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FM WASHINGTON 072216Z JAN 85

TO PRIORITY FCG

TELEGRAM NUMBER 46 OF 7 JANUARY

INFO UKDEL NATO, BONN, MOSCOW, ROME, PARIS, MODUK

SAVING TO OTHER NATO POSTS, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDIS GENEVA.

MY TELNO 24:

mf

SHULTZ/GROMYKO MEETING

1. I WAS GLAD TO SEE FROM YOUR TELEGRAM NO 3 TO PARIS THAT THE PUS HAS TOLD THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON THAT WE EXPECTED NO DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGH FROM THE GENEVA MEETING AND THAT WE MUST AVOID RAISING EXCESSIVE PUBLIC HOPES. I AM SURE THIS IS RIGHT. ALL THE SIGNS IN THIS TOWN ARE THAT WE ARE IN FOR A LONG HAUL, WHICH MAY WELL TRY THE PATIENCE OF THOSE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THIS IS PERHAPS HARDLY SURPRISING. AGREEMENTS IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD DO NOT COME EASILY OR QUICKLY: NEITHER SALT I NOR SALT II DID AND THINGS ARE MUCH MORE COMPLEX NOW AND SO ARE BOUND TO BE EVEN SLOWER AND EVEN MORE DIFFICULT EVEN IF, IN THE END, THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL.

2. THE PRESIDENT HAS SO FAR TAKEN THE FEWEST DECISIONS CONSISTENT WITH GETTING THE SHOW ON THE ROAD: AND IS STILL A LONG WAY FROM ACCEPTING THAT THERE MAY HAVE TO BE A CHOICE BETWEEN UNCONSTRAINED FUTURE SDI DEPLOYMENTS AND AN AGREEMENT ON OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS: FOR THE PRESENT HE CLEARLY BELIEVES THAT THE RUSSIANS MAY BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT THE VIRTUES OF DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENTS AS A SUPPLEMENT TO DETERRENCES. NO DOUBT THE RUSSIANS FOR THEIR PART, AS IS THEIR WONT, WILL EXPOSE AS LITTLE SURFACE AS POSSIBLE. SO THE TWO SUPER-POWERS WILL, TO START WITH AT LEAST, BE CIRCLING EACH OTHER LIKE WRESTLERS BEFORE ACTUALLY GETTING TO GRIPS WITH EACH OTHER. IF WE ASSUME, AS I DO, THAT REAGAN WISHES TO GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS A PEACE-MAKER, HIS TIME HORIZON MUST BE THE FOUR YEARS THAT HIS PRESIDENCY HAS TO RUN. HE HAS NO INTEREST IN REACHING SO SWIFT AN AGREEMENT THAT HE IS LEFT WITH NOTHING TO DO FOR THE REST OF HIS TERM BUT LOOK AND BE A LAME DUCK. TO LEAVE HIS PRESIDENCY IN 1983 WITH AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE TO GO OUT ON A HIGH NOTE.

3. THIS SUGGESTS TO ME THAT REAGAN'S OWN INTERESTS AND THE NATURAL TEMPO OF A NEGOTIATION WITH THE RUSSIANS COULD BE MADE TO COINCIDE. IF THAT IS SO, WE NEED NOT BE DISAPPOINTED EITHER THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SO FAR TAKEN NO FAR-REACHING DECISIONS ON THE SUBSTANCE, NOR THAT SHULTZ HAS IN CONSEQUENCE THE NEGOTIATING BRIEF THAT HE HAS. THE PRESIDENT BY NATURE IS NOT ONE TO TAKE DECISIONS BEFORE HE HAS TO, AND THE NATURE OF LIFE IN THIS CITY, WITH ITS CONSTANT STATE OF IN-FIGHTING FOR POSITION AND INFLUENCE WITH THE WHITE HOUSE, WILL REINFORCE THIS TENDENCY. LOOK NOT ONLY AT SHULTZ'S BRIEF BUT AT

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HIS DELEGATION: HE HAS A VAST NUMBER OF GIFTED AND TEMPERAMENTAL SOUS-CHEFS IN HIS TRAVELLING KITCHEN. EQUALLY, MY VIEW IS THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL TAKE DECISIONS, AS AND WHEN THE CRITICAL PATH ANALYSIS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS REQUIRES HIM TO DO SO. THERE WILL BE THOSE IN CONGRESS PRESSING HIM TO ACCELERATE MATTERS, BUT THEY CANNOT FORCE THE PACE, AND THEIR CRITICISM WILL BE MUTED IF HE CAN SHOW PERCEPTIBLE PROGRESS. AND I BELIEVE HE WILL WANT TO DO SO, GRADUALLY.

4. I HOPE WE CAN GO ALONG WITH THIS GAME PLAN. THE PRESIDENT HAS TO PLAY THE HAND. WITH SHULTZ AS HIS AGENT WE HAVE AS GOOD A COMBINATION AS WE CAN EXPECT. WHILE WE CAN REASONABLY EXPECT TO BE KEPT IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS AND THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS AS THEY PROCEED, WE CANNOT EXPECT THAT THE HAND WILL BE NECESSARILY PLAYED OUR WAY. WE HAVE, IT SEEMS TO ME, NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ADJUST THE PACE OF OUR MINDS TO THE MARATHON BEFORE US. I AM GLAD TO SEE FROM THE PUS'S REMARKS THAT THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING POSTS, EXCEPT UKMIS NEW YORK

WRIGHT

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EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

SOVIET D	PS/MR LUCE
DEFENCE D	PS/PUS
RESEARCH D	MR DEREK THOMAS
PLANNING STAFF	SIR W HARDING
EED	MR FERGUSSON
NAD	MR GOODALL
WED	MR JENKINS
ACDD	MR WESTON
WED	MR DAVID THOMAS
PS	
PS/LADY YOUNG	
PS/MR RIFKIND	

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