

GR 690

SECRET

SECRET

FM UKDEL NATO 281220Z JUL 83

TO PRIORITY WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 6 OF 28 JULY

INFO PRIORITY FCO MODUK (FOR DS17 AND AUS (D STAFF))

ROUTINE BONN PARIS MOSCOW UKDIS GENEVA

INFO SAVING ROME THE HAGUE OSLO COPENHAGEN OTTAWA TOKYO

mt

FOLLOWING FROM WESTON

START: ROWNY'S VISIT TO LONDON

1. GENERAL ROWNY, THE US START NEGOTIATOR, CALLED ON MR LUCE IN LONDON ON 22 JULY AND SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GREATER DETAIL WITH OFFICIALS OVER LUNCH AND TALKS AT THE US EMBASSY. MUCH OF WHAT HE SAID HAD BEEN FORESHADOWED BY YOUR REPORTING (NOT TO ALL) OF THE CHANGES IN THE US START POSITION. BUT THERE WERE SOME INTERESTING NUANCES. THESE SHOULD NOT, PLEASE, BE QUOTED OR ATTRIBUTED TO ROWNY UNLESS THEY ALSO APPEAR IN HIS NAC BRIEFING ON 1 AUGUST.

2. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON 8 JUNE OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE US POSITION HAD BEEN FOLLOWED, DURING THIS CURRENT ROUND, BY THE AMERICANS PUTTING TO ONE SIDE A NUMBER OF THE COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH THEY HAD BEEN PROPOSING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS. THUS THE US PROPOSALS THAT:

A. ICBM WARHEADS SHOULD BE REDUCED TO HALF OF THE PROPOSED TOTAL OF 5000 FOR BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS,

B. HEAVY AND MEDIUM SOVIET ICBMS SHOULD BE REDUCED TO A MAXIMUM OF 210,

C. SOVIET THROW-WEIGHT SHOULD, OVER 2 PHASES OF START, BE REDUCED TO 1.9 MILLION KG,

HAVE ALL BEEN ABANDONED. THE RUSSIANS HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE AMERICANS WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE ANY REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF BRINGING SOVIET THROW-WEIGHT DOWN. THE US WOULD IN FACT WANT TO SEE A SOVIET THROW-WEIGHT OF LESS THAN 3.0 MILLION KG, ROWNY SAID. THE 5000 BALLISTIC MISSILE CEILING IS THUS THE ONLY SPECIFIC FIGURE FORMALLY REMAINING IN THIS PART OF THE US PROPOSAL AND THE EMPHASIS ON A 2 PHASE APPROACH HAS ALSO BEEN DROPPED.

3. THE RUSSIANS WERE CLAIMING PUBLICLY THAT THE AMERICANS REMAINED INFLEXIBLE BUT THIS WAS ONLY TO BE EXPECTED. THEY HAD IN FACT SHOWN LIMITED FLEXIBILITY OF THEIR OWN BY DROPPING THEIR PROPOSED LIMIT OF 4-6 BOATS ON OHIO/TYPHOON CLASS SUBMARINES AND THEIR PROPOSED BAN ON ALCMS (YOUR TELNO 1962).

4. ROWNY DID NOT EXPECT THAT THE AUTUMN ROUND OF START WOULD YIELD MUCH FURTHER PROGRESS - ALL EYES WOULD BE ON INF. HE DID NOT ATTACH MUCH CREDENCE TO THE SOVIET THREATS, BEING MADE INFORMALLY TO NITZE'S PEOPLE, TO SUSPEND START AS WELL AS THE INF NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE FIRST DEPLOYMENTS OF NATO'S INF MISSILES AT THE END OF 1983. (THIS VIEW WAS ALSO SHARED BY PERLE AT TODAY'S HLG).

SECRET

/ S. THE

SECRET

5. THE RUSSIANS WERE ALSO SUGGESTING, AGAIN INFORMALLY AND NOT AT THE START TALKS, A MERGER BETWEEN START AND THE INF NEGOTIATIONS. BOTH ROWNY AND NITZE WERE AGAINST A MERGER AT THIS STAGE. BUT ROWNY'S VIEW WAS THAT, SHOULD THE INF NEGOTIATIONS ABORT AFTER NATO DEPLOYMENTS, THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING US QUOTE FORWARD BASED SYSTEMS UNQUOTE (I.E. US INF MISSILES AND AIRCRAFT) INTO START SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE EXCLUDED. HE ALSO SAID, IN HIS OBLIQUE ALLUSION TO THIRD PARTY SYSTEMS, THAT IF SUCH SYSTEMS STOOD IN THE WAY OF A US/SOVIET START AGREEMENT QUOTE THEY MIGHT NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE EXCLUDED. UNQUOTE

6. WHEN PRESSED ON BACKFIRE ROWNY SAID, AS EXPECTED, THAT THIS ELEMENT COULD NOT BE SWITCHED FROM START TO THE INF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE SHORT RUN WITHOUT A HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL DECISION. BUT HE ADDED, IN CONFIDENCE, THAT HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO COUNTEANCE COUNTING ONLY THE SOVIET AIR FORCE BACKFIRE AND TO EXCLUDE THE SNAF BACKFIRE FROM START, AT A PRICE. (PLEASE PROTECT).

7. ROWNY SAID THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD DECIDED NOT TO CIRCULATE THE US DRAFT TREATY TABLED ON 8 JULY TO THE ALLIES FOR THE TIME BEING. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT NON-CIRCUMVENTION LANGUAGE HE SAID THAT THE US HAD INCLUDED NONE. HE WOULD LEAVE THE RUSSIANS TO BE DEMANDEURS. BUT THE US WOULD ENSURE THAT NO LANGUAGE MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN THAT IN SALT II WOULD BE ALLOWED IN.

8. ROWNY CONFIRMED THAT, IN SAYING THAT ALL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS WERE ON THE TABLE, THE US DID NOT EXCLUDE SLCMS IN PRINCIPLE. BUT THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT IT WAS FOR THE RUSSIANS TO PUT FORWARD A NEGOTIATING POSITION ON SLCMS TOGETHER WITH PROPOSALS ABOUT HOW ANY LIMITS COULD BE VERIFIED. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, ROWNY SAID THAT A PROPOSAL TO BAN ALL NUCLEAR SLCMS (WHICH WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE EXISTING SOVIET NUCLEAR SLCMS AT SHORTER RANGE) WOULD PROBABLY BE WORTH SERIOUS CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON.

9. RECORD OF ROWNY'S CALL ON MR LUCE WILL FOLLOW BY BAG.

FCO PASS SAVING ROME THE HAGUE OSLO COPENHAGEN OTTAWA TOKYO

ALSTON

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

LIMITED
DEFENCE D
ACDD

EESD
NAD
WED
PS

PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR LUCE
PS/FUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
MR CARTLEDGE
MR JAMES

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
START

2
SECRET