

ADVANCE COPIES

2716

US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS

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CONFIDENTIAL
FM MOSCOW
TO IMMEDIATE F C O
TELNO 1490
OF 131330Z NOVEMBER 85
INFO IMMEDIATE : WASHINGTON.

GENEVA SUMMIT, 19/21 NOVEMBER : FINAL PREPARATIONS.

1. AT THE WEEKLY MEETING OF THE 4 (US/FRG/France/UK) ON 13 NOVEMBER MY US COLLEAGUE (WHOSE CONFIDENCE SHOULD PLEASE BE RESPECTED) GAVE THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE OF PLAY IN THE RUN-UP TO THE GENEVA SUMMIT.

MODALITIES

2. IT IS PLANNED THAT THERE SHOULD BE TWO FULL SESSIONS, EACH LASTING PROBABLY THREE HOURS, ON BOTH 19 AND 20 NOVEMBER. THE MORNING OF 21 NOVEMBER IS BEING LEFT CLEAR FOR A POSSIBLE PRESS CONFERENCE (IT HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHETHER THIS SHOULD BE JOINT ON THE PARIS PATTERN) AND A POSSIBLE FINAL TETE A TETE.

3. THE SOVIET DELEGATION WILL BE: GORBACHEV, SHEVARDNADZE, DOBRYNIN, KORNIENKO, YAKOVLEV, ZAMYATIN AND ALEXANDROV-AGENTOV. THE US DELEGATION IS LIKELY TO BE: PRESIDENT REAGAN, SHULTZ, MACFARLANE, HARTMAN, NITZE AND TWO OTHERS, ONE OF WHOM MAY BE DONALD REGAN. A STRONG TEAM OF SOVIET EXPERTS AND PROPAGANDISTS - INCLUDING VELIKHOV, ARBATOV AND CHERVOV - ARE ALREADY IN GENEVA TO SOFTEN UP THE WESTERN PRESS CORPS WITH BRIEFINGS AD LIB. ON THE US SIDE, RICHARD PERLE AND FRED IKLE (DOD) WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY BUT NOT AS MEMBERS OF THE FORMAL DELEGATION.

4. ALTHOUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT (MARK PALMER) IS STILL BEAVING AWAY WITH THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN SEARCH OF AGREED FORMULATIONS, THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY SHULTZ HAVE VIRTUALLY RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY CONCLUDING JOINT STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE. HARTMAN HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO CALL ON SHEVARDNADZE ON 14 OR 15 NOVEMBER TO PROPOSE

*Yakovlev
Zamyatin came
with Gorbachev.
Alexandrov was
at the Kremlin
meeting.*

TIT OF ANY CONCLUDING JOINT STATEMENT OR COMMUNIQUE.
INSTRUCTIONS TO CALL ON SHEVARDNADZE ON 14 OR 15 NOVEMBER TO PROPOSE
NEW LANGUAGE ON ASPECTS OF ARMS CONTROL (UNSPECIFIED) BUT THERE IS
APPARENTLY LITTLE CHANCE THAT IT WILL BE ACCRPTABLE TO THE RUSSIANS.
THE NEGOTIATIONS ON AIR SAFETY IN THE NORTH PACIFIC ARE PROCEEDING
TOO SLOWLY TO PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT IN TIME FOR THE SUMMIT. AN
AGREEMENT ON BEEFED-UP CULTURAL EXCHANGES IS, HOWEVER, ALMOST
CERTAIN TO BE READY FOR SIGNATURE AT GENEVA, SUBJECT TO THE
RESOLUTION OF A FEW REMAINING DIFFERENCES THIS WEEK. THE SOVIET
SIDE HAS PROPOSED AN AGREEMENT ON US/SOVIET COOPERATION IN NUCLEAR
FUSION RESEARCH, ON THE SAME LINES AS THAT PROPOSED TO THE FRENCH
DURING GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO PARIS. THE RUSSIANS FAVOUR AUSTRIA AS
THE SITE FOR A JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT, THE AMERICANS GENEVA.
ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET APPROACH TO NUCLEAR FUSION IS CONSIDERED BY
EXPERTS TO HAVE SCANT CHANCE OF LEADING ANYWHERE, THE AMERICANS
ARE NEVERTHELESS DISPOSED TO VIEW THE SOVIET INITIATIVE FAVOURABLY:
THEY ARE LIKELY TO APPROACH OTHER GOVERNMENTS WITH WHOM THEY HAVE
AGREEMENTS IN THIS FIELD, INCLUDING HMG, ABOUT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. ON HUMAN RIGHTS THERE ARE NO
INDICATIONS OF ANY SOVIET CONCESSIONS APART FROM ELENA BONNER'S
EXIT VISA FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT IN ITALY.

5. DOBRYNIN IS APPARENTLY FALLING OVER HIMSELF TO REASSURE THE
AMERICANS THAT GORBACHEV WILL NOT ADOPT THE SAME TONE WITH PRESIDENT
REAGAN AS HE DID WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ IN MOSCOW ON 5 NOVEMBER (MY
TELNO 1469)

COMMENT

6. AT THIS LATE STAGE, CLEARLY, NEITHER SIDE IS EXPECTING A
SUBSTANTIAL OUTCOME FROM THE SUMMIT. AGREEMENT ON A FURTHER
MEETING, MORE URGENT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATORS
AND ONE OR TWO BILATERAL AGREEMENTS SEEM TO BE THE MOST WHICH CAN
REALISTICALLY BE ANTICIPATED. THE RUSSIANS ARE CLEARLY BANKING ON,
AND WORKING HARD FOR, AT LEAST A PROPAGANDA SUCCESS WHICH WILL
SECURE FOR THEM THE HIGH GROUND DURING THE INTERVAL BETWEEN GENEVA
AND ANY FUTURE MEETING AT THIS LEVEL.

CARTLEDGE

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