

GRS 900

SECRET

SECRET

FM SAN FRANCISCO 050300Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 17 OF 4 MARCH

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH SECRETARY WEINBERGER 4 MARCH

1. WEINBERGER, WHO WAS IN SAN FRANCISCO FOR THE PRESIDENT'S DINNER FOR THE QUEEN, CALLED ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT HIS HOTEL. HE WAS UNACCOMPANIED. SIR O WRIGHT AND I WERE PRESENT. THE MEETING LASTED FOR 30 MINUTES.

INF

2. THIS WAS THE MAIN SUBJECT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SET OUT THE CASE FOR A WESTERN PROPOSAL BEFORE THE END OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING ROUND ON THE SAME LINES AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY WITH SHULTZ (SAN FRANCISCO TELNO 9). WEINBERGER RESPONDED BY PUTTING TWO ARGUMENTS AGAINST MOVING FROM THE PRESENT POSITION:

(I) NO-ONE WAS KEENER TO GET ARMS REDUCTIONS THAN PRESIDENT REAGAN. THAT WAS WHY HE HAD PUT FORWARD THE ZERO OPTION. THIS WAS A SERIOUS PROPOSAL. THE RUSSIANS FOR THEIR PART HAD YET TO MAKE ONE: THEY KNEW PERFECTLY WELL THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT AGREE TO INCLUDING BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS OR TO ALLOWING THE RUSSIANS A MONOPOLY. SO IT WAS NOW UP TO THE RUSSIANS TO MAKE A MOVE.

(II) IF WE WERE TO MOVE AWAY FROM ZERO, EVEN WHILE MAINTAINING IT AS THE LONGER TERM OBJECTIVE, HOW WOULD WE GET BACK TO IT? WHAT WOULD BE THE INCENTIVE FOR THE RUSSIANS TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE?

SECRET

13.

SECRET

3. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT OUR PRESENT POSITION IN GENEVA WAS ONE WHICH COULD BE EXPLAINED TO PUBLIC OPINION: WE WERE LOOKING VERY THOROUGHLY AT WHAT THE RUSSIANS HAD SAID AND EXAMINING ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THIS POSITION COULD NOT BE HELD BEYOND THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND. THERE WERE STRONG PRESSURES IN EUROPE TO WORK FOR A BALANCED STEP TOWARDS OUR OBJECTIVE IF IT REMAINED CLEAR FROM THE SOVIET POSITION THAT IT COULD NOT BE ATTAINED IN ONE GO. WEINBERGER ASKED WHAT SUCH A WESTERN PROPOSAL MIGHT CONSIST OF. THE SECRETARY OF STATE EMPHASISED THE NEED FOR US/SOVIET PARITY AND SAID THAT THE FIGURE OF 300 HAD BEEN MENTIONED ON A GLOBAL BASIS. WEINBERGER SAID THAT THE JAPANESE WERE INDEED VERY STRONG ON THE NEED FOR A GLOBAL DEAL. HE COMMENTED THAT THE RUSSIANS NOW HAD 351 SS 20'S (AND PROBABLY TWO MORE WHICH THE US HAD NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM). HE MADE NO DIRECT COMMENT ON THE FIGURE OF 300, BUT EMPHASISED THAT IT MUST INCLUDE A PERSHING ELEMENT IN WHATEVER ALLIANCE DISTRIBUTION WAS AGREED. SOVIET RADAR TECHNOLOGY HAD IMPROVED THEIR ABILITY TO COPE WITH GLCM'S AND IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE PREVENTION OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHINGS WAS THEIR MAJOR OBJECTIVE.

4. WEINBERGER IMPLIED TOWARDS THE END OF THE CONVERSATION THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT THE US TO STAY PUT ON THE ZERO OPTION OVER THE LONG HAUL, THOUGH HE ADDED THAT THIS COULD BE ARGUED TO BE THE BEST NEGOTIATING TACTICS:- HISTORY HAD SHOWN THAT THE RUSSIANS TENDED TO COME FORWARD UNEXPECTEDLY IN NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD HATE TO MAKE A MOVE A WEEK BEFORE THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE DONE SO IN ANY CASE. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHEN A MOVE MIGHT BEST BE MADE AND OF WHAT PROPOSAL SHOULD BE PUT FORWARD WAS REALLY ONE OF TACTICS. THE PRESIDENT HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HIS POSITION WAS NOT ALL OR NOTHING.

- 2 -  
SECRET

/ISOLATIONISM

# SECRET

## ISOLATIONISM

5. IN MORE GENERAL CONVERSATION, WEINBERGER SAID THAT ISOLATIONISM WAS NEVER FAR BELOW THE SURFACE IN THE UNITED STATES. THERE WAS A DANGER THAT ITS PROponents, THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES WHO SUPPORTED A NUCLEAR FREEZE AND THOSE IN EUROPE TENDING TOWARDS NEUTRALISM, WOULD PRODUCE A DANGEROUS COMBINATION. IT WAS CLEAR ALSO THAT IF THINGS WENT WRONG IN EL SALVADOR AND THE UNITED STATES WAS FACED WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER CUBA IN MEXICO, THE PRESSURES TO TURN AWAY FROM EUROPE AND CONCENTRATE ON THE THREAT NEARER HOME WOULD BE VERY STRONG.

## DEFENCE BUDGET

6. WEINBERG SPOKE BRIEFLY ABOUT HIS PROBLEMS WITH CONGRESS ABOUT THE BUDGET. HE SEEMED REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC. THE SPECIFIC ITEMS ON THE BUDGET WERE NOT UNDER MAJOR ATTACK AND THERE WAS GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE THREAT (AN UP-DATED ADMINISTRATION ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET CAPABILITIES, WHICH WOULD BE OUT VERY SHORTLY, WOULD HELP). BUT THERE WAS NEVERTHELESS A GENERAL FEELING, SHARED BY MEMBERS OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, THAT THE OVERALL TOTAL WAS TOO HIGH.

FCO PLEAS PASS TO WASHINGTON

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

BEAVEN

### LIMITED

DEFENCE D  
ACDD  
NEWS D  
EESD  
NAD  
WED  
PS

PS/MR HURD  
PS/PUS  
SIR J BULLARD  
MR WRIGHT  
MR GILLMORE  
MR GOODISON  
MR GIFFARD  
MR URE

### ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

START

- 3 -  
SECRET