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SECRET

BURNING BUSH

FM F C O 291545Z AUG 81

TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1280 OF 29 AUGUST.

INFO PRIORITY PARIS BONN UKDEL NATO.

M I P T.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY HAIG.

BEGINS.

DEAR PETER,

YOU AND I HAVE DISCUSSED THE PRESSING NEED TO DO A MUCH BETTER JOB OF PROMOTING OUR POLICIES AND COUNTERING SOVIET PROPOGANDA. I ALSO HAVE DISCUSSED THIS WITH HANS-DIETRICH AND CLAUDE. I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU HERE SOME SUGGESTIONS ABOUT LAUNCHING A MAJOR EFFORT. IN MY VIEW, THE STRONG POLITICAL DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE SEVEN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT THE OTTAWA SUMMIT PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT BEGINNING FOR THE KIND OF BROAD-GAUGED EFFORT WHICH WE NEED TO UNDERTAKE.

TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE, WE NEED BOTH TO EDUCATE AND TO INSPIRE. WE MUST BE CANDID ABOUT THE SOVIET THREAT, AND GO ON THE POLITICAL OFFENSIVE WITH POSITIVE WESTERN PROPOSALS. TO TURN AROUND A SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE AND RESPONSIVE WESTERN POSTURE, WE NEED TO PURSUE THE SAME COMBINATION OF PRESSURE AND PROMISE WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE DEVELOPED TO SUCH A FINE ART.

WE ALREADY HAVE UNDERTAKEN THIS COMBINATION OF STEPS IN A NUMBER OF MAJOR AREAS : AFGHANISTAN, CSCE/CDE AND TNF. OUR EFFORTS TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON WESTERN INITIATIVES AND POLICIES IN EACH OF THESE AREAS, AND TO EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE ABOUT SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE AND THREATS, MUST BE CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED. IN ADDITION, TO HELP ON THE EDUCATIONAL SIDE, WE INTEND TO MAKE PUBLIC A NUMBER OF STUDIES ON THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT, SOVIET COVERT ACTIVITY, AND ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET PROXIES AND SURROGATES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

AS ESSENTIAL AS THESE EXISTING PROGRAMS ARE, THEY WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT BY THEMSELVES TO INFUSE OUR PUBLICS WITH A NEW SENSE OF PURPOSE AND CONFIDENCE. OUR PUBLICS OF COURSE DIFFER, AND WE WILL EACH NEED TO SHAPE OUR EFFORT SO AS TO MAKE IT MOST EFFECTIVE AT HOME. AND THIS MUST BE A CONTINUING PROCESS. BUT I HAVE TWO SUGGESTIONS FOR PARALLEL ACTIONS FOR THE NEAR-TERM.

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/I PROPOSE

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I PROPOSE WE CONSIDER RECOMMENDING THAT THE SEVEN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT WHO MET AT OTTAWA SEND PRIVATE LETTERS TO BREZHNEV, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BROAD THEMES ADDRESSED IN THE LETTERS WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC. LOOKING TOWARD THE UNGA, THE LETTERS WOULD STRESS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES DESIRE A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND A REDUCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS WHICH ARE SO PROMINENT TODAY. THEY WOULD REITERATE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO MEET LEGITIMATE SOVIET CONCERNS, BUT THAT PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS DEPENDS UPON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE U S S R TO EXERCISE GREATER RESTRAINT IN ITS INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR.

SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION MUST RESTRAIN AN ARMS BUILD-UP WHICH HAS ALREADY GONE FAR BEYOND REQUIREMENTS FOR LEGITIMATE SELF DEFENCE, AND DEMONSTRATE GENUINE SERIOUSNESS ABOUT ARMS CONTROL. EQUALLY IMPORTANT WOULD BE A SOVIET DECISION TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO ADDRESS GEOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN PEACE AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN AND KAMPUCHEA, AND TO TAKE STEPS TO CEASE EXTERNAL STIMULATION OF VIOLENCE AND INSTABILITY IN AFRICA, CENTRAL AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE. THE LETTERS WOULD STATE THAT THE WEST IS READY TO SEEK SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS BUT THAT THE U S S R MUST NOW DECIDE WHETHER IT IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN BUILDING A MORE RESTRAINED AND HUMANE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE SOVIETS HAVE USED SUCH HIGH-LEVEL LETTERS CONTINUALLY AND OFTEN TO GOOD EFFECT. TAKING THE INITIATIVE TO SEND LETTERS FROM WESTERN LEADERS WOULD PROVIDE BOTH THE SOVIETS AND OUR PUBLICS WITH A HIGH PROFILE DEMONSTRATION OF OUR APPROACH, INVITING AND CHALLENGING THE SOVIETS TO JOIN IN AN EFFORT TO SET EAST-WEST RELATIONS ON A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND DURABLE BASIS.

MY OTHER SUGGESTION IS THAT WE FIND WAYS TO FOCUS MUCH GREATER ATTENTION ON WESTERN VALUES. WE HAVE FOR TOO LONG PERMITTED THE SOVIET UNION TO PORTRAY ITSELF AS REVOLUTIONARY AND PROGRESSIVE, WHEN WE ARE THE MOST INNOVATIVE AND GENUINELY PROGRESSIVE SOCIETIES. WE MUST DEMONSTRATE HOW THE WESTERN VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE MEET MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS BETTER THAN TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. AND WE MUST TRANSLATE THESE VALUES INTO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WHICH COULD HELP CREATE A BETTER WORLD.

SECRET

THIS WILL BE THE OVERALL THEME OF A SPEECH I AM GIVING IN BERLIN NEXT MONTH. I AM CONSIDERING FLOATING A GENERAL IDEA TO HELP ELIMINATE THE HUMAN DIVISIONS ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. I MIGHT SUGGEST THAT AT AN APPROPRIATE STAGE A CONFERENCE BE HELD AS PART OF THE CSCE PROCESS TO EXAMINE THE LIMITATIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN EUROPE, AND TO PROPOSE MEANS OF DEALING WITH THEM. THIS WOULD COMPLEMENT OUR EXISTING PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT, BUT WOULD NOT BE LINKED TO IT OR TO THIS STAGE OF CSCE, AND TIMING WOULD BE PURPOSEFULLY QUOTE IN THE FUTURE UNQUOTE IN ORDER NOT TO COMPLICATE OUR MADRID STRATEGY. YOU MAY HAVE ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS ON WAYS TO EMPHASIZE FREEDOM.

I WOULD WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON THIS GENERAL APPROACH, AND PARTICULARLY YOUR REACTION OF THE SUGGESTIONS FOR LETTERS TO BREZHNEV. CLEARLY WE HAVE LIMITED TIME IF THIS IS TO BE DONE BEFORE OUR MEETINGS WITH GROMYKO AT THE UNGA. I ALSO HAVE WRITTEN TO HANS DIETRICH AND CLAUDE.

IF I CAN HEAR FROM EACH OF YOU BY SEPTEMBER 1ST, I THEN WOULD APPROACH THE OTHER THREE ON THE LETTER. WE ALSO NEED TO DISCUSS OUR GENERAL EFFORT WITH THE OTHER ALLIES. I SUGGEST A REINFORCED NAC IN MID-SEPTEMBER. I WOULD PLAN TO HAVE LARRY EAGLEBURGER JOIN TAP BENNETT TO LAUNCH THIS IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE OFFENSIVE.

