



cc Mr. Coles ✓

ADL 1/2.

## 10 DOWNING STREET

MR. FALL  
FCO

### EAST/WEST RELATIONS

I was at a UN seminar in Switzerland over last weekend. The Soviet participant was Arbatov, the well-known Russian front man for this kind of thing. By chance, he and I lunched together on the penultimate day of the seminar.

Arbatov's attitude was tough, uncompromising and more offensively worded than I had anticipated from a smooth, international operator like him. He described the French and the British as totally irresponsible, the French for their attitude towards their independent deterrent and ourselves for retaining our deterrent and being so subservient to the Americans.

The argument then became rather heated. I told Arbatov that the Soviet Union must have the intelligence to realise that British foreign policy was made in London and not in Washington; also that, so far as Britain was concerned, the "peace movement" had been a flop. The Soviet Union ought to be able to draw the correct conclusions from the result of the last General Election in terms of the British attitude towards an independent nuclear deterrent, INF and unilateralism. His government should now be in no doubt that, without a major breakthrough at Geneva, deployment of INF would definitely start before the end of this year. My hope was that, either in 1984 or 1985, the Soviet Union would enable genuine progress to be made on the three principal subjects of START, INF and MBFR.

Arbatov said that I could take it from him that there would be absolutely no question of the Soviet Union negotiating on INF after deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe. The moment for negotiations was now or never. I said that he could equally take it from <sup>me</sup> that what I had told him was true, namely that there would be deployment this year if there was no progress at Geneva.

/He then

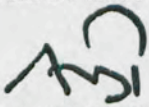


He then launched into discussion about the Americans. He said that the Reagan Administration was impossible to do business with and that there was no hope of an improvement in Soviet/American relations so long as Reagan was President. Reagan was surrounded by ideological fanatics who wished to dismantle the Soviet Union and the