATIONS OF CRISIS, TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS OF CONFLICTS AND TO REDUCE CONFRONTATION AND TENSION. ALONG WITH THE

...2

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SG

CALDER

IDZ

995-5912

SG

L.A. DELVOIE



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0204 CONFIDENTIAL

12

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SECURITY MEASURES WHICH GUARANTEE IT, PEACE MUST BE CONSOLIDATED
THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF A DIFFERENT ^{START HALF} QUOTE STRUCTURE OF POLITI-
CAL RELATIONSHIP ^{END HALF} QUOTE AND A MORE INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC
AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND OF COOPERATION IN GENERAL. ^{UNQUOTE}



MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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SECURITY/
SÉCURITÉ

S E C R E T CDN EYES ONLY

22 Nov 83 2321 422 10

FM/DE

FM EXTOTT IDDZ0203 22NOV83

TO/À

TO PMDEL/DELHI **0800** DELIVER BY 23 ~~1000~~

INFO

DISTR

INFO PC00TT/CARON

REF

DISTR MINA DMF ETD ETN

SUBJ/SUJ

REF YOURTEL PMDL0004 18NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:POSSIBLE DECLARATION BY CHOGM

FURTHER TO YOUR REFTEL IN WHICH YOU INDICATE THAT WORDS QUOTE OR
OTHER NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES UNQUOTE WERE DELETED FROM POINT 6
OF DRAFT DECLARATION, ~~AND AFTER DISCUSSION WITH DMF~~, WE WISH TO DRAW
FOLLOWING POINTS TO YOUR ATTN:

(1)INDIA DETONATED A SO-CALLED PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE(PNE) IN
MAY 1974 AND HAS CONSEQUENTLY REFUSED SINCE THAT TIME TO ACKNOWLEDGE
THAT THERE IS NO/NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SUCH
DEVICES.

(2)NPT,WHICH IS CORE OF CDA S NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY,SPECIFICALLY
DEALS WITH QUOTE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR OTHER NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES
UNQUOTE.

(3)INDIA MIGHT WELL FIND IT ^{EASIER} ~~POSSIBLE~~ TO ACCEPT POINT 6 AS CONVEYED
IN REFTEL,GIVEN THE SEMANTIC DISTINCTION INDIA MAKES BETWEEN NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND PNE S,I.E.IT COULD SIGN A DECLARATION RENOUNCING
ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STILL RETAIN OPTION OF DETONATING
PNE S.

(4)THIS MAY HOWEVER BE INTERPRETED BOTH BY INDIA IN CONTEXT OF OUR

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVE

SIG

J McNeen
XXXXXX/SC

IDDZ

5-5912

SIG

L.A.Delvoie



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▼ PAGE TWO IDDZ0203 SECRET CDN EYES ONLY

12|

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BILATERAL RELATIONS AND BY INNATL COMMUNITY IN CONTEXT OF OUR
COMMITMENT TO NPT, AS CDA BACKING AWAY FROM NPT. AS RECENTLY AS PM S
MTL SPEECH WE HAVE RESTATED CDA S COMMITMENT TO NPT.

(5) MAJORITY OF CWLTH STATES ARE NPT SIGNATORIES AND SEVERAL,
AUSTRALIA AND NZ IN PARTICULAR, HAVE PARTICULAR ATTACHMENT TO NPT.
A SHIFT FROM NPT LANGUAGE IN POINT (6) MAY CAUSE THEM DIFFICULTIES.

MESSAGE

FILE/DOSSIER

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SECURITY/ SÉCURITÉ	C O N F I D E N T I A L	12	10
FM/DE	FM EXTOTT IDDZ0202 22NOV83		
TO/À	TO PDEL/DELHI DELIVER BY 230000		
INFO			
DISTR	DISTR NINA DNF ETD ETN		
REF	REF YOURTEL 2226 OF 22NOV		
SUBJ/SUJ	<p>---PM S REQUEST FOR BACKGROUND NPT INFO FOR CHOGM</p> <p>C. FLUG ARE THE 119 NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES WHICH HAVE SIGNED AND RATIFIED THE NPT:</p> <p>(CONCENTRE PLS COPY ATTACHED LIST)</p> <p>2. FLUG COMUEL STATES HAVE SIGNED AND RATIFIED: ANGIGUA AND BARBUDA, AUSTRALIA, BAHAMAS, BANGLADESH, BARBADOS, BOTSWANA, CANADA, CYPRUS, FIJI, GAMBIA, GHANA, GRENADA, JAMAICA, KENYA, LESOTHO, MALAYSIA, MALDIVES, MALTA, MAURITIUS, NAURU, NEW ZEALAND, NIGERIA, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, ST. LUCIA, SIERRA LEONE, SINGAPORE, SOLOMON ISLANDS, SRI LANKA, SWAZILAND, TONGA, TUVALU, UGANDA (TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO HAS SIGNED BY NOT/NOT YET RATIFIED).</p> <p>3. AS FOR COMUEL STATES WHICH HAVE NOT/NOT SIGNED THE NPT, THE GENERAL EXPLANATION THAT APPLIES TO MOST IS THAT THEY HAVE NO/NO NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES AND NONE PLANNED IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, HENCE JOINING THE NPT IS NOT/NOT A PRIORITY. FOR MANY IT IS ALSO A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE AS THEY ARGUE THAT THE NPT IS DISCRIMINATORY AS IT CREATES TWO ORDERS OF STATES. SEVERAL BLACK AFRICAN STATES HAVE ALSO ARGUED THAT UNTIL SOUTH AFRICA SIGNS THE NPT THEY WILL NOT/NOT GIVE UP THEIR RIGHT TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FLUG COMUEL STATES HAVE NOT/</p>		

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR

DIVISION/DIRECTION

TELEPHONE

APPROVED/APPROUVÉ

SIG

J. A. McNEE

IDDZ

995-5912

SIG

L. A. DELVOIE

MESSAGE PREPARATION

- 1) Use OCR element and set typewriter for 10 pitch. Observe right margin marked "10". If typewriter capable of 12 pitch only, ensure that right margin, marked "12", is observed.
- 2) Use full capitals and double line feed at all times.
- 3) Security Classification: "UNCLASSIFIED" is to be typed without spacing between letters. All other classifications are to have one space between the letters, e.g. C O N F I D E N T I A L
- 4) Use only one space between words in the address portion of the message, e.g.
TO LDN PARIS IMMED WSHDC
DISTR PUA APO APR MFP
- 5) Subject line is indicated by three dashes in front of the subject, e.g. --- REVISED FSDS
- 6) First paragraph is neither numbered nor indented. All subsequent paragraphs are numbered. Do not use space between the paragraph number and the first letter of the text, e.g. 3. THE POST...
- 7) Do not use space before or after punctuation marks, e.g. WILL ARRIVE BERNE, 15 JUN. THE etc.
- 8) Use only the following punctuation: period, comma, semi-colon, colon, dash, oblique stroke, brackets and question mark.
- 9) Following signs must be spelled out: \$ (DOLLARS), % (PERCENT), # (NUMBER), " (QUOTE), and " (UNQUOTE). In English the apostrophe is omitted to form a single word, while in French the apostrophe is replaced by a space.
- 10) Always repeat negatives NO and NOT as NO/NO and NOT/NOT. DO NOT/NOT underline.
- 11) End of page of multi-page messages is identified on a separate line, at left margin with only three periods and the number of the following page, e.g.
...2
- 12) Do not use punctuation at the end of the message when there is a signature.

PRÉPARATION DES MESSAGES

- 1) Employer le LOC et régler la machine au pas "10". Placer la marge droite à "10". Si vous avez une machine de pas "12", placer la marge droite à "12".
- 2) Toujours utiliser les majuscules et le double interligne.
- 3) La cote de sécurité "NONCLASSIFIÉ" doit être dactylographiée sans espace entre les lettres. Toutes les autres doivent l'être avec un espace, par exemple: C O N F I D E N T I E L
- 4) Pour l'adresse, utiliser seulement un espace entre chaque mot, par exemple:
A LDN PARIS IMMED WSHDC
DISTR PUA APO APR MFP
- 5) Faire précéder le sujet de trois tirets, par exemple: ---DSE REVISÉES
- 6) Le premier paragraphe n'est jamais numéroté et commence à la marge. Tous les paragraphes suivants sont numérotés. Ne pas laisser d'espace entre le numéro du paragraphe et la première lettre du texte, par exemple: 3. LA MISSION...
- 7) Ne pas laisser d'espace avant ou après les signes de ponctuation, par exemple: ARRIVERAI À BERNE, 15 JUN. LE etc.
- 8) Utiliser seulement les signes de ponctuation suivants: point, virgule, point virgule, deux points, tiret, barre oblique, parenthèses et point d'interrogation.
- 9) Les signes suivants doivent être dactylographiés en toutes lettres: \$ (DOLLARS), % (POUR CENT), # (NUMÉRO), " (CITATION) et " (FIN DE CITATION). En anglais, omettre l'apostrophe et ajouter la terminaison au mot pour en faire un seul mot. En français remplacer l'apostrophe par un espace.
- 10) Répéter toujours les négatifs NO et NOT comme ceci: NO/NO NOT/NOT (en français les négatifs ne sont pas répétés).
- 11) Sur les messages comportant plus d'une page, indiquer sur une ligne séparée, à la marge à gauche, le numéro de la page suivante en le faisant précéder de trois points seulement, par exemple:
...2
- 12) Ne pas mettre de ponctuation à la fin du message quant il comporte une signature.

Table 5

ion on 31 December 1982 with respect to the signing of, the ratification of, or accession or succession to NPT by non-nuclear-weapon States and to the conclusion of safeguards agreements between the Agency and these States in connection with NPT

Non-nuclear-weapon States which have signed, ratified, acceded to or succeeded to NPT ^a (1)	Date of ratification, accession or succession ^a (2)	Safeguards agreement with the Agency (3)	INFCIRC (4)
Afghanistan	4 February 1970	In force: 20 February 1978	257
Antigua and Barbuda	1 November 1981		
Australia	23 January 1973	In force: 10 July 1974	217
Austria	27 June 1969	In force: 23 July 1972	156
Banamas	10 July 1973		
Bangladesh	27 September 1979	In force: 11 June 1982	301
Barbados	21 February 1980		
Belgium	2 May 1975	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Benin	31 October 1972		
Bolivia ^b	26 May 1970	Signed: 23 August 1974	
Botswana	28 April 1969		
Bulgaria	5 September 1969	In force: 29 February 1972	178
Burundi	19 March 1971		
Canada	8 January 1969	In force: 21 February 1972	164
Cape Verde	24 October 1979		
Central African Republic	25 October 1970		
Chad	10 March 1971		
China, Republic of	27 January 1970		
Colombia ^c			
Congo	23 October 1978		
Costa Rica ^d	3 March 1970	In force: 22 November 1979	278
Cyprus	10 February 1970	In force: 26 January 1973	189
Czechoslovakia	22 July 1969	In force: 3 March 1972	173
Democratic Kampuchea	2 June 1972		
Democratic Yemen	1 June 1979		
Denmark ^e	3 January 1969	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Dominican Republic ^f	24 July 1971	In force: 11 October 1973	201
Ecuador ^g	7 March 1969	In force: 10 March 1975	231
Egypt	26 February 1981	In force: 30 June 1982	302
El Salvador ^h	11 July 1972	In force: 22 April 1975	232
Ethiopia	5 February 1970	In force: 2 December 1977	261
Fiji	14 July 1972	In force: 22 March 1973	192
Finland	5 February 1969	In force: 9 February 1972	155
Gabon	19 February 1974	Signed: 3 December 1979	
Gambia	12 May 1975	In force: 8 August 1978	277
German Democratic Republic	31 October 1969	In force: 7 March 1972	181
Germany, Federal Republic of	2 May 1975	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Ghana	5 May 1970	In force: 17 February 1975	226
Greece ⁱ	11 March 1970	Accession: 17 December 1981	193
Grenada	19 August 1974		
Guatemala ^j	22 September 1970	In force: 1 February 1982	299
Guinea-Bissau	20 August 1976		
Haiti ^k	2 June 1970	Signed: 6 January 1975	
Holy See	25 February 1971	In force: 1 August 1972	187
Honduras ^l	16 May 1973	In force: 18 April 1975	235
Hungary	27 May 1969	In force: 30 March 1972	174
Iceland	18 July 1969	In force: 16 October 1974	215
Indonesia	12 July 1979	In force: 14 July 1980	283
Iran, Islamic Republic of	2 February 1970	In force: 15 May 1974	214
Iraq	29 October 1969	In force: 29 February 1972	172
Ireland	1 July 1968	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Italy	2 May 1975	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Ivory Coast	6 March 1973	Approved by the Board, Feb. 1983	
Jamaica ^m	5 March 1970	In force: 6 November 1978	265
Japan	8 June 1976	In force: 2 December 1977	255