WITH BEST WISHES

ALEXANDER M HAIG, JR

ENDS

CARRINGTON

LIMITED
HD/PLANNING STAFF
HD/EESD
HD/WED
HD/ECD(E)
PS
PS/LPS
PS/PUS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
MR GILLMORE
SIR J GRAHAM

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SECRET

USA ✓



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 September 1981

Dear Michael,

Hg
Sunt

Message from Mr Haig about East-West Relations

// I enclose copies of FCO telnos 1279
and 1280 to Washington about a message
from Secretary Haig to Lord Carrington
about East-West relations, together with
/ a copy of Lord Carrington's reply.

Yours ever,
E

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street



H.S. - Am
(2)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister.

I am not sure that Mr
Haig's ideas will cut much
ice. Western 'propaganda'
initiatives can never, in the
nature of things, be as well
co-ordinated as those of the
Soviet Union. It is our results -
economic, technological etc - which
impres. However it is good to
see the US Administration trying to
give a lead. We should certainly
back them.

Am

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BURNING BUSH

F1 F C O 291557Z AUG 81

TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1279 OF 29 AUGUST

INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

ms.

MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY HAIG : EAST/WEST RELATIONS.

M.I.F.T. CONTAINS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE DELIVERED BY U.S. EMBASSY YESTERDAY AFTERNOON FRIDAY 28 AUGUST, DATED THAT DAY, CALLING FOR A REPLY BY 1 SEPTEMBER. FERGUSSON ASKED U.S. MINISTER TO EXPLAIN THE DIFFICULTY OF MEETING THIS DEADLINE OVER THE AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY WEEKEND (STREATOR SUMMISED THAT THAT DATE HAD BEEN PUT IN THE DRAFT MESSAGE SOMETIME AGO AND HAD NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN NOTICED) AND HAS ALSO SUGGESTED (TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS FERGUSSON/PETRIE AND FERGUSSON/TAYLOR) THAT FRENCH AND FRG POLITICAL DIRECTORS MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER A MORE MEASURED TIMETABLE FOR RESPONDING. WE MAY BE ABLE TO GIVE U.S. A PRELIMINARY INDICATION OF OUR REACTIONS IN THE COURSE OF NEXT WEEK, BUT WE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT LETTER COULD BE DISCUSSED BY THE THREE DURING THE INFORMAL EC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AT BROCKET HALL NEXT WEEKEND.

2. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, OFFICIALS' INITIAL REACTION TO THE SUGGESTION OF COORDINATED HIGH-LEVEL MESSAGES BY THE SEVEN IS CAUTIOUSLY WELCOMING: THE CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, HAS POTENTIALLY SENSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COMMUNITY (ENLARGEMENT, TURKEY ETC.) AND FOR THE U.K. ITSELF (NATIONALITY, VISAS, IMMIGRATION POLICY ETC.) AS WELL AS FOR OUR NEGOTIATING STANCE AT MADRID. THE PROPOSAL WILL NEED TO BE LOOKED AT VERY CAREFULLY. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WASHINGTON COULD GIVE A FULLER INDICATION OF STATE DEPARTMENT THINKING ON BOTH PROPOSALS, AND IF PARIS AND BONN COULD REPORT ON ANY PRELIMINARY REACTIONS, ON SUBSTANCE AND ON THE TIMING OF REPLIES.

3. AS FOR THE SUGGESTION OF A REINFORCED NAC MEETING, IF THIS WERE TO PROMISE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FULLER U.S. CONSULTATION OF THE ALLIANCE IN ADVANCE OF THE HAIG/GROMYKO MEETINGS, WE SHOULD BE INCLINED TO WELCOME IT, ASSUMING THAT DATES CAN BE FOUND. BUT WILL BE HARD FOR US TO MATCH EAGLEBURGER'S ATTENDANCE, WITH POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN LONDON ON 8/9 SEPTEMBER, ANGLO-FRENCH SUMMIT ON 10/11 SEPTEMBER AND A POLITICAL COOPERATION MINISTERIAL DURING THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL ON 14/15 SEPTEMBER. THE FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS ARE MEETING IN WASHINGTON ON 18 NOVEMBER.

