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FM WASHINGTON 060050Z DEC 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3668 OF 5 DECEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE ATHENS (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

INFO PRIORITY UKDEL NATO BONN PARIS MOSCOW

YOUR MEETINGS WITH SHULTZ: EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL

1. YOU WILL WISH TO HAVE SOME INDICATIONS OF WHAT IS ON SHULTZ'S MIND BEFORE YOUR MEETINGS WITH HIM NEXT WEEK: THE MORE SO, PERHAPS, AS SHULTZ'S NATURAL TENDENCY TOWARDS DISCRETION LEADS HIM AT TIMES TO BE SOMEWHAT RESERVED EVEN IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS COLLEAGUES. THIS AND MIFT ARE ADDRESSED TO THE SUB-TEXT AS WELL AS THE TEXT OF WHAT SHULTZ WILL BE SAYING NEXT WEEK.

2. THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN THROUGH A DIFFICULT YEAR. THE AMERICANS ARE RELEIVED THAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS HELD FIRM: AND THAT INF DEPLOYMENT HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN MARKED BY VIOLENT DISTURBANCES IN THE FRG, OF THE KIND WHICH WERE FEARED HERE. THEY GIVE GREAT CREDIT TO KOHL FOR HIS STEADINESS, BUT ARE WORRIED AT THE POLARISATION OF GERMAN OPINION.

3. THEIR MAIN CONCERN NOW IS TO AVOID TALK OF A FREEZE OR PAUSE AFTER THE INITIAL DEPLOYMENTS, WITH THE IMPLICATION THAT NEW DECISIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR THEIR CONTINUANCE. THEIR APPROACH, LIKE OURS, IS TO EMPHASISE INSTEAD THAT THE DEPLOYMENT PROCESS CAN BE HALTED OR REVERSED AS SOON AS THE RUSSIANS ARE PREPARED TO COME TO ANY AGREEMENT BASED ON PARITY.

4. WE HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPRESS ON THE ADMINISTRATION THAT IN TERMS OF EUROPEAN AND, WE SUSPECT, US OPINION THE ALLIANCE CAN CERTAINLY NOT AFFORD NOW TO REST ON ITS OARS. IN THE INEVITABLY CHILLY PERIOD AHEAD SUSTAINED EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO DEMONSTRATE THE CONTINUANCE OF A HIGH LEVEL US/SOVIET DIALOGUE. IT IS NOW PRETTY WELL CERTAIN THAT SHULTZ WILL GO TO STOCKHOLM AND OFFER TO MEET GROMYKO THERE. HE HAS HAD A SERIES OF NOT VERY PROFITABLE MEETINGS WITH DOBRYNIN, AS HAS THE US AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW WITH GROMYKO. THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT ANDROPOV MAY REAPPEAR TOWARDS THE END OF THE MONTH, BUT FEEL THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRANSITION IN MOSCOW, CONTRIBUTING TO A WOODEN AND UNYIELDING SOVIET APPROACH. THEY ARE NOT GETTING MANY MESSAGES BACK DOWN THE WIRES. THE PROSPECTS OBVIOUSLY ARE NOT GOOD FOR PROGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL OR ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY NEXT YEAR, WITH THE RUSSIANS CONCERNED TO KEEP SOME COMMUNICATIONS OPEN, BUT PROBABLY DISPOSED TO TRY TO SIT THIS ADMINISTRATION OUT, WHILE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS TO WORK ON EUROPEAN OPINION.

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5. SHULTZ HAS BEEN DISCOURAGED BY HIS OWN EXPERIENCES WITH GROMYKO AND WILL NOT EXPECT PROGRESS AT A MEETING IN STOCKHOLM IF IT TAKES PLACE. HE HAS STRONG FEELINGS HIMSELF ABOUT SOVIET BEHAVIOUR EG OVER SHCHARANSKY AND THE KOREAN AIRLINER. THE PRESENT ROUND OF START NEGOTIATIONS WILL END ON 8 DECEMBER: THE RUSSIANS ARE STILL PLAYING HARD TO GET IN TERMS OF SETTING A DATE FOR THEM TO RESUME. BUT THE AMERICANS CONTINUE TO EXPECT A RESUMPTION NEXT YEAR. THEY CONSIDER THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE WRONG-FOOTED THEMSELVES BY WITHDRAWING FROM INF AND WILL NOT WANT TO DO THE SAME IN START. SOME THOUGHT IS BEING GIVEN HERE TO SOME POSSIBLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE US NEGOTIATING POSITION IN START. THE AMERICANS DO NOT FAVOUR A MERGER OF INF AND START.

