

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 480

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FM WASHINGTON

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 680

OF 192355Z MARCH 86

AND TO PRIORITY MOSCOW, STOCKHOLM, UKDEL NATO

STOCKHOLM TELNO 82

SHULTZ MEETING WITH RYZHKOV: 15 MARCH

1. PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY IN STATE, HAS TOLD US THAT SHULTZ WAS IMPRESSED WITH RYZHKOV AT THEIR MEETING IN STOCKHOLM. RYZHKOV HAD ON THE WHOLE AVOIDED POLEMICS, HAD ARGUED COGENTLY, AND HAD CONVEYED AN IMPRESSION OF ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE BUT IN A NON-AGGRESSIVE WAY. WHILE HE WAS CLEARLY NOT AN EXPERT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE HAD HANDLED HIS BRIEF WELL. HE WAS A MUCH MORE FORMIDABLE INTERLOCUTOR THAN SHEVERDNADZE.
2. RYZHKOV HAD OPENED WITH A BRIEF REMINDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUMMIT LAST AUTUMN AND AN EXPRESSION OF REGRET THAT LITTLE HAD HAPPENED SINCE. SHULTZ HAD REPLIED WITH A LONG PRESENTATION, WELCOMING PROGRESS IN CERTAIN AREAS, MENTIONING IN PARTICULAR AIR SERVICES, CULTURAL LINKS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. SHULTZ HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THE US CONTINUED TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS, WHILE REGRETTING THAT THE TALKS ON AFRICA (WITH VASEV) HAD BEEN INSUBSTANTIAL. BUT ALL THIS HAD BEEN OVERSHADOWED BY LACK OF PROGRESS AT GENEVA, UNWILLINGNESS OF THE RUSSIANS TO REACT CONSTRUCTIVELY TO AMERICAN INF PROPOSALS, AND LACK OF ANY RESPONSE TO THE NOVEMBER START PROPOSALS. SHULTZ REGRETTED THAT SHEVERDNADZE HAD NOT SO FAR AGREED A DATE FOR THEIR MEETING. THERE WAS MUCH TO DISCUSS.
3. RYZHKOV IN REPLY HAD UNDERLINED THE DISAPPOINTMENT IN MOSCOW AT THE US RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET 15 JANUARY PROPOSALS. THE LATTER HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF A CAREFUL AND PAINSTAKING REASSESSMENT IN MOSCOW FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT. THE US RESPONSE HAD NOT BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE, AND THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOW UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE NEXT STEP. RYZHKOV HAD THEN LAUNCHED INTO A PREDICTABLE REMINDER OF THE SOVIET MORATORIUM ON TESTING AND HAD ASKED WHETHER THE AMERICANS GENUINELY INTENDED TO CONTINUE NUCLEAR TESTS. ACCORDING TO PALMER, RYZHKOV LOOKED GENUINELY SURPRISED WHEN SHULTZ SIMPLY SAID

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YES

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YES. MALTSEV HAD INTERVENED WITH A PARTICULARLY DISOBLIGING AND INACCURATE TECHNICAL DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET PROPOSALS, QUOTING SWEDISH EXPERT COMMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET CASE.

4. SHULTZ THEN ASKED WHETHER HE SHOULD REPORT TO REAGAN THAT ANOTHER SUMMIT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION UNLESS THE AMERICANS SIGNED UP FOR A TESTING MORATORIUM. RYZHKOV WAS CAREFUL TO DEMUR, QUOTING GORBACHEV'S REFERENCE TO ANOTHER SUMMIT IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE PARTY CONGRESS, EMPHASISING THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT CLOSING DOORS, OF BEHAVING RESPONSIBLY, AND OF THE NEED TO 'KEEP ON WORKING'. HE GAVE NO INDICATION, HOWEVER, OF WHEN A FURTHER SUMMIT SHOULD TAKE PLACE.

5. THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ASSESSMENT IS THAT WHILE THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT OF THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO A FURTHER SUMMIT, THE RUSSIANS APPEARED GENUINELY UNCERTAIN ABOUT HOW TO APPROACH IT OR WHAT IT COULD BE EXPECTED TO ACHIEVE. IN STATE'S VIEW, GORBACHEV IS SHOWING PREDICTABLE SIGNS OF EDCINESS ABOUT A MEETING WHICH IS NOT PRECEDED BY CAREFUL, PAINSTAKING PREPARATION AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. THE NEXT STAGE, ACCORDING TO PALMER, WAS LIKELY TO BE TALKS WITH DOBRYNIN WHEN HE RETURNS TO WASHINGTON EARLY NEXT MONTH. THE AMERICANS HOPE THAT HE WILL, AT THE VERY LEAST, COME ARMED WITH A PROPOSAL FOR A SHULTZ/SHEVERDNADZE MEETING.

WRIGHT

EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

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