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Jordan	11 February 1970	In force: 21 February 1978	258
Kenya	11 June 1970		
Korea, Republic of	23 April 1975	In force: 14 November 1975	236
Kuwait			
Lao People's Democratic Republic	20 February 1970		
Lebanon	15 July 1970	In force: 5 March 1973	191
Lesotho	20 May 1970	In force: 12 June 1973	199
Liberia	5 March 1970		
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	26 May 1975	In force: 8 July 1980	202
Liechtenstein	20 April 1978	In force: 4 October 1979	275
Luxembourg	2 May 1975	In force: 21 February 1977	193
Madagascar	8 October 1970	In force: 14 June 1973	200
Malaysia	5 March 1970	In force: 29 February 1972	182
Maldives	7 April 1970	In force: 2 October 1977	253
Mali	10 February 1970		
Malta	6 February 1970		
Mauritius	25 April 1969	In force: 31 January 1973	190
Mexico	21 January 1969	In force: 14 September 1973	197
Mongolia	14 May 1969	In force: 5 September 1972	188
Morocco	27 November 1970	In force: 10 February 1975	228
Nauru	7 June 1982		
Nepal	5 January 1970	In force: 22 June 1972	186
Netherlands	2 May 1975	In force: 21 February 1977	193
New Zealand	10 September 1969	In force: 29 February 1972	185
Nicaragua	6 March 1973	In force: 29 December 1976	246
Nigeria	27 September 1968		
Norway	5 February 1969	In force: 1 March 1972	177
Panama	13 January 1977		
Papua New Guinea	25 Jan 1982		
Paraguay	4 February 1970	In force: 20 March 1979	279
Peru	3 March 1970	In force: 1 August 1979	273
Philippines	5 October 1972	In force: 16 October 1974	216
Poland	12 June 1969	In force: 11 October 1972	179
Portugal	15 December 1977	In force: 14 June 1979	272
Romania	4 February 1970	In force: 27 October 1972	180
Rwanda	20 May 1975		
St. Lucia	28 December 1979		
Samoa	17 March 1975	In force: 22 January 1979	268
San Marino	10 August 1970	Approved by the Board, Feb. 1977	
Senegal	17 December 1970	In force: 14 January 1980	276
Sierra Leone	26 February 1975	Signed: 10 November 1977	
Singapore	10 March 1976	In force: 10 October 1977	259
Solomon Islands	17 June 1981		
Somalia	5 March 1978		
Sri Lanka	5 March 1979	Signed: 5 July 1980	
Sudan	31 October 1973	In force: 7 January 1977	245
Suriname	30 June 1976	In force: 2 February 1979	269
Swaziland	11 December 1969	In force: 20 July 1975	227
Sweden	9 January 1970	In force: 14 April 1975	234
Switzerland	9 March 1977	In force: 6 September 1970	264
Syrian Arab Republic	24 September 1969		
Thailand	7 December 1972	In force: 16 May 1974	241
Togo	26 February 1970		
Tonga	7 July 1971	Approved by the Board, Feb. 1975	
Tuvalu			

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Tunisia	26 February 1970		
Turkey	17 April 1980	In force: 1 September 1981	295
Tuvalu	19 January 1979		
Uganda	20 October 1982		
United Republic of Cameroon	8 January 1969		
Upper Volta	3 March 1970		
Uruguay	31 August 1970	In force: 17 September 1976	157
Venezuela	26 September 1975	In force: 11 March 1982	300
Viet Nam	14 June 1982		
Yemen Arab Republic			
Yugoslavia	3 March 1970	In force: 28 December 1973	204
Zaire	4 August 1970	In force: 9 November 1972	183

- a/ The information reproduced in columns (1) and (2) was provided to the Agency by the depositary Governments of NPT, and an entry in column (1) does not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of the Secretariat concerning the legal status of any country or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.
- b/ The relevant safeguards agreement was concluded in connection with both NPT and the Tlatelolco Treaty.
- c/ The NPT safeguards agreement with Denmark (INFCIRC/176), in force since 1 March 1972, has been replaced by the agreement of 5 April 1973 between the non-nuclear-weapon States of EURATOM, EURATOM and the Agency (INFCIRC/193) but still applies to the Faroe Islands.
- d/ An agreement had also been concluded in respect of the Netherlands Antilles (INFCIRC/229). This agreement entered into force on 5 June 1975.
- e/ The following States had signed NPT but not yet ratified it: Colombia, on 1 July 1968; Kuwait, on 15 August 1968; Trinidad and Tobago, on 22 August 1968; and the Yemen Arab Republic, on 23 September 1968.
- f/ The application of Agency safeguards in Greece under the agreement INFCIRC/166, provisionally in force since 1 March 1972, was suspended on 17 December 1981, at which date Greece acceded to the agreement of 5 April 1973 (INFCIRC/193) between the non-nuclear-weapon States of EURATOM, EURATOM and the Agency.
- g/ The Agency was notified on 11 November 1982.



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PAGE TWO IDDZ0202 CONFIDENTIAL

12

10

NOT SIGNED NPT (WITH INDIVIDUAL RATIONALE WHERE IT IS KNOWN):

DELYZE

GUYANA

INDIA - HAS REJECTED SIGNING THE NPT (1) ON PRINCIPLE, BECAUSE THEY
FIND IT DISCRIMINATORY AS IT CREATES TWO ORDERS OF STATES,
(2) THEY REFUSE TO FOREGO THE BENEFITS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIONS. THEY HAVE ALSO ALLUDED TO THEIR PROXIMITY TO
TWO NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES (USSR AND CHINA) AS AN ADDITIO-
NAL REASON.

KIRIBAD

KALAMI - DOES NOT/NOT ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO THE NPT AND WISHES
TO KEEP IN STEP WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS WHO DO NOT/NOT WANT TO
SIGN UNTIL SOUTH AFRICA DOES.

MAURU

ST CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS

ST VINCENT

SEYCHELLES

SOLOMON ISLANDS

*TANZANIA

UGANDA

*ZAMBIA

*ZIMBABWE

...8

Page two and succeeding pages are to be identified as per the following examples:

PAGE TWO MGT0159 UNCLAS
PAGE THREE AP00012 CONFD PERS INFO
PAGE FOUR FP01469 RESTR
PAGE FIVE GP00036 SECRET

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PAGE DEUX MGT0159 NONCLAS
PAGE TROIS AP00012 CONFD RENS PERS
PAGE QUATRE FP01469 RESTR
PAGE CINQ GP00036 SECRET

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Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
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PAGE THREE ID020202 CONFIDENTIAL

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10

*THE SO-CALLED FRONT LINE STATES HAVE TAKEN THE LINE THAT THEY WILL NOT/NOT SIGN UNTIL SOUTH AFRICA DOES.

Page two and succeeding pages are to be identified as per the following examples:

PAGE TWO MGT0159 UNCLAS
PAGE THREE AP00012 CONFD PERS INFO
PAGE FOUR FP01469 RESTR
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CONFIDENTIAL

November 22, 1983

IDDZ-0201

Memorandum for the Deputy Prime Minister and
Secretary of State for External Affairs

PM Initiative on East-West Relations
and International Security

As requested, we attach some brief notes on this subject for your appearance before the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, on November 22.

L. A. Delvoie
Chairman
Task Force Working Group

cc: DMF/Mr. Marchand

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

Purpose and Proposals

The Prime Minister's principal purpose is to arrest and reverse the downward trend in East-West relations, and thus reduce the international tensions and risks of confrontation to which this trend has given rise.

The Prime Minister's chief proposal relates to the need to restore confidence and reestablish high-level political dialogue between East and West, and particularly between the superpowers; to create a political framework for ongoing sectoral or technical negotiations between the two sides.

Subsidiary to this is a series of proposals in the field of arms control and disarmament which have substantive merit in themselves, and which, if they permitted sectoral progress, would contribute to improving the general climate in East-West relations:

- (a) A comprehensive approach to the limitation and then the reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals by means of a conference of the five nuclear weapons states (USA, USSR, UK, France, China).
- (b) A concerted endeavour at the political level to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime, and especially to increase the number of states adhering to the Non-Proliferation Treaty prior to the NPT Review Conference in 1985.

- 2 -

- (c) A substantive Western response to the proposals put forward earlier this year by the East in the MBFR negotiations, and the injection of political momentum into these negotiations by means of a Foreign Ministers meeting in Vienna to coincide roughly with the tabling of a new Western proposal.
- (d) The inauguration of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) at senior political level in order to give this important conference political impetus at the outset (complementarity of military confidence building and political confidence building).

Although not integral to his initiative as pursued personally with other governments, the Prime Minister has also put forward publicly proposals relating to:

- (a) the mobility of ICBMs
- (b) high altitude anti-satellite systems
- (c) the verification of new weapons systems by national technical means

Programme

The Prime Minister's public programme has so far involved giving speeches in Guelph (October 27) and Montreal (November 13). His diplomatic and/or private programme has included:

- 3 -

- (a) letters to all NATO heads of government (October 22-25).
- (b) letters to Soviet and Chinese leaders (early November).
- (c) meetings with President Mitterrand of France,
Chancellor Kohl of the FRG, PM Lubbers and Queen
Beatrix of the Netherlands, PM Martens of Belgium,
HH the Pope, PM Craxi of Italy, PM Thatcher of the UK,
PM Nakasone of Japan, President Kaunda of Zambia,
General Ershad of Bangladesh.
- (d) private meetings with Robert McNamara, General Rogers
(SACEUR), George Kennan, General Brent Scowcroft,
members of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group, Georgi
Arbatov.
- (e) further letters to all NATO heads of government
(November 17-18).
- (f) telephone conversation with President Reagan (November 17).
- (g) letters to PM Hawke and PM Muldoon (November 18).
- (h) the dispatch of a personal emissary to Moscow and
Peking (November 21-27).
- (i) participation in CHOGM and furthering initiative in
that forum.

Reactions

The reactions of governments which have so far given
an indication of their thinking about the PM's initiative may
be very roughly summarized as follows:

- 4 -

USA: Generally supportive of broad purpose, but serious reservations about some specific proposals

France: Positive and generally supportive, with reservations as to timing

FRG: Positive and generally supportive

Belgium: Very positive, with some reservations as to timing

Holland: Very positive, with some reservations as to timing

Italy: Generally supportive, but no very well-defined reaction

UK: Generally supportive of broad purpose, but reservations about some specific proposals

Norway: Very positive and fully supportive

Spain: Very positive

Denmark: Very positive and fully supportive

Japan: Very positive and fully supportive

USSR: Interested and cautiously positive

PRC: Interested but non-committal

Media reactions vary greatly, but again can be very roughly summarized as follows:

Canada: Generally very positive, with occasional scepticism relating to PM's motives, standing, credibility, etc. . Negative comments relate chiefly to choice of Liberal Party forum for Montreal speech

USA: Generally very positive, occasionally enthusiastic

Western Europe: Generally positive, occasionally tinged with scepticism

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 23-30, 1983

PROVISIONAL TIMETABLE

Tuesday, November 22

- 1430 - Meeting of Senior Officials at Vigyan Bhavan
- 1730 - Prime Minister's aircraft arrives New Delhi
- 2000 - Dinner for Senior Officials by Indian Foreign Ministry at Oberoi Hotel (Lounge Suit)
- 2030 - Prime Minister's meeting with Secretary-General Ramphal

Wednesday, November 23

- 0815 - Invitees other than Heads of Government at
- 0845 - Conference Hall (Gate Number 2)
- Each Delegation allowed six places plus High Commissioner
- 0850 - Commonwealth Secretary-General arrives
- 0855 - Indian Prime Minister arrives
- 0900 - Heads of Government arrive and are received by
- 0920 - Commonwealth Secretary-General in Lounge
- 0925 - Heads of Government and Commonwealth Secretary-General move from Lounge to Rostrum in main Conference Hall
- 0943 - Indian National Anthem
- 0945 - Opening Session

The Opening Session will be in the presence of a large number of invited guests and the media. PM Gandhi will be in the chair and give the Address of Welcome followed by that of the Secretary-General. In addition there will be five speeches in reply. The Prime Minister has been asked by Sonny Ramphal to deliver one of these. The formal photograph of Heads of Delegation will be taken immediately following the speeches.

