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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 October 1982

Prime Minister

John Stan.

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A.J.C. 14/10.

Message from Mr Shultz about US/Soviet
Relations

Mr Pym has suggested that the Prime Minister might like to glance at the enclosed copy of a message from Mr Shultz, in advance of the meeting to discuss relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at 1100 on 15 October.

Your own

[Handwritten signature]

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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S E C R E T

Dear Francis:

Now that I have had time to reflect on my meetings with Gromyko, I want to give you some of my personal impressions. This will supplement our recent conversations and the detailed briefings your Ambassadors have received in Washington and Brussels.

Both meetings were sober and substantive, with a minimum of Gromyko's usual polemics. Indeed, I was impressed that he did not push any of the propagandistic arms control proposals contained in his UNGA speech, and agreed that the INF and START talks are proceeding in a serious manner. Nor did he even mention Brezhnev's six point Middle East proposal, though he did speak at length about our alleged efforts to exclude Moscow from the area.

As you know, the President and I had decided before the meetings to place particular emphasis on human rights. Gromyko's response was predictably hard, emphasizing that the state had to have the final word in such cases. On Poland, Afghanistan and arms control issues, Gromyko's statements were almost entirely standard fare.

During the second meeting, I suggested that we concentrate on trying to make progress in a few specific and limited areas, some of which have been under discussion by our experts. On human rights, Gromyko agreed to my proposal that our negotiators get together prior to resumption of the Madrid meeting for further discussion of this subject, the Madrid CSCE meeting and other issues.

At my suggestion, Gromyko and I also agreed that US-Soviet bilateral discussions should continue on the Namibia/Angola issues. As you know, Assistant Secretary of State Crocker has had two meetings with the Soviets at Deputy Minister level on these issues, and we will be suggesting that another exchange take place in Moscow in November. I am considering having Crocker join Ambassador Hartman for these discussions, which would focus on a renewed effort to gain Soviet cooperation with the Contact Group's efforts.

On non-proliferation, Gromyko and I discussed intensification of already existing US-Soviet bilateral contacts. At the recent IAEA general assembly, Ambassador Richard Kennedy suggested to his Soviet counterpart that a round of expert-level consultations on non-proliferation take place in Washington next month. I reiterated this invitation to Gromyko, and we agreed to move forward with this proposal.

S E C R E T

None of these modest steps could be considered a breakthrough; indeed each of these avenues of dialogue is in the exploratory stage. Nevertheless, I believe this will allow us to discuss a few areas where progress might be possible.

Gromyko and I did not discuss the possibility of a summit. We did consider another meeting between us, but this was left until we see how our relations develop in the months ahead.

My overall assessment is that both Gromyko and I were operating on the assumption that the differences between us are large and deep, and that progress will be difficult. I think this is an accurate reflection of the overall state of our relationship because of Soviet behavior and our differences on so many essentials. At the same time, I believe Gromyko now understands that while we are prepared to continue our current course, it is the President's and my conviction that we should explore whether the relationship can be improved in practical ways.

I look forward to further opportunities to consult on this important subject.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

George P. Shultz

14 OCT 1982