CARRINGTON

LIMITED
HD/PLANNING STAFF
HD/EESD
HD/WED
HD/ECD(E)

PS
PS/LPS
PS/PUS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON

MR GILLMORE
SIR J GRAHAM

SECRET

OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats
SECRET BURNING BUSH

Precedence/Deskby
IMMEDIATE

ZCZC	1	ZCZC
GRS	2	GRS
CLASS	3	SECRET
CAVEATS	4	BURNING BUSH - DEDIP
DESKBY	5	
FM FCO	6	FM FCO 011800Z SEPTEMBER 1981
PRE/ADD	7	IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
TEL NO	8	TELEGRAM NO
	9	REPEATED FOR INFORMATION PRIORITY TO BONN PARIS UKDEL NATO
	10	MY TELNO 1279: MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY HAIG: EAST WEST RELATIONS
	11	1. Please pass following reply from me to Secretary Haig.
	12	Open square brackets and insert A to B attached close square
	13	brackets.
	14	2. Paris and Bonn should inform Robin and Pfeffer to whom
	15	Bullard spoke today.
	16	
	17	CARRINGTON
	18	NNNN
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///	22	
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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword
File number	Dept SofS Office	Distribution
Drafted by (Block capitals) B J P Fall		Limited Hd Planning Staff Hd EESD Hd WED Hd ECD(E) PS PS/LPS PS/PUS Mr Bullard Mr Fergusson Mr Gillmore Sir J Graham
Telephone number 233 5791		
Authorised for despatch <i>J.P.F.</i>		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

MESSAGE

DSP-14 (Revised)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM: The Secretary of State

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO: Mr A Haig

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

A
~~SECRET~~
 Thank you for your message of 28 August. As you know, I have always thought that the West should accept the Soviet challenge to a struggle of ideas. Our ideas are incomparably better than theirs and we should be more active in promoting them.

CAVEAT.....

I see the attractions of your proposal for concerted Western messages to Brezhnev, of which the fact and the general contents would be made public. The question how best to organise such messages is more difficult. The seven countries which attend the annual economic summits have not hitherto made a concerted political move of this kind and it might raise questions in the Alliance if they were to do so. We might find in any case that messages from the seven could not go far beyond the Chairman's summaries of political issues published at the end of the Ottawa Summit in July, although individual Heads of Government might be willing to add other points on a national-basis. On the other hand I welcome your suggestion for a reinforced meeting of the North Atlantic Council, *would like to see this take place as soon as possible* and see possible advantage in holding this earlier than ~~15 September~~, which I understand is the date at present suggested. The Alliance would be a natural forum

Enclosures—flag(s).....

in which to consider the proposal for messages to the Soviet Union in connection with the UN General Assembly.

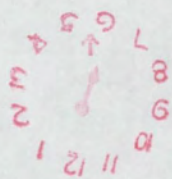
On your second point, I was glad to know of your visit to Berlin and of the speech which you expect to be making there. The theme of Western values and liberties is one which British Ministers from the Prime Minister downwards have taken up more than once, and it is a natural one for Berlin. Incidentally I expect to be there myself at the end of October. I hope by the way that you will be able to agree that the Four Powers should make a statement on 3 September to mark the tenth anniversary of the Quadripartite Agreement: Berlin has benefitted greatly by its insulation from the general tension in Europe, and a new statement could help to limit Soviet troublemaking there for the future.

Your suggestion of a Conference at some future date to examine the limitations on freedom of movement in Europe raises certain questions in my mind and may perhaps need further thought. For very real reasons, complete freedom of movement does not exist at present even among the members of the European Community. I am sure you are also right to warn against any move which might complicate our negotiating problems in Madrid.

I shall be seeing Hans-Dietrich and Claude at one of our informal meetings of the Ten next weekend and may have more to say after that. Meanwhile I wanted to let you know that the general spirit of your ideas has my full support. *EMSS*

Bill

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SEP 1 1981