.../2

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1100 - The First Session (expected to be short) will consider the Agenda and the suggested guidelines on Style and Format (for Heads of Government and Commonwealth Secretary-General only)
- 1230 - Secretary-General's reception at Vigyan Bhavan
This will include the Indian and world press
 - Lunch
- 1500 - Second Session commences with discussion of the World Political Scene. Prime Minister will be lead speaker
- 1730 - Reception for Heads of Government by President of India at Rashtrapati Bhavan
- 2000 - Banquet given by the Queen for Heads of Government and spouses (Black tie or national dress and decorations)

Thursday, November 24

- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1215 - Visit to Trade Fair Exhibition followed by Prime Minister's Lunch for Caribbean Group
- 1500 - Executive Session
 - Audience for Prime Minister with the Queen (alternative is Friday)
- 2030 - Dinner for Heads of Government given by PM Gandhi at Ashoka Hotel followed by cultural program (Lounge suit)
 - Dinner for Foreign Ministers by Indian Foreign Minister Rao at Maurya Hotel (Lounge suit)

Friday, November 25

- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1200
- (approx) 1230 - Heads of Government fly to Goa for Retreat
- (approx) 1500 - Arrive Goa (Fort Aguada Hotel)
- 1900 - Queen's reception for Foreign Ministers, High Commissioners and Senior Officials (Lounge suit)

.../3

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- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Sunday, November 27

- 0830 - Senior Officials depart for Agra
- 1800 - Return to Delhi
- 1830 - Heads of Government return from Goa
- 2000

Monday, November 28


- 0930 - Executive Session
- 1200
- 1230 - Lunch hosted by Mrs. Thatcher for 21 Heads of Government, including Prime Minister (Antigua and Barbuda to Malaysia)
- 1500 - Executive Session
- 2000 - Dinner and cultural program for Foreign Ministers and Senior Officials at Trade Fair Exhibition (Lounge suit)

Tuesday, November 29

- 0930 - Executive Session
 - 1500 - Executive Session
 - 1700 - Closing press conference chaired by PM Gandhi and the Secretary-General, and release of Communiqué
- Following this any Head of Delegation may give a press conference or call upon their officials to do so

Wednesday, November 30

- 0930 - Leave Delhi for the Gulf States


CONFIDENTIAL

OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

Tuesday, November 22, 1983 at 10:30 a.m.
Operations Centre Conference Room (A-8)

PROPOSED ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Deputies' Priorities

2. Current Issues:

- Grenada Situation Report Mr. Graham
- Cyprus Report Mr. Molgat
- Lebanon Situation Mr. Stanford
- PM's Travel and Peace Initiative:
 - o Japan
 - o Bangladesh
 - o Pearson Mission
- Nuclear Sales Abroad Mr. Campbell
- Visits Management - 1984
 - o Prime Minister
 - o DEA Ministers

3. Cabinet Committee Schedule Mr. Shortliffe
Parliamentary/Legislative Business Mr. Shortliffe

4. Other Business

*DEC. 19^{or 20} - AUCTION WITH
55179 IN CHAIR*



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SUJET • Operations Committee, Nov. 22, 1983

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... Attached (on the reverse side) is the
proposed order of business for the Operations
Committee meeting of November 22, 1983.

E.R. Johnston
Director
Senior Management Secretariat

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13 City and Country/Ville et pays EA#172 - 8:17 pm Depart Washington, D.C.		14 Dates Nov. 22		15 Additional Information/Renseignements supplémentaires (circle ONE in each Category) (Dans i, ii) et iii), encadrer la réponse appropriée.)	
Arrive Ottawa - 9:30 p.m.		Nov. 22		(i) Type of Travel: Insp (RIP only) i) But du voyage: Insp. (RIP seulement)	
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EA#173 Depart Ottawa - 8:20 a.m.		Nov. 24		Conf/Conf.	
Arrive Washington, D.C.		Nov. 24		Training/Formation	
				Other/Autre	
				(ii) ADMship ii) SMA	
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Certifié conformément para. 25 (1) de la loi sur l'admin. fin.				PTT PUM PUR	
Sharon R. Hurst For Deputy Head - chef adjoint				(iii) Overtime/Leave Implications iii) Répercussions en termes d'heures suppl./de congés	
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SUBJECT • Radio-Canada - Le Point- 17 novembre 1983
SUJET Le plan de paix de M. Trudeau

Security/Sécurité
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Le Premier ministre Trudeau entreprend donc aujourd'hui la deuxième étape de son périple de la paix autour du monde. Après l'Europe, la semaine dernière, en effet, aujourd'hui M. Trudeau s'en va au Japon puis, la semaine prochaine, New-Delhi, en Inde, où se tient la Conférence des pays du Commonwealth. Ce qui veut dire qu'au total M. Trudeau aura parlé de son plan de paix a plus de cinquante chefs d'Etat quand il va revenir à Ottawa, début décembre. Je vous rappelle brièvement les quatre points du plan Trudeau:

1er point: M. Trudeau propose aux cinq puissances nucléaires, les Etats-Unis, l'URSS, la France, la Grande-Bretagne et la Chine de négocier des limites à leur potentiel atomique sur la base d'égalité entre les deux grands d'abord, les Etats-Unis et l'URSS, et puis sur la base de limites proportionnelles pour les trois autres.

2ème point: M. Trudeau propose de renforcer le traité de non-prolifération des armes nucléaires de 1970 parce que plusieurs petits pays en effet sont en train de se doter d'armes atomiques, si ce n'est déjà fait dans certains cas, ce qui, selon M. Trudeau augmente les risques.

3ème point: la désescalade entre l'Est et l'Ouest en Europe. M. Trudeau propose qu'il y ait équilibre des forces conventionnelles; pour l'instant l'URSS en a plus que les pays d'Europe. M. Trudeau propose aussi qu'il y ait équilibre des forces nucléaires en Europe, ce que l'on appelle les euromissiles.

4ème et dernier point: M. Trudeau suggère que l'on arrête la course aux nouvelles techniques de guerre comme ces fameux systèmes anti-satellites à très haute altitude envisagés notamment par l'administration Reagan.

La semaine dernière les Européens avaient plutôt réagi favorablement au plan de M. Trudeau mais à Paris toutefois le président François Mitterand, dans un discours, a réaffirmé le refus de la France de participer

- 2 -

à un forum des cinq puissances nucléaires tant que les Etats-Unis et l'URSS, les deux grands, n'auront pas considérablement réduit leurs forces à eux.

Ce qui nous intéresse surtout ce soir c'est la réaction américaine à l'initiative de M. Trudeau, plutôt la quasi absence de réaction américaine. Rejoignons donc à Washington le ministre politique à l'Ambassade du Canada à Washington, M. Jeremy Kinsman.

Annonceur: M. Kinsman, est-ce qu'on considère à Washington, dans les milieux politiques, la démarche de M. Trudeau comme de l'ingérence dans la politique américaine.

Jeremy Kinsman : Non, je ne crois pas, Monsieur. Vous savez il y a plusieurs milieux politiques à Washington. De la part de l'administration, je crois que grosso modo on trouve que ce sont des efforts de la part de M. Trudeau qui sont bien utiles. Ils ont évidemment remarqué une détérioration eux-mêmes entre l'Est et l'Ouest et ces efforts sont considérés comme quelque chose d'utile.

A. Est-ce qu'on les prend au sérieux, vraiment, à Washington. Au gouvernement américain, est-ce qu'on prend ça au sérieux, le plan de M. Trudeau, les quatre points qu'il a énoncés.

J.K. Bien, les quatre points, vous savez dans le détail ne font pas de commentaires parce qu'en fait ils sont en négociation avec l'Union soviétique et ce serait une imprudence peut-être de dégager à Washington une opinion sur quelque chose de spécifique formellement avant qu'on ne connaisse l'opinion de celui avec qui on négocie.

A. Mais, est-ce qu'on ne devrait pas s'attendre au moins de M. Reagan à une déclaration quelconque ou de la part de M. Shultz, amis de quelqu'un de haut niveau à Washington qui commenterait publiquement cette initiative de M. Trudeau. Ça fait 21 jours déjà, on a rien entendu. On sait qu'il y a eu une lettre mais on en connaît pas le contenu.

.../3

- 3 -

J.K. Le contenu de la lettre, je crois, est dans le sens où ces efforts sont certainement vus de façon positive à Washington, dans l'ensemble des choses. Je devrais aussi vous confier que la presse américaine regarde les efforts de M. Trudeau aussi avec une attitude assez positive.

A. Il y avait hier à Ottawa une délégation de gens du State Department des Etats-Unis et il y a un haut fonctionnaire américain dont on ne connaît pas le nom mais qui aurait dit à des journalistes, en tous les cas, les journalistes l'ont cité: "Ce que le gouvernement américain n'aime pas dans la position de M. Trudeau c'est la prémisse selon laquelle il n'y a pas de volonté politique ni d'un côté ni de l'autre entre les deux grands pour vraiment dialoguer très sérieusement". Par conséquent, si on n'aime pas ces prémisses comment on peut accepter le reste du plan Trudeau à Washington?

J.K. Oui, je crois que c'est une analyse de prémisses qui ne fait qu'une analyse partielle, n'est-ce pas? D'abord, M. Trudeau n'envisage aucunement quelque ingérence que ce soit dans les négociations qui se déroulent actuellement entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union soviétique. Ceci est clair et plus c'est clair à Washington, évidemment l'attitude sera très positive. Mais en ce qui concerne les prémisses, vu le fait que les Etats-Unis sont en négociations avec l'Union soviétique, ils ne veulent pas vraiment admettre quelque responsabilité que ce soit pour quelque détérioration que ce soit dans le climat actuel entre les deux pays, entre l'Est et l'Ouest, généralement. Je crois que c'est très normal pour un pays qui est dans une négociation.

A. Le président français, François Mitterrand, a déclaré que lui, en tous cas, refuserait de participer à un des points de M. Trudeau au forum des cinq puissances nucléaires. Est-ce que vous avez aussi l'impression qu'à Washington on refuserait de participer à une négociation d'un nouvel équilibre des cinq puissances nucléaires.

J.K. Non, pas du tout. Je ne veux pas vous corriger dans votre interprétation de ce qu'a dit M. Mitterrand mais je crois que si M. Mitterrand a justement dit, il a soulevé des conditions qui seraient nécessaires préalablement pour une telle participation,

.../4

- 4 -

conditions qui ont été énoncées au Nations Unies.

A. En tous cas, l'impression qu'on a ici au Canada c'est que le Canada ne compte pas tellement dans la politique de M. Reagan en ces matières et que même la démarche de M. Trudeau ne semble pas l'impressionner beaucoup. On a l'impression qu'il se sera au moins prononcer là-dessus.

J.K. Bien, c'est mon impression. Vous voyez que les media américains qui sont pour la plupart maintenant responsables de disséminer quelque impression que ce soit, vous savez, ne sont pas souvent émus par des idées qui ont leur origine en dehors des Etats-Unis. Ils remarquent évidemment des tremblements de terre désastreux, des attentats quelconques, des guerres, mais des idées, alors ça c'est difficile à percer les media, les actualités télévisées aux Etats-Unis comme vous le savez très bien.

A. M. Kinsman, je vous remercie beaucoup.

Le directeur des
relations avec les media

D. Berkeley Jones
pour John J. Noble

FILE DIV DIARY 1DD2

IDA/D.A.SNIDER/6-1251/pec

Brief for NATO/MIN and
Visit of Austrian SecGen

IDA-1316 28-4-6
November 22, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY- BUILDING
MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE (CDE)

BACKGROUND

At the Second CSCE Follow-Up Meeting recently concluded in Madrid, one of Canada's objectives, shared by our NATO allies, was "to cooperate in efforts to relax East-West tensions by enhancing security and cooperation in Europe". This objective was partially achieved when the thirty-five CSCE participants adopted by consensus the mandate for a Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) which will begin in Stockholm on January 17, 1984.