6. THE AMERICANS NOTE THAT THE EAST EUROPEANS HAVE BEEN REACTING WITH SOME UNHAPPINESS TO THE BREAKING OFF OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IN A LESS REGIMENTED MANNER THAN THE AMERICANS HAD EXPECTED TO SOVIET TACTICS GENERALLY, INCLUDING THE FORWARD DEPLOYMENT OF NEW SOVIET SHORTER RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS HAVE SHOWN NO DESIRE TO HAVE THESE ON THEIR TERRITORY AND EVEN THE CZECHS AND EAST GERMANS ARE SHOWING SIGNS OF ANXIETY TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE WITH THE WEST.

7. THERE ARE TWO DEVELOPMENTS HERE THAT NEED CAREFUL WATCHING. THE PRESIDENT IS MOVING TOWARDS AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF INCREASED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF DEFENSIVE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY (MY TELNO 3622). WE HAVE IMPRESSED ON THE PENTAGON AND THE WHITE HOUSE, AS WELL AS ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT, OUR CONCERN THAT THIS SHOULD BE HANDLED IN A WAY DESIGNED TO MINIMISE AND NOT MAXIMISE THE DIFFICULTIES THIS COULD CAUSE IN EUROPEAN OPINION. WEINBERGER WILL BE HAVING A WORD WITH MR HESELTINE ABOUT THIS IN THE MARGINS OF THE DPC: SHULTZ MAY ALSO REFER TO THE MATTER. I DOUBT IF CONGRESS WILL ALLOW THE ADMINISTRATION TO GO IN FOR AN EXTREMELY AMBITIOUS PROGRAMME: AND MUCH OF THE RELEVANT TECHNOLOGY IS FOR THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY, NOT THIS ONE. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THAT ANY US ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CLEAR RE-AFFIRMATION OF THEIR INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY ABM AND OUTERSPACE TREATIES. THIS MESSAGE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN AT LEAST PARTIALLY RECEIVED. I HAVE JUST SOUGHT TO IMPRESS IT AGAIN ON KEN DAM.

8. THE ADMINISTRATION IS OBLIGED TO REPORT TO CONGRESS IN JANUARY ON SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, IN PARTICULAR ON THE EVIDENCE OF THE USE OF YELLOW RAIN IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, THE CONCERN HERE THAT THE NEW ABAKOLOVO RADAR APPEARS TO BE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ABM TREATY, THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO BE TESTING TWO NEW ICBMS, RATHER THAN THE ONE ALLOWED IN THE SALT II AGREEMENT, AND THAT THE EXTENT OF ENCRYPTION OF



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SOVIET MISSILE TESTS IS SERIOUSLY INHIBITING US ABILITY TO  
MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH SALT II. THE DIFFICULTY IS THAT IN  
ALL THESE CASES THE VIOLATIONS ARE PROBABLE OR POSSIBLE, RATHER  
THAN ABSOLUTELY CLEAR-CUT. THERE ARE THOSE HERE, OPPOSED TO  
ARMS CONTROL GENERALLY, WHO WOULD LIKE THEM TO BE DENOUNCED IN  
EXCESSIVELY CATEGORICAL TERMS. WE HAVE IMPRESSED ON ALL THOSE  
CONCERNED HERE THAT OUR OWN ASSESSMENTS, IN SOME CASES, DO NOT  
SUPPORT THIS, AND OUR NEED TO BE CONSULTED ABOUT THE TERMS IN  
WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION ADDRESSES THIS PROBLEM, GIVEN THAT  
WE SHALL BE ASKED IMMEDIATELY ANY STATEMENT IS MADE WHETHER WE  
AGREE WITH IT. THE HANDLING OF THE QUESTION OF SOVIET COMPLIANCE,  
THEREFORE, WILL BE WORTH RAISING WITH SHULTZ IF THE OPPORTUNITY  
OFFERS.

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