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DESKBY 170230Z

IPS TO PM . 10, DOWNING ST.

FM BONN 170130Z OCT83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO [sic]

TELEGRAM NUMBER 926 OF 17 OCTOBER

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN, WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, AND
MODUK (DS 17, AUS D STAFF)

INFO PRIORITY THE HAGUE, BRUSSELS, ROME, -ATHENS, UK DEL VIENNA AND
VIENNA

INFO SAVINGS CICC(G)

GENSCHER/GROMYKO TALKS, VIENNA, 16-17 OCTOBER

SUMMARY

1. GROMYKO SAID NOTHING NEW ON THE SUBSTANCE OF INF. HE KEPT
COMPLAINING ABOUT THE WESTERN INSISTANCE ON AMERICAN STATIONING
AND REFUSAL TO COUNT BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS. REGARDING THE
FUTURE OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION
WAS CONSIDERING WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE DOUBLE DECISION WAS
CARRIED OUT AND STATIONING BEGAN

2. GENSCHER AND GROMYKO REACHED AGREEMENT ON BILATERAL MEETINGS OF
OFFICIALS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. THE GERMANS HOPE THAT THIS IS AN
INDICATION THAT EAST-WEST CONTACTS CAN CONTINUE AFTER STATIONING
STARTS.

REPORT

3. RUTH (UNDER SECRETARY FOR ARMS CONTROL) AND VON BRAUNMUEHL (UNDER
SECRETARY FOR WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES) OF THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT
BRIEFED AMBASSADORS OF THE TEN THIS EVENING ABOUT THE GENSCHER/
GROMYKO TALKS.

4. THE TALKS LASTED ELEVEN HOURS, CONSIDERABLY LONGER THAN PLANNED.
THREE MAIN SUBJECTS WERE DISCUSSED: ARMS CONTROL ESPECIALLY INF, EAST-
WEST RELATIONS AND BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE LAST TWO ARE COVERED IN
MIFT.

5. ON INF, GENSCHER MADE THREE MAJOR POINTS. THE INF TALKS WERE
NOT THE WHOLE OF THE ARMS CONTROL AGENDA, ALTHOUGH AN IMPORTANT
PART OF IT. THE WESTERN NEGOTIATION POSITION WAS NOT A UNILATERAL
US POSITION BUT ONE DRAWN UP BY NATO AND FULLY SUPPORTED BY
THE FRG (GENSCHER'S AIM HERE WAS TO FORESTALL ANY EFFORTS TO
ISOLATE THE US AS THE CULPRITS OF THE GENEVA TALKS BREAK DOWN).
NATO WOULD CONTINUE TO UPHOLD BOTH PARTS OF THE DOUBLE DECISION. IF
THERE WAS NO NEGOTIATION RESULT THIS YEAR, STATIONING WOULD
TAKE PLACE ON TIME. BUT IT WOULD NOT BE IRREVERSIBLE AND
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE.

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6. GROMYKO SAID THAT THE SOVIET VIEW OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS PESSIMISTIC. THE WEST WAS TO BLAME: IT WAS NOT WILLING TO CONSIDER ARRANGEMENTS THAT DID NOT INVOLVE US STATIONING AND WAS REFUSING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS.

REAGAN'S RECENT PROPOSALS DID NOT ADDRESS THESE POINTS AND COULD NOT ADVANCE THE NEGOTIATIONS. GENSCHER RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT GROMYKO UNDER-ESTIMATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF REAGAN'S MOVES, AND EXPLAINED THEM IN DETAIL TO HIM. GROMYKO SAID THAT THE SOVIET

UNION WAS AT PRESENT CONTINUING THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSIDERING IN PARALLEL WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN IF THE DOUBLE DECISION WAS CARRIED OUT AND STATIONING BEGAN. HE GROMYKO MADE CLEAR THAT THIS MEANT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT DECIDED WHETHER TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. HIS REFERENCES TO WARSAW PACT COUNTER MEASURES FOLLOWING WESTERN STATIONING WERE VERY BRIEF AND TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE PACT WOULD DO WHAT WAS NECESSARY FOR THEIR SECURITY. GROMYKO MADE NO THREAT ABOUT CUTTING OFF OTHER ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

7. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION BETWEEN GENSCHER AND GROMYKO ABOUT WHAT CONSTITUTES A STRATEGIC WEAPON. GROMYKO SAID THAT, FOR THE SOVIET UNION, PERSHING 2 AND CRUISE WERE OF STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE THEY COULD REACH SOVIET TERRITORY, WHEREAS SOVIET INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES WHICH COULD NOT REACH US TERRITORY WERE NOT STRATEGIC BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT THREATEN THE OTHER SUPER-POWER. GENSCHER IN REPLY SAID THAT THE SS20 POSED A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE FRG, WHICH WAS WHY THE LATTER, A STATE WHICH HAD UNDERTAKEN NOT TO OWN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MUST SEEK US SUPPORT.

8. COMMENTING ON THE ABOVE, RUTH SAID THAT GROMYKO HAD SHOWN NO FLEXIBILITY AND HAD NOT INDICATED THAT ANY NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS WERE IN PREPARATION. BUT IT HAD BEEN USEFUL TO HEAR SOVIET VIEWS FROM GROMYKO HIMSELF AND TO MAKE SURE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AT THIS LEVEL KNEW AND HAD FULL AND CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WESTERN POSITION. GROMYKO WAS NOW VISITING EAST BERLIN, WHERE HE MIGHT SAY IN PUBLIC SOME OF THE THINGS HE HAD SAID TO GENSCHER.

BONN PASSING THEIR OWN SAVING
TAYLOR

LIMITED
DEFENCE DEPT
ACDD
EED
SOV DEPT
NAD
WED
NEWS D

PS
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PS/MR LUCE
PS/PUS
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