The aim of the confidence- and security-building measures (CSBM) is to strengthen confidence in order to pave the way to disarmament in conventional and, ultimately, nuclear weapons. Previous attempts to disarm, for instance at MBFR, by first dealing with capabilities and counting numbers which would later be verified, have not been able to break the arms spiral. One side, mistrusting the intentions of the other, attempts to redress perceived imbalances which prompts the other side to take counter measures. The root of this lack of confidence is not only concern about what the other side can do, but doubts about what it intends to do. CSBMs address intentions. If they were clarified, a normal pattern of military behaviour could be established. States would be confident that they are not threatened and that they could detect changes in intentions when one side broke the normal pattern of activities. In these circumstances, States would have the confidence to reduce forces to more stable and lower levels. Any force reductions, however, would be the subject of the second phase of the CDE. The mandate of the CDE does not specify any kind of armed forces. The West intends that the CDE should deal with conventional forces. The WPO and the NNA may wish to talk about nuclear forces as well.

The mandate, which is a compromise arrived at after three years of difficult negotiations, directs that the Conference will be carried out in two phases; the first will deal with Confidence- and Security-Building Measures. Largely meeting Western views, these CSBMs are to be applicable to the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, according to specific criteria: military significance, politically binding and provided with forms of verification according to their content. Although the text of the mandate follows essentially Western lines, there are sufficient

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ambiguities in it which will undoubtedly be exploited by the Soviet Union. They will try to introduce such declaratory measures as non-aggression pacts and to extend the CSBM zone into the North Atlantic. At the same time they can be expected to put up stiff opposition to the adoption of Western proposals designed to lead ultimately to a greater transparency in military activities. As a result of this diametrical difference in philosophy and objectives, the first phase of the Conference will be a prolonged one, lasting at least until the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in 1986.

The West Europeans, in particular the Germans, have also placed great emphasis on the holding of a CDE. They wish to be able to demonstrate to their respective publics that despite any INF deployment they are making all possible efforts in the field of arms control. They would also like to be able to point to this new and ongoing conference as evidence that INF deployment has not disrupted the political and arms control dialogue with the East. Other countries, however, such as the UK, have been quick to point out that the CDE should be seen as complementary to all ongoing arms control and disarmament efforts but not as a priority as in the same sense as INF/START.

At the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting the participating CSCE states will assess the progress achieved to date during the first phase of the Conference. Following the conclusion of the first phase the participants will decide a future CSCE Follow-Up Meeting the ways and appropriate means for the participating States to continue their efforts for security and disarmament in Europe including the question of supplementing the present mandate for the next phase of the CDE. This condition was introduced at the insistence of the United States, which has serious reservations about the utility of negotiating arms control reductions on a consensus basis in a forum of 35 nations.

Complicating the CDE negotiations and frustrating those who are hoping for an early (by 1986) conclusion of Stage I will be the following factors:

- (a) the CDE will open at approximately the same time that the INF deployment will be commencing. Given their performance to date on this issue, the Soviet Union will use the event to propagandize. Because of the long-held desire of the USSR to have a European Security Conference (Litvinov made the first proposal in the 1930's), it is considered unlikely that it would boycott the CDE;

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- (b) due to the presidential election next year, the United States will avoid making major policy decisions from mid-July until at least mid-November and possibly until early in the new year (1985);
- (c) there is a body of opinion which believes that the present Soviet leadership is not in complete control of the military establishment. If this proves to be the case, the political leadership may not be able to make the necessary concessions in the CDE which the military perceive as compromising in any way its ability to wage war;
- (d) some NNA (notably Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia) do not appear to have given full consideration to the implications to their national defence plans that the adoption of a set of concrete, militarily significant and verifiable CSBMs would have. Once the full realization strikes them, they too may be reluctant to make concessions because, unlike the members of the two alliances, they alone are responsible for their own defence;
- (e) the Maltese have demonstrated a propensity to misuse the consensus principle in pursuit of their own goals. It seems a certainty that they will do it again in the CDE.

The foregoing suggests that Stage I of the CDE will be a long (six years plus), sometimes acrimonious, and difficult conference. Success will come slowly, with the first signs unlikely to appear until 1986.

The Preparatory Meeting for the CDE was held in Helsinki from October 25 to November 11, 1983 and was played out in a low-key, business-like manner. From their performance, it was clear that the Russians, who are undoubtedly looking forward to the Stockholm Conference as a forum to publicize their special views on arms control, did not want anything to happen that would cast them in the spoilers role. Consequently, the Helsinki meeting proved an easier negotiation than anticipated. An agenda for the CDE, which for the most part reflects Western interests, was adopted and it was agreed that for the first year of the Conference there would be four sessions totalling twenty-nine weeks.

CANADIAN POSITION

During the first phase at Stockholm, Canada and the rest of our NATO allies will attempt:

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CONFIDENTIAL

- (a) to undertake, in stages, new effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament;
- (b) to negotiate and adopt a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe.

An additional Canadian objective will be to strengthen our relations with Europe - the whole of Europe, including the Neutrals and Non-Aligned as well as the nations of Eastern Europe - by participating actively in and contributing to the deliberations and resolution of their political and security concerns. To achieve these goals, Canada and our allies in NATO will present a comprehensive package of mutually supportive CSBMs which, if adopted and implemented, could set the stage for meaningful arms control and disarmament negotiations.

Prime Minister Trudeau emphasized during his recent consultations with European leaders that active Canadian participation in the CDE is a significant factor in his initiative on international security. He has pointed out that should the INF deployments prove necessary, the Conference will have considerable symbolic significance for Western public opinion as demonstrating the renewed commitment of Western governments to disarmament. He also proposed that the CDE be given a visible political impetus at the outset by being inaugurated at the Head of Government or Foreign Minister level. From their comments, it is clear that the European leaders with whom he spoke shared the Prime Minister's views and it seems certain that all the Foreign Ministers of the EC-10 will attend the opening of the Conference. It remains to be seen whether the notion that the Conference be inaugurated at a higher level will gain support during the next few weeks.

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---CDE/MBFR AND NAC MINISTERIAL

TAYLOR CONVEYED ELEMENTS OF PMS LET(FIRST REFTEL)TO COLLEAGUES AT PERMREPS LUNCHEON,22NOV.RE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AT INAUGURAL MTG OF STKHM/CDE CONFERENCE,NETH,DANISH,FRG AND SPANISH PERMREP SAID THEIR FOREIGN MINS HAD ALREADY TAKEN DECISION TO PARTICIPATE.(THIS OBVIOUSLY NOT/NOT COMPLETE LIST-FRENCH PERMREP DID NOT/NOT SPEAK). 2.RE PROPOSAL TO ENLIVEN MBFR NEGOTIATION THROUGH APPLICATION OF POLITICAL CHARGE,REACTIONS WERE MORE GUARDED.UK PERMREP REITERATED EARLIER EXPRESSED VIEWS TO EFFECT THAT THEY WERE NOT/NOT SURE WESTERN RESPONSE TO EASTERN MOVE WAS CALLED FOR AT THIS TIME;WHAT EASTERN MOVEMENT HAD TAKEN PLACE COULD BE SEEN AS TESTIMONY TO EFFECTIVENESS OF WESTERN FIRMNESS.USA PERMREP SAID THEY SHARED UK VIEW AND WOULD HAVE MORE TO SAY ON THIS AT FRI 25NOV COUNCIL MTG WITH AHG BRIEFING TEAM.FRG PERMREP,ON OTHER HAND,SAID THEY WERE IN FAVOUR OF LOOKING CONSTRUCTIVELY AT IDEA OF TAKING NEW INITIATIVE IN MBFR CONTEXT.THIS WAS NOT/NOT,HOWEVER,TO BE TAKEN AS COMMITMENT ON PART OF FRG TO CANADIAN SUGGESTION.THEY WERE ALSO INTERESTED IN LAYING EMPHASIS IN DEC NAC MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE ON IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING DIALOGUE ...2

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PAGE TWO YBGR7120 CONF

IN MBFR FORUM. NETH PERMREP SAID THEY FAVOURED SOME KIND OF WESTERN
RFSPONSE TO EASTERN MOVE. NO/NO ONE WAS PREPARED TO GO SO FAR AS PM
IN HIS LET TO EFFECT THAT NATO RESPONSE BE FOLLOWED BY MTG IN VIENN
OF WESTERN GROUP OF FOREIGN MINS.

3. EXCHANGE OFFERS FORESHADOWING OF LIKELY REACTIONS WE CAN EXPECT
TO HEAR, ALBEIT IN MORE DETAILED AND CAREFUL FASHION, AT 25 NOV AHG
BRIEFING TO COUNCIL. NER OF PERMREPS URGED THAT DISCUSSION OF CDN
PROPOSAL BE PURSUED FURTHER--POSSIBLY DURING AHG BRIEFING--IN ORDER
TO PREPARE GROUND FOR MINS DISCUSSIONS IN DEC. WE SEE CERTAIN DANGERS
INT HIS--THE MAIN ONE BEING THAT SUEJ COULD BE SQUEEZED DRY BY
OFFICIALS BEFORE MINS HAD OPPORTUNITY TO GET THEIR TEETH INTO IT.
CONSEQUENTLY, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT, HAVING DRAWN ALLIES ATTNS TO
DPM/SSEAS INTENTIONS RE MBFR AT DEC NAC MINISTERIAL, WE LEAVE IT AT
THAT. GRATEFUL YOUR VIEWS.

CCC/054 221706Z YBGR7120

FILE

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

FM BGRAD ZLGR5134 22NOV83

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INFO LDN WSHDC PARIS BONN BNATO MOSCO FPEST FUCST WSAW

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REF OURTEL ZLGR5132 21NOV

---PMS DISARMAMENT INITIATIVE:YUGOSLAV INTEREST

DURING NOV21 CALL ON MFA UNDERSECTY KOMATINA(SOON TO

BECOME SEC GEN OF UN CTTEE ON DISARMAMENT),HE MENTIONED

THAT HE WAS WRESTLING WITH REPLY TO LET FROM PM GANDHI

ASKING FOR VIEWS ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED FROM HER UNGA

SUMMIT.KOMATINA SUPPOSED THAT WE HAD RECEIVED SIMILAR

QUERY AND WONDERED IF PM TRUDEAUS INITIATIVE WOULD BE

RELEVANT TO OUR REPLY.HE WONDERED,INDEED,HOW PMS

INITIATIVE WAS FARING.FROM YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW IT

WAS RIGHT IDEA AT RIGHT TIME AND THEY WISHED IT EVERY SUCCESS.

2.I REFERRED TO WHAT I KNEW OF PMS MTL SPEECH,IN

PARTICULAR TO HIS PROPOSAL FOR MTG OF FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS.KOMATINA

IMMEDLY ASKED WHETHER THIS IDEA HAD BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO

PRES MITTERAND.I SAID THAT I DID NOT/NOT KNOW,BUT

VENTURED OPINION THAT PM WOULD NOT/NOT HAVE MADE IT PUBLIC

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PAGE TWO ZLGR5134 CONF

IN WAY HE DID IF HE KNEW MITTERAND TO BE CATEGORICALLY
OPPOSED. KOMATINA ASKED TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS
IN PMS INITIATIVE, AND I UNDERTOOK TO PASS ON FURTHER INFO
AS IT BECAME AVAILABLE TO US. GIVEN YUGOSLAV INTEREST AND
CENTRAL ROLE IN NAM, I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KEEP THEM
AU COURANT AT LEVEL OF FRANKNESS AT LEAST SLIGHTLY BEYOND
WHAT IS ALREADY IN PUBLIC REALM, EVEN IF PM DOES NOT/NOT
ENVISAGE INCLUDING THEM IN HIS CONSULTATIONS (WHICH I SEE
NO/NO COMPELLING REASON FOR HIM TO DO).

3. BEFORE ASKING ABOUT PMS INITIATIVE, KOMATINA DISCUSSED
IN SOME DETAIL YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT OF WPO REACTION TO
NATO INF DEPLOYMENT. THEIR INFO WAS, HE SAID, THAT
HUNGARY, DDR, AND POLAND ALL WANTED INF NEGS TO CONTINUE
EVEN AFTER DEPLOYMENT. SO, THEY BELIEVED, DID GROMYKO. FOR
REASONS OF PRESTIGE, HOWEVER, USSR COULD NOT/NOT LET TALKS
GO ON AFTER OUR DEPLOYMENT AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. IT
WAS THEREFORE LIKELY THAT GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD
BE BROKEN OFF-TO BE SUCCEEDED SOME WEEKS OR MONTHS LATER
BY THEIR RESUMPTION IN SOME OTHER FORM. PERHAPS IT SHOULD
BE ONE THAT APPROACHED QUESTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
GLOBALLY-WITHOUT SUBDIVISION BETWEEN INTERMEDIATE AND
STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. PERHAPS THERE SHOULD BE MORE PARTICIPANTS
(HE DID NOT/NOT MENTION BRITISH OR FRENCH, BUT NO/NO

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PAGE THREE ZLGR5134 CONF

DOUET HAD THEM IN MIND). IN ANY CASE, HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT NEGOTIATING PROCESS WOULD CONTINUE. HE WAS ALSO SURE THAT MOSCO INTENDED TO CONTINUE IT. AS SOME SOVIET REP HAD SAID (I AM NOT/NOT SURE TO WHOM), DEPLOYMENT, WHILE FAD, WOULD NOT/NCT BE END OF WORLD.

4. KOMATINA BELIEVED THAT SS20 DEPLOYMENT HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN BY SOVIET MILITARY, RIDING ROUGHSHOD OVER WARNINGS THAT POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES WOULD ENSUE. GENERALS HAD EVIDENTLY THOUGHT THAT THEY COULD CARRY OFF SS20 PROGRAMME AS NOTHING MORE THAN QUOTE MODERNIZATION UNQUOTE WITHOUT ANYONE REALLY NOTICING. THEY HAD BEEN WRONG. KOMATINA THOUGHT THAT SOVIET OFFER TO REDUCE NUMBER OF SS20S TO 140 REFLECTED TACIT ADMISSION BY POLITICAL LEADERSHIP THAT BALANCE HAD INDEED BEEN UPSET BY SS20 DEPLOYMENT.

5. IN DISCUSSING VARIOUS FORMS OF NEGS ON DISARMAMENT, KOMATINA DOUETED THAT USSR WOULD ABANDON START OR MBFR TALKS EVEN IF THEY WALKED OUT OF INF NEGS. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS ONE RESPECT IN WHICH PATTERN OF SALT AGMTS WAS OUT DATE. THEY COULD BE VERIFIED BY NATL TECHNICAL MEANS. ADVANCES IN TECHNOLOGY/MOBILITY MADE THIS NO/NO LONGER POSSIBLE. VERIFICATION MEANS WOULD BE KEY ISSUE IN FUTURE TALKS.

6. NOT/NOT BEING EXPERT IN DISARMAMENT MATTERS I DO NOT/NOT

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PAGF FOUR ZLGR5134 CONF

KNOW HOW MUCH OF THIS IS NEW OR INTERESTING, BUT REPORT IT
FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH. KOMATINA, FORMER YUGOSLAV PERMREP
IN NY, IS THOUGHTFUL AND ARTICULATE ON MATTERS PERTAINING
TO DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT. HE IS ALSO CLEARLY INTERESTED
IN AND SYMPATHETIC TO PMS INITIATIVE.

FRASER

CCC/148 221500Z ZLGR5134

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

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---POST 1945 CONFLICT STATISTICS:IISS

INFO RESEARCH OFFICER IISS TELLS US THEY DO NOT/NOT NORMALLY
HAVE BREAKDOWN OF CONFLICT STATISTICS PRIOR TO IISS FORMATION
IN 1958.SURVEY AT OUR REQUEST HAS YIELDED FIGURES SOMEWHAT
HIGHER THAN THOSE IN REFTEL.IISS COUNTS TOTAL OF 300 CONFLICTS -
SINCE 1945,INCLUDING 70 BORDER CONFLICTS;9 QUOTE BORDER CONFLICTS -
TO MAJOR WARS UNQUOTE;TEN MAJOR WARS INVOLVING OUTSIDE POWERS, -
AND 211 CIVIL WARS/INSURRECTIONS.CONFLICTS IN PROGRESS NUMBER
14 IF NORTHERN IRELAND AND SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA DISTURBANCES ARE
INCLUDED(OTHERS:CAMBODIA,AFGHANISTAN;GULF;MIDDLE EAST;NORTHERN
ETHIOPIA/ERITREA;MOZAMBIQUE;ANGOLA;NICARAGUA;HONDURAS;EL
SALVADOR;E.TIMOR;POLISARIO/N.W.AFRICA).GRENADA IS NOT/NOT COUNTED.
CCC/253 221233Z XNGR4162

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ZDK

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---CHATHAM HOUSE DIRECTOR DAVID WATT WRITES ON INF AND DUAL CONTROL

Rel

FOLLOWING IS ARTICLE WHICH DAVID WATT HAS WRITTEN ON INF

Sub suj

DEPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN, AND TOPICAL QUESTION OF CONTROL OVER

MISSILES.

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NN18

David Watt

The missile strategy that could misfire

The arrival of the cruise missiles at Greenham Common marks the inexorable climax of one of the most ridiculous tragicomedies in the history of the Western alliance - which is saying a good deal. Everything is topsy-turvy. Virtually nobody - left, right or centre - who has studied the matter is truly and honestly convinced that these weapons have a satisfactory military justification. On the contrary, if they have any effect it is probably to weaken the link between Europe and the American strategic deterrent. They frighten the Russians, of course, but at what a political cost!

The process of deploying them has destabilized West Germany, created havoc in the Low Countries, set the British in an upror and given the Soviet Union its best propaganda against the US for many years. Our politicians are having to grit their teeth and make speeches neither they or anyone else really believes, saying how splendid it all is and how much Nato security is enhanced by it. But it is perfectly obvious that if one takes into account the political divisions within the Alliance and the morale of public opinion, our security is weaker now than when the argument started.

This is the kind of mess competent politicians are supposed to keep us out of. So how did we get into it? The answer is that we were caught in a trap of our own contrivance. It is worth looking back to the debates of 1978 and 1979 (when the decision was cooking) for the rationale. The most important factors were:

- Chancellor Schmidt's neurotic view of United States leadership after Watergate - particularly President Carter's. Here were these new Soviet weapons, the SS20 and the Backfire Bomber, pointing at West Germany and there, with nothing to point back with except some old aircraft and the wavering finger of a discredited US chief executive.

- The desire of the US defence establishment - fixed with Soviet strategic nuclear parity for the first time - to improve the credibility of American deterrence at the lower levels - i.e. at intermediate and battlefield range.

Reviewing the sequence of events, one can see that, as with most of the other great botches in history, everyone acted with the best of intentions. The execution of the operation was a disaster but there was nothing wrong with the objectives. It was obviously desirable to combine in one policy (a) maintaining a credible deterrent, (b) binding the defence of the US and Europe closer, and (c) achieving a better disarmament deal.

Credibility of the cruise as a deterrent and its credibility as a bargaining counter both depend on demonstrating its effective deployment. This means showing that it could really be used and this in turn means specifically taking the launchers out of their bases to their random firing positions in the English countryside on regular outings. If they are stuck permanently at Greenham Common or other US airfields and obviously cannot be moved, they are sitting ducks unusable for operational purposes.

On the other hand, if it is argued that they need be moved out only in time of acute crisis, that is an extremely dangerous doctrine, because it blurs the vital distinction between deployment and use. Every movement of the missiles would then be regarded by the Russians as the prelude to firing them and might therefore trigger off the nuclear war. For this reason the missiles' peregrinations about Britain must be seen both by the British and the Russians as being as natural as the regular flights of F111s with nuclear bombs aboard or the regular sailing of Polaris submarines from Holy Loch to their stations in the Atlantic.

And yet, in the present political climate, this is precisely what we cannot achieve. The kind of operation I have just described would invite constant obstruction and sabotage from the peace movement with every possibility of martyrdom and propaganda. Not only that it is doubtful whether the public at large could withstand the storm of anti-Americanism that would be unleashed. Naturally the truth would be that the mis-

ORIGINAL AS IS

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● The desire of the US defence establishment, since the Soviet strategic nuclear parity for the first time, to improve the credibility of American deterrence at the lower levels - i.e. at intermediate and battlefield range.

● The related fear of the Americans that they were going to have no cards to play in the negotiation of the arms control negotiations.

All these factors pushed towards the modernization of those nuclear forces in Europe capable of reaching Soviet territory. The Nato High Level Group (of officials) which was set up to produce a policy, contained doubters. "But," they asked, "won't you actually make it look even less likely that the US President will press the button to fire intercontinental missiles from the US if he can confine a nuclear exchange to Europe?" "No," replied the modernizers, "not if you put your nuclear weapons on European land (as opposed to on submarines). If American weapons are involved early on in an attack on Europe and might even be overrun, the US is bound to escalate and the link with America and the defence of Europe is actually strengthened."

The famous "two-track" decision of December 1979 was the result - after which everything was totally immovable. Every change in the public position would undermine the West's bargaining hand with the Soviet Union; and since the main pressure for this was bound to come from the left, no NATO government dared be seen giving in to it for fear of raising US accusations of weakness and even neutralism.

movement with every possibility of martyrdom and propaganda. Not only that, it is doubtful whether the public at large could withstand the storm of anti-Americanism that would be unleashed. Naturally the truth would be that the missiles were there because we asked for them, and would be almost impossible to fire without our consent. But that is not how it would appear.

It is when one looks at these practical political considerations that the attractions of some kind of joint Anglo-American physical control of the weapons, a dual-key system, become almost overwhelming. Of course it should not (as Michael Heseltine piously proclaims) be necessary to question the existing US undertaking to consult us before firing the missiles, but now that the question has been brought to a political argument, it is probably the only thing that will actually produce the desired consensus.

The British Government rejects this solution because, if it did, the Americans would give us control only if we purchase the missiles, a gross move over. The US has always wanted to eliminate its role in Europe, something they dare not give up. West Germany, yet now that we have the wretched weapons, they are obviously useless and threaten in any case to go on poisoning our relationship with the USSR. Both governments ought surely to regard the dual-key as the least of the available evils and the best way of achieving the objects for which so much political capital has been spent.

Philip Howard

action

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---PMS MTG WITH GEORGI ARBATOV

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---INF:SOVIET AND USA MOVES

21NOV83 TASS WIRE SERVICE AND 22NOV83 PRAVDA PUBLISH SOVIET MFA
OFFICIAL VERSION OF REPORTED INFORMAL NITZE/KVITSINSKI DISCUSSIONS
ON POSSIBLE COMPROMISE INF PROPOSALS. THIS PUBLISHED VERSION
FULLY CONFIRMS USA PREDICTIONS ON HOW SOVIET SIDE WOULD PUBLICLY
HANDLE THESE QUOTE EVENTS UNQUOTE.

2. ARTICLE STATES THAT QUOTE SOME TIME AGO UNQUOTE NITZE INFORMALLY
PUT TO SOVIET DEL QUOTE IDEAS UNQUOTE WHICH NITZE CONSIDERED MIGHT
PROVIDE BASIS FOR COMPROMISE INF AGREEMENT. TSSE WOULD HAVE
INVOLVED USA RENOUNCING DEPLOYMENT OF ALL MISSILES IT HAD PLANNED
TO STATION IN EUROPE (QUOTE 572/572 UNITS UNQUOTE) WHILE USSR
QUOTE WOULD LEAVE IN EUROPEAN PART OF THE COUNTRY SUCH A NUMBER OF
SS-20 MISSILES WHICH WOULD BE AN ACTUAL EQUIVALENT OF THE MEDIUM
RANGE MISSILES GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE NOW HAVE UNQUOTE. ARTICLE
SAYS THAT QUOTE ON THE FACE OF IT THE OPTION SET FORTH BY PAUL
NITZE COULD SEEM AN ACCEPTABLE FOUNDATION FOR A COMPROMISE
SOLUTION UNQUOTE.

3. ARTICLE SAYS THAT, TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THIS WAS MERE TACTICAL

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PAGE TWO XYGR4155 CONFD

USA MOVE TO CREATE SEMBLANCE OF PROGRESS,NITZE WAS TOLD SOVIET SIDE WAS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THIS VARIANT BUT ONLY IF IT WERE OFFICIALLY PROPOSED BY USA SIDE.

QUOTE AND THE DESHONEST GAME OF THE AMERICAN SIDE BECAME INSTANTLY CLEAR.TELLING THE SOVIET SIDE NOTHING IN RESPONSE TO ITS EXPRESSED WISH TO HAVE AN OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THE STATEMENTS OF THE CHIEF USA NEGOTIATOR,THE AMERICAN SIDE BEGAN TO SPREAD,INCLUDING AMONG THE USA ALLIES IN NATO,ALLEGATIONS THAT IT IS THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET, NOT/NOT THE USA DEL,THAT HAS PROPOSED SOME NEW VARIANT.IN THE PROCESS. IN ASCRIBING TO THE SOVIET DEL THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE VARIANT WHICH IN REALITY EMANATED FROM THE AMERICAN DEL,WSHDC,IN ADDITION.DOCTORED IT IN A MANNER SO AS TO CREATE A FALSE IMPRESSION OF THE USSRS READINESS NOT/NOT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH MEDIUM-RANGE MEANS.UNQUOTE.

4.ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT THIS USA BEHAVIOUR,ABOUT WHICH SOVIETS HAVE INFORMED GOVTS QUOTE MISLED BY THE AMERICAN SIDE UNQUOTE IS ADDED EVIDENCE THAT USA IS NO/NOT SERIOUS ABOUT REACHING ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT.

CCC/144 221100Z XYGR4155

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

FM MOSCO XYGR4155 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR DELIVER BY 220900

DFLHI/PMDEL DELIVER BY 221800

INFO NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/CPP/DNACPOL/CORAE/DSTRATA BNATO WSHDC

BONN LDN PARIS CANMILREPNATO PMOTT/FOWLER/ARCHDEACON TOKYO/PEARSON

DISTR MINA DMF IFB UGE RGE IDD IDDZ IDA IDR RBR

---INF:SOVIET AND USA MOVES

21NOV83 TASS WIRE SERVICE AND 22NOV83 PRAVDA PUBLISH SOVIET MFA
OFFICIAL VERSION OF REPORTED INFORMAL NITZE/KVITSINSKI DISCUSSIONS
ON POSSIBLE COMPROMISE INF PROPOSALS. THIS PUBLISHED VERSION
FULLY CONFIRMS USA PREDICTIONS ON HOW SOVIET SIDE WOULD PUBLICLY
HANDLE THESE QUOTE EVENTS UNQUOTE.

2. ARTICLE STATES THAT QUOTE SOME TIME AGO UNQUOTE NITZE INFORMALLY
PUT TO SOVIET DEL QUOTE IDEAS UNQUOTE WHICH NITZE CONSIDERED MIGHT
PROVIDE BASIS FOR COMPROMISE INF AGREEMENT. TSSE WOULD HAVE
INVOLVED USA RENOUNCING DEPLOYMENT OF ALL MISSILES IT HAD PLANNED
TO STATION IN EUROPE (QUOTE 572/572 UNITS UNQUOTE) WHILE USSR
QUOTE WOULD LEAVE IN EUROPEAN PART OF THE COUNTRY SUCH A NUMBER OF
SS-20 MISSILES GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE NOW HAVE UNQUOTE. ARTICLE
SAYS THAT QUOTE ON THE FACE OF IT THE OPTION SET FORTH BY PAUL
NITZE COULD SEEM AN ACCEPTABLE FOUNDATION FOR A COMPROMISE
SOLUTION UNQUOTE.

3. ARTICLE SAYS THAT, TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THIS WAS MERE TACTICAL

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PAGE TWO XYGR4155 CONFD

USA MOVE TO CREATE SEMBLANCE OF PROGRESS,NITZE WAS TOLD SOVIET SIDE WAS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THIS VARIANT BUT ONLY IF IT WERE OFFICIALLY PROPOSED BY USA SIDE.

QUOTE AND THE DESHONEST GAME OF THE AMERICAN SIDE BECAME INSTANTLY CLEAR.TELLING THE SOVIET SIDE NOTHING IN RESPONSE TO ITS EXPRESSED WISH TO HAVE AN OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THE STATEMENTS OF THE CHIEF USA NEGOTIATOR,THE AMERICAN SIDE BEGAN TO SPREAD,INCLUDING AMONG THE USA ALLIES IN NATO,ALLEGATIONS THAT IT IS THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET, NOT/NOT THE USA DEL,THAT HAS PROPOSED SOME NEW VARIANT.IN THE PROCESS, IN ASCRIBING TO THE SOVIET DEL THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE VARIANT WHICH IN REALITY EMANATED FROM THE AMERICAN DEL,WSHDC,IN ADDITION,DOCTORED IT IN A MANNER SO AS TO CREATE A FALSE IMPRESSION OF THE USSRS READINESS NOT/NOT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH MEDIUM-RANGE MEANS.UNQUOTE.

4.ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT THIS USA BEHAVIOUR,ABOUT WHICH SOVIETS HAVE INFORMED GOVTS QUOTE MISLED BY THE AMERICAN SIDE UNQUOTE IS ADDED EVIDENCE THAT USA IS NO/NOT SERIOUS ABOUT REACHING ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT.

CCC/144 221100Z XYGR4155

UNCLASSIFIED

FM EXTOTT MGTC2481 22NOV83

TO DACCA/PMDEL IMMED

INFO DELHI/CHOGM/SHENSTONE

DISTR DMF IDA MRCP LURR IDDZ

REF OURTEL IDDA0200 21NOV

---PM INITIATIVE:ARMS CONTROL AND DEFENCE INFO(2)

AT ORIGINATORS REQUEST AMEND ORIG NBR AND SYMBOL TO READ

IDDZ/IDEZ0200.

UUU/088 221421Z MGTC2481

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

FM WSHDC UNGR2457 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDR

INFO ENATO CANMILREPNATO BRU MOSCO LDN BONN ROME VMBFR GENEV PARIS
HAGUE OSLO COPEN ATHNS PMDELDELHI MDRID/CSCE PRMNY/BEESELEY
PCOOTT/FOWLER/AXWORTHY NDHQOTT/ADMPOL/DACPOL/DNACPOL/PPP/DSTRATA/CIS
DISTR IDD IFB MINA MINE MINT USS DMF IDA RER RCR RSR RED RCT RSD
CPD ZSI ZSP URR URT URE LCD LSD IDDZ
REF YOURTEL IDR4430 21NOV

---INF:FURTHER SOVIET MESSAGE

SIMILAR DEMARCHE WAS MADE HERE. ONLY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEXT IN
REFTEL AND THAT PROVIDED TO USA ARE THE RESULT OF TRANSLATION.

(THESE ARE INTERESTING, SOMETIMES AMUSING, BUT HARDLY RELEVANT.)

USA IS BASICALLY PERPLEXED BY WHOLE EPISODE. OFFICIALS AGREE THAT IT
STARTED OUT AS A DISINFO CAMPAIGN BUT WHETHER AIMED AT GOVTS OR
PUBLIC IS NOT/NOT CLEAR. USSR WENT PUBLIC ONLY AFTER KOHL WENT PUBLIC
IN MANNER THAT SUGGESTED USSR WAS WILLING TO LEAVE UK AND FR SYSTEMS
OUT OF EQUATION. DENUNCIATION OF THIS LATTER IDEA BY USTINOV ALSO
ADDS TO PUZZLEMENT FOR IT SEEMS USTINOV WAS DIRECTING HIS COMMENTS
AS MUCH TO KVITSINSKY AS TO THE WEST.

2. WE ARE TOLD THAT WHEN KVITSINSKY AND NITZE MET 19NOV, KVITSINSKY
WAS EXTREMELY SUBDUED AND DID NOT/NOT RESPOND IN ANY WAY TO NITZES
COMPLAINTS ABOUT EVENTS OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK.

3. FOLLOWS IS TEXT OF PRESS GUIDANCE PREPARED AT STATE DEPT TODAY.

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PAGE TWO UNGR2457 CONF

QUOTE EUR PRESS GUIDANCE, NOVEMBER 22, 1983

TASS STATEMENT ON EQUAL REDUCTION OFFER

Q:--YESTERDAYS TASS CONTAINED A STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY CLAIMING THAT IT WAS AMBASSADOR NITZE, NOT AMBASSADOR KVITSINSKIY, WHO ORIGINATED THE INFORMAL PROPOSAL ON SS-20 REDUCTION AND THIRD COUNTRY FORCES LAST WEEK. CAN YOU COMMENT QUES

A:--THE TASS STATEMENT IS PLAINLY FALSE. THE CORRECT SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IS AS NOTED IN OUR STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 18. THERE WOULD BE NO REASON FOR THE UNITED STATES TO OFFER A PROPOSAL, FORMAL OR INFORMAL, WHICH WOULD BAR U.S. DEPLOYMENTS AND ALLOW THE SOVIET UNION TO MAINTAIN A LARGE MONOPOLY OF LRINF MISSILES.

CONTINGENCY Q AND A:

Q:--HAS THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT AS REPORTED IN TASS BEEN PRESENTED FORMALLY TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT QUES

A:--YES. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY PRESENTED A DEMARCHE CONVFYING THE TEXT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARING A REPLY AT THIS TIME.

--THE UNITED STATES REITERATES THAT THERE IS NO FOUNDATION WHATSOEVER TO SOVIET ASSERTION THAT AMBASSADOR NITZE ORIGINATED THE INFORMAL PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE SOVIET UNION MAINTAINING A LARGE LRINF FORCE WHILE PROVIDING FOR ZERO U.S. DEPLOYMENTS.

UNQUOTE.

CCC/231 222145Z UNGR2457

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

Division Phoned 1DDZ

Person

Local Time 221850

MVF
KS

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

FM WSHDC UNGR2453 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT 1DDZ URR DELIVER BY 221730

INFO MOSCO BNATO PRMNY CNGNY PEKIN PCOOTT/FOWLER PMOOTT/COLEMAN

ROME HAGUE BONN PARIS LDN BRU PMDELDHAKA NDHQOTT/MND/CDS/ADMPCL/CP

DELHI

REGAM CHCGO SFRAN LNGLS BOSTN DE WDC

DISTR MINA USS DMF IFB URGF URR RGP UGB RFR IDD IDR IDA

REF PMDELDHAKA TEL PMDL0057 22NOV

---THE DAY AFTER THE DAY AFTER

AFTER HAVING BEEN VIEWED BY MORE THAN HALF THE ADULT POPULATION.
THE GENERAL INITIAL ALBEIT SUPERFICIAL REACTION TO QUOTE THE DAY
AFTER UNQUOTE SEEMS TO BE ONE OF ANTICLIMAX.FIRST POLLS SHOW NO/NO
GREAT SHIFT OF OPINION.THE FILM IS LESS GRUESOME THAN MANY EXPECTED
ALTHOUGH NEVERTHELESS SOBERING IN IMPACT.IT HAS NOT/NOT CREATED A
MASSIVE OUTCRY IN SUPPORT OF THE NUCLEAR FREEZE NOR ON THE OTHER
HAND DID IT PROVIDE ANY JUSTIFICATION TO RIGHT WING POSTURING IN
ADVANCE OF THE EVENT THAT THIS WAS THE RESULT OF SOME KIND OF PLOT
TO WEAKEN AMERICA.PRES REAGAN HAS VIEWED FILM TWICE AND HAS(WISELY)
CHOSEN NOT/NOT TO CONDEMN IT.

2.FUT THE FILM HAS MORE SHARPLY FOCCUSSED AMERICAN CONCERNS ON THE
ARMS CONTROL ISSUE.IT WILL PROBABLY BE ANOTHER IMPORTANT STIMULUS
TO USA PUBLIC TO CONSIDER WHAT CAN AND SHLD BE DONE.THAT THERE HAS
NOT/NOT BEEN A QUOTE THE SKY IS FALLING UNQUOTE REACTION IS DUE

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PAGE TWO. UNGR2453 CONF

LARGELY TO THE SUBDUED, LARGELY UNPOLEMICAL, AND OCCASIONALLY VERY WISE PANEL DISCUSSIONS THAT FOLLOWED THE SCREENING BOTH ON TV AND, WITH OTHER PANELS, ON MANY RADIO STATIONS. HENRY KISSINGER AND ROBERT MCNAMARA TOOK THE LEAD TO STRESS THE POINT (WHICH PRES REAGAN HAS TAKEN UP) THAT THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT/NOT WHETHER OR NOT/NOT NUCLEAR WAR IS HORRIBLE BUT HOW DO WE GO ABOUT AVOIDING IT. THE IMPORTANT PURPOSE IS TO BUILD STABILITY.

3. THE PROBLEM IS HOW DO YOU BEST BUILD THAT STABILITY AND NO/NO ONE PRESCRIPTION IS FAVOURED OVER ANY OTHER.

4. THE ADMIN HAS TAKEN THE LINE THAT ITS APPROACH IS THE RIGHT ONE. IT IS WORKING FOR ARMS CONTROL AND INDEED REAL CUTS IN ARMS. IT HAS TAKEN THE LINE THAT THE SITU TODAY IS NOT/NOT GRAVE. OTHERS OF COURSE FLATLY DENY THE ADMIN IS DOING ANYTHING SIGNIFICANT. BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES THERE ARE VARIOUS SHADES OF OPINION BEING EXPRESSED. THE MAIN POINT IS THAT THE ARGUMENT SEEMS TO BE PROCEEDING SOBERLY AND INTELLIGENTLY.

5. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE PRES REAGAN AND ADMIN WILL COME UNDER ADDITIONAL PRESSURE AND THE DISCUSSION SPAWNED BY THE FILM CLD WORK AGAINST THE IMAGE REAGAN HAS BEEN TRYING TO BUILD OF A MAN COMMITTED TO ARMS CONTROL. HE IS HAUNTED BY GHOSTS OF THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE: HIS OPPOSITION TO ALL PAST ACD AGREEMENTS, THE CURRENT STALEMATE IN INF TALKS, AND THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF AN ACD

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PAGE THREE UNGR2453 CONF

AGREEMENT IN THE NEXT YR.COMMENTS BY SOME OF HIS ADVISORS THAT SITUATION IS NOT/NOT REALLY SERIOUS AND THE PRESIDENTS OWN QUOTE WERE TRYING AS HARD AS WE CAN UNQUOTE,SOUND LIKE WHISTLING IN THE DARK TO MANY,IN THE FACE OF CURRENT EVENTS,AND OF VIEW OF HIS OWN POLLSTFRS THAT REAGAN REMAINS VULNERABLE ON PEACE AND WAR ISSUE.

6.WHILE THE POLLSTERS SUGGEST THAT PRES REAGAN MAY NEED AN ACD AGREEMENT FOR THE 84 ELECTIONS,AND MANY OFSERVERS SAY ONE IS NEEDED FOR INNATL STABILITY,THIS MESSAGE HAS SIMPLY NOT/NOT SUNK IN TO A WHOLE STRATA OF OFFICIALS(AND RELATED PLAYERS)WHO REMAIN CONVINCED THAT ADMIN HAS HIT ON THE RIGHT FORMULA FOR DEALING WITH THE RUSSIANS.WHAT QUOTE THE DAY AFTER UNQUOTE CLD DO IS INDIRECTLY INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON THEM.

CCC/230 222151Z UNGR2453

ACTION
SUITE A DONNER

Division Phoned 1DD2

Person

Local Time 221850

MF
RZ

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

FM WSHDC UNGR2452 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT/IDDZ DELIVER BY 221730

INFO PMDELDHAKA/FOWLER MOSCO BNATO ROME LDN BONN PARIS HAGUE BRU
PEKIN PRMNY CNGNY TOKYO DELHI PCOOTT/OSFALDESTON NDHQOTT/DM/ADMPOL/
CPP

REGAM CHCGO SFRAN LNLG BOSTN DE WDC

DISTR MINA DMF IDR IDA RGB RBR RGB URR RCP ZSI UGB

---PEACE AND SECURITY:IMPACT IN USA OF PM TRUDEAUS PROPOSALS

SUMMARY:IN OTHER TELS,WE HAVE IDENTIFIED SOME OF DIFFICULTIES WHICH
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS MADE BY PM IN TWO POLICY SPEECHES POSED FOR
THOSE IN ADMIN IN CHARGE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.WE HAVE,WE THINK,
MADE CLEAR TO ADMIN THAT PMS EFFORTS AND PURPOSES ARE GREATER THAN
THE AGGREGATE OF THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AND ADMIN PROFESSES,VIA
DAM AND EAGLEBURGER,TO SUPPORT THOSE BROADER PURPOSES,AT LEAST ON
WAIT AND SEE BASIS.THERE IS GENUINE INTEREST IN SEEING WHAT PM
CAN DISENGAGE FROM CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN MOSCO.

2.PUT CONTACTS IN ADMIN CONSIDER PM EFFORTS ARE PUTTING THEM
UNDER UNWELCOME PRESSURE.HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL CONTACTS,AT MTG
BETWEEN DPM/SSEA AND SHULTZ IN BRU,AND THEN BETWEEN PM AND REAGAN
HIMSELF,WILL PROVIDE VITAL OCCASIONS TO EXPLAIN WHAT IT IS CDA IS
DOING AND REALLY ADVANCE PM PURPOSES.BUT BETWEEN NOW AND THEN WE
NEED TO REDUCE NEGATIVE STATIC FROM ADMIN AND INCREASE FAVOURABLE
REVIEWS FROM OUTSIDE ADMIN OF WHAT PM IS AIMING FOR.WE NEED TO

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2011 A 31132
NOV 22 1982

PAGE TWO UNGR2452 CONF D

FIND BALANCE IN PROMOTING AIMS AND EFFORTS OF PM WHILE MINIMIZING PRESSURE ON ADMIN THESE REPRESENT, IN ADVANCE OF ACTUAL MTG WITH REAGAN, SINCE SUCH PRESSURE WOULD PREPARE REAGAN TO BE ON DEFENSIVE AT SUCH MTG MAKING IT LESS PRODUCTIVE. ULTIMATELY, PM HAS TO AIM AT INFLUENCING REAGAN HIMSELF.

3. REPORT: WE NEED TO PRESENT PMS EFFORTS HERE WITH FOCUS ON OBJECTIVE OF MOVING EAST-WEST SITUATION TO MORE STABLE AND PRODUCTIVE LEVEL. IT IS HARD TO DO WITH IDEOLOGICAL ADMIN SOME OF WHOSE MEMBERS SEE USA-USSR RELATIONS IN ZERO-SUM TERMS. AT PRESENT TIME, USA IS PROBABLY OPPOSED TO MOST, IF NOT/NOT ALL, OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS PM HAS MADE BECAUSE OF COMPETITIVE STANCE TAKEN TO USSR. PUT ALTHOUGH OFFICIALS UNDER REAGAN ARE HARDLINERS ABOUT USSR THEY DO WANT MORE PRODUCTIVE AND MORE PREDICTABLE RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION. WHAT WE MUST DO IS A) SEPARATE OVERALL EFFORTS FROM SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, AND HAVE THOSE PROPOSALS PURSUED BY CDA IN SPECIFIC FORA WHICH SPECIALIZE IN SUBJECT MATTER. 5-POWER CONFERENCE IS BIGGER THAN ANY FORUM AND THAT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED AS PART OF GENERAL PROPOSITION, BUT POSSIBLY, WITH BROADER EMPHASES; AND B) AVOID SITUATING WHAT WE ARE DOING IN IMPLICIT OPPOSITION TO USA VIEWS, EVEN IF THIS IS DIFFICULT TO PULL OFF.

4. THERE IS DOCTRINAIRE DENIAL HERE THAT USSR-USA RELATIONS HAVE REACHED DANGEROUS POINT. OFFICIALS POINT TO MANY RECENT OCCASIONS

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WHEN COMMUNICATION HAS TAKEN PLACE TO FOREWARN USSR OF USA INTENTIONS.OFFICIALS ARE LED BY THESE COMMUNICATIONS TO BELIEVE THAT USA AND USSR DO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER.THEY BELIEVE THAT STRENGTH OF USA RESPONSE AND INTERVENTION OVER SOME INTERNATIONAL EVENTS SUCH AS KAL ISSUE AND GRENADA,HAVE ENHANCED THAT UNDERSTANDING AND HAVE LIMITED RISK OF MISCALCULATION.

5.ANALYSIS BY PM TRUDEAU CAN BE SEEN TO WORK IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.IN THIS SENSE,IT IS INIMICAL TO USA SELF-INTEREST AS EXPRESSED IN DOCTRINE PRESCRIBED ABOVE.HOWEVER,THERE IS ENOUGH RECOGNITION THAT THIS DOCTRINE DOES NOT/NOT CONFORM ENTIRELY TO REALITY TO GIVE CDA BENEFIT OF THE UNCERTAINTY AND TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT PM TRUDEAU CAN COME UP WITH,PROVIDED WE SOFT PEDAL EXTENT TO WHICH WE ARE CHALLENGING REAGAN ORTHODOXY.WE RECOGNIZE NEED TO PLACE SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN CDN EFFORTS AND ADMIN FOR CONSUMPTION ABROAD BUT THIS CAN BE OVER-STATED.PM TRUDEAU EFFORTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

6.OF COURSE,USA RECOGNIZES THEY ARE NOT/NOT ALONE IN THE WORLD WITH USSR ADVERSARY.IF PM TRUDEAU COMES UP WITH PLANS AND WORKABLE NEXT STEPS SUPPORTED BY OTHER IMPORTANT PLAYERS INCLUDING KEY EUROPEAN,THEN USA MAY BE PREPARED TO GO ALONG.PUT THE IMPORTANT POINT TO UNDERLINE IS THAT AT THIS MOMENT PM TRUDEAU'S ACTIVITIES ARE SEEN IN USA AS BEING ABSTRACT AND IMPLICITLY

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DIVISIVE UNTIL THEY ACTUALLY BEGIN TO HAVE AN EFFECT ON USSR WILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE WEST IN ONE SPECIFIC OR ANOTHER, WHICH OF COURSE WILL REQUIRE CORRESPONDING MOVEMENT FROM USA. IT IS ON THIS POLITICAL LEVEL THAT PM TRUDEAUS ACTIVITIES WILL BE SEEN HERE AS BEING INTERESTING. MOST EXPERTS AND COMMENTATORS BELIEVE DANGER POINTS ARE IN THIRD WORLD CONFLICTS THAT COULD IGNITE AND IN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. IT IS ON THESE SUBJECTS MANY WORRY MOST ABOUT LACK OF EFFECTIVE USA-USSR COMMUNICATION.

7. TO MOVE TO PRESCRIPTIONS, OUR SPECIFICALLY AMERICAN-ORIENTED PRIVATE AND PUBLIC STRATEGIES FOR EXPLANATION AND PROMOTION OF PM TRUDEAUS ACTIVITIES SHOULD BUILD TOWARD TRUDEAU-REAGAN MTG. ON LEVEL OF PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH ADMIN, WE SHOULD MAKE SUBJECT LEAD ITEM IN MTG 12 DEC IN BRU BETWEEN SHULTZ AND DPM/SSEA. SECOND, WE SHOULD AVOID PUTTING PRESSURE ON ADMIN BETWEEN NOW AND MTG WITH REAGAN IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE PRE-DISPOSE THAT MTG AGAINST THRUST OF WHAT PM TRUDEAU IS TRYING TO DO. EVENTS AND DISCUSSIONS ELSEWHERE WILL TAKE PLACE, AND THEY SHOULD BE EXPLAINED IN WAY WHICH CONSISTENTLY RESPECTS KEY USA CONCERNS ON INSULATING INF DEPLOYMENT AND START TALKS. WE SHOULD NOT/NOT TRY TO CHANGE USA WORLD VIEW IN THE MEANTIME AND SHOULD EXPLAIN ON TECHNICAL LEVEL SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THAT PM TRUDEAU HAS SUGGESTED BUT NOT/NOT PUSH THEM ACTIVELY ON POLITICAL LEVEL BILATERALLY FOR TIME BEING. FEAR IN MIND PARTICULARLY THAT 5-POWER PROPOSAL RUNS AGAINST GRAIN HERE,

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PAGE FIVE UNGR2452 CONF D

EVEN IF SPECIFIC AGENDA IS ACCEPTABLE.

8.ABOVE ALL,WE SHOULD DEVELOP POLITICALLY NEUTRAL THEMES WHICH ARE ACKNOWLEDGED HERE TO BE MOST IN NEED OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION. OF THESE,TWO STAND OUT:NON-PROLIFERATION AND CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS AND MANAGEMENT.IT IS OUR ANTICIPATION THAT NOTION OF 5-POWER CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BETTER CHANCE OF GAINING SUPPORT IF IT WERE DEVELOPED TO COVER AS WELL THESE TWO SUBJECTS RATHER THAN PLACING ALL OF ITS EMPHASIS ON STRATEGIC FORCE LEVELS.THERE IS COMMON INTEREST AMONG FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS(WHO ARE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL)IN LIMITING PROLIFERATION.THERE IS ALSO SPECIFICALLY COMMON INTEREST BETWEEN USSR AND USA IN CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS AND MANAGEMENT,AN INTEREST WHICH IS OF COURSE SHARED BY OTHER THREE NUCLEAR POWERS AND BY MANY OTHERS BESIDES.

9.RE PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY,WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE USA PUBLIC IS DEEPLY AROUSED RIGHT NOW BY OVERALL THREAT POSED BY NOTION OF NUCLEAR WAR BY MISCALCULATION.OUR MESSAGE WILL HAVE MORE IMPACT IF IT EMPHASIZES THE BROAD THEME WHICH ENCOMPASSES HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION AS WELL.IN DOING SO,WE CAN BUILD ENOUGH POSITIVE MOMENTUM BEHIND EFFORTS OF PM TO EARN BETTER HEARING LATER FOR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS,OBLIGATORY VERIFICABILITY,AND OTHERS.

10.PUBLICLY,WE NEED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OUR EFFORTS ARE NOT/NOT

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TO PROMOTE PM TRUDEAU SPECIFICALLY, WHILE WE SEEK TO EARN MEDIA ATTENTION FOR WHAT HE IS DOING. THERE IS AN IMPORTANT STORY HERE FOR AMERICAN MEDIA BUT IT IS NOT/NOT NEWS PER SE. IT IS PART OF A DEEPER BACKGROUND OF RISING PUBLIC CONCERN IN OUR COUNTRIES WHICH PM TRUDEAU IS CORRECTLY REPRESENTING IN HIS EFFORTS. HIS ROLE AT CHOGM, AND ON NON-PROLIFERATION SPECIFICALLY, CAN EARN PLAUDITS BECAUSE FEW OTHERS ARE IN POSITION TO FILL IT. WE ARE DISCREETLY BUT ACTIVELY LOBBYING NUMEROUS PEOPLE IN MEDIA, WSHDC THINK TANKS, AND IN POSITIONS TO ADVISE ADMIN. TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT PM IS DOING.

11. HOWEVER RIGHT PUBLIC AUDIENCES FOR DIRECT ADDRESSES ARE KEY REQUIREMENTS AT RIGHT TIME. FIRST, DPM/SSEA SHOULD GIVE PROMINENT HIGHLIGHT TO INITIATIVE IN HIS SPEECH TO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CHCGO NEXT WEEK. THEN, PM SHOULD ACCEPT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS PROPOSAL TO ADDRESS THEM IN NYORK. DATE IN DEC HAS BEEN SPOKEN OF. WE DO NOT/NOT THINK HE SHOULD DO THIS PRIOR TO SEEING REAGAN BUT MTG WITH REAGAN COULD PRECEDE BY DAY SPEECH IN NYORK. SPEECH ITSELF SHOULD FOCUS ON THOSE BROAD THEMES OF OVERALL WORLD CLIMATE, CONFIDENCE-BUILDING BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS, CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS AND MANAGEMENT AND PROLIFERATION.

CCC/230 222157Z UNGR2452

Mr. Gossage

**ACTION
SUITE A DONNER**

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BFALO ZXTD2389 NOV22/83

TO EXTOTT (IDDZ)

DISTR SCD SCI SCS UGP

REF CLVND TEL YGGR0987 NOV17/83

---PM'S MONTREAL SPEECH

WF AGREE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH REFTL PARA 2. COMMUNICATIONS
FACILITY OF OUR WP FOR OVERNIGHT AND WEEKEND TRANSMISSION GREATLY
UNDERUTILIZED AND WE ARE RELUCTANT TO DISTRIEUTE COPIED TELEXES
WHICH ARE MESSY AND UNPROFESSIONAL LOOKING.HOPE THIS WILL BE
CONSIDERED FOR FUTURE MAJOR POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT.

UUU/860 222055Z ZXTD2389

Action

MCWEE FOR ACTION

Done 22/11/83

[Signature]

R E S T R I C T E D

FM DHAKA PMDL2226 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT IDDZ DELIVER BY 221200

INFO CHOGMDELHI/FOWLER DELIVER 221200

DISTR IDA

---PMS REQUEST FOR BACKGROUND NPT INFO FOR CHOGM

PM WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING LIST OF 119 SIGNATURES OR NPT IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER; WITH CHOGM PARTICIPANTS LISTED SEPARATELY IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER (NB, ALSO, WHICH CHOGM PARTICIPANTS ARE NOT/NOT SIGNATORIES AND DO WE KNOW THEIR RATIONALE FOR WHY THEY HAVE NOT SIGNED).

CCC/012 221055Z PMDL2226

MF
RD

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

CDN EYES ONLY
RESERVE AUX CDNS

FM PMDELHAKA PMDL2223 22NOV83

TO EXTOTT PSR

INFO LDN LAGOS WLGTN CNBRA DSLAM LSAKA DELHI SPORE

DISTR IDDZ IFB RPD ETD CPD IMC IFB DMF IMD FPR

---PM VISIT TO EDESH:INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

DISCUSSIONS 21NOV INCLUDED SHORT TETE A TETE BETWEEN PM TRUDEAU AND CMLA ERSHAD ONLY FOLLOWED BY EXPANDED MTG FOR APPROX 85 MINS INVOLVING EDESH MINS AND OFFICIALS AND CDN OFFICIALS.INTERNATL SUBJS DISCUSSED INCLUDED N/S DIALOGUE,PM PEACE INITIATIVE AND EDESH PERSPECTIVE ON LINKAGE BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN,CAMBODIAN AND LEBANESE CRISES.

2.N/S DIALOGUE:AT REQUEST OF ERSHAD,PM GAVE BRIEF EXPLANATION OF CDN INTERPRETATION OF STATE OF PLAY IN N/S DIALOGUE.HE STATED THAT FOR CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME HE HAD FEARED THAT,IN PART BECAUSE OF INTRANSIGENT POSITION TAKEN BY SOME G77 MEMEERS,PROCESS WAS AT STANDSTILL.HOWEVER,PM WAS NOW SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISTIC AS BOTH INDUSTRIALIZED AND MAJORITY OF G77 SEEMED PREPARED TO SHOW GREATER FLEXIBILITY.CDA HOPED FOR PROGRESS AND EXPECTED THAT USEFUL DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO N/S DIALOGUE WLD OCCUR DURING CHOGM. SPEAKING FOR EDESHIS,FINMIN MUHITH POINTED OUT PARTICULAR PROBLEMS CAUSED BY DOWN TURN IN GLOBAL ECONOMIC SITU FOR COUNTRY LIKE EDESH.ADVERSE CHANGES IN TERMS OF TRADE HAD VASTLY OUTWEIGHED INCREASES IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.HOWEVER,EDESH CONSIDERED THAT

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ONLY SENSIBLE APPROACH TO N/S ISSUES WAS TO PUT FORWARD MESSAGE OF QUOTE DIALOGUE AND CONCESSIONS UNQUOTE WHICH HE BELIEVE G77 WAS NOW TRYING TO DO.FM DOHA ALSO TOOK UP N/S ISSUES AND EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER LACK OF RESPONSE BY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO CONCERNS OF MODERATES AMONGST G77.DOHA CLAIMED THAT DURING ITS CHAIRMANSHIP OF G77 BDESH HAD SUCCEEDED IN OVERCOMING TENDENCIES TOWARDS RADICALIZATION.DOHA COMMENTED THAT COUNTRIES BELONGING TO BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH ELEMENTS OF DIALOGUE TENDED TO BECOME QUOTE OVER-LOADED WITH COMMITMENT TO THEIR CONSTITUENCIES UNQUOTE.A HIGH DEGREE OF POLITICAL STATEMANSHIP LEADING TO GREATER FLEXIBILITY WAS NECESSARY.FINMIN MUHITH ALSO RAISED POINT RE IMPORTANCE OF RESPONDING TO IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF LDCs THROUGH INTERNATIONAL LENDING INSTITUTIONS SO THAT A GREATER NET FLOW OF SUPPORT MOVED FROM NORTH TO SOUTH.PM TRUDEAU COMMENTED THAT BDESH APPEARED TO TAKE AN EVOLUTIONARY RATHER THAN A REVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ISSUES.PM ALSO OBSERVED THAT CDA AND BDESH AGREED ON THE URGENT NEED FOR IDA REPLENISHMENT AND BDESH ALSO SEEMED TO THINK THAT WHOLESALE CHANGE OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS(EG IMF)WAS NOT/NOT CALLED FOR AT THIS TIME.MUHITH SAID HE SAW PROCESS OF EVOLUTION TAKING PLACE WITH SOME CHANGES BEGINNING TO OCCUR.

3.PEACE INITIATIVE:IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST FROM ERSHAD,PM TRUDEAU EXPLAINED ORIGINS OF HIS DECISION TO EMBARK UPON PEACE INITIATIVE. HE HAD BEEN PLEASED TO HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS SOME THOUGHTS

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WITH ERSHAD AND KAUNDA WHILE IN DHAKA AND HOPED TO QUOTE TEST SOME IDEAS UNQUOTE WITH COMMONWEALTH PARTNERS IN NEW DELHI. IT WLD BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH NUCLEAR POWERS CLD BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT THEIR DUTY UNDER NPT. IF THEY DID NOT/NOT DO SO, PM FEARED THAT 1985 CONF REVIEWING NPT WLD BE EVEN LESS PRODUCTIVE THAN 1980 CONF. HE COMMENTED THAT NPT WAS IN DANGER OF BECOMING IRRELEVANT. IT MIGHT NO/NO LONGER HAVE RESPECT OF EITHER NUCLEAR POWERS OR SOME NEAR NUCLEAR POWERS. PM HOPED THAT COMMONWEALTH CONF WLD PROVIDE A FORUM TO DISCUSS ISSUES INVOLVED IN PEACE INITIATIVE. ERSHAD, AS HE HAD DONE PREVIOUSLY, EXPRESSED IN GEN TERMS ADMIRATION AND SUPPORT FOR PEACE INITIATIVE.

4. AFGHANISTAN/CAMBODIA/LEBANON: ONLY OTHER INNATL ISSUES TO RECEIVE ATTN AT EXPANDED MTG WAS CONCEPT PUT FORWARD BY FM DOHA CONCERNING THE LINKAGE BETWEEN LACK OF PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE CAMBODIAN AND AFGHANISTAN SITUS ON ONE HAND AND ON THE OTHER HAND THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON. DOHA CLAIMED THAT SOVIET POSITION ON BOTH CAMBODIA AND AFGHANISTAN HAD APPRECIABLY HARDENED AS A RESULT OF SITU IN LEBANON. HIS BASIC MESSAGE SEEMED TO BE THAT BOTH EAST/WEST TENSIONS AND SINO/SOVIET TENSIONS MILITATED AGAINST SOLUTION OF ASIAN PROBLEMS SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN AND CAMBODIA.

5. NO/NO OTHER INNATL ISSUES RECD ANY MORE THAN PASSING ATTN AT MTG. AT SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONF ATTENTION FOCUSED ON PEACE INITIATIVE INCLUDING PARTICULARLY PM DISCUSSION IN TOKYO WITH

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AREATOV AND, TO LESSER EXTENT, CDN AID AND COMMERCIAL LINKS WITH
BDISH.

6. AT END OF MTG, PM INVITED ERSHAD TO VISIT CDA QUOTE AFTER ELECTIONS
ARF OVER UNQUOTE. ERSHAD ACCEPTED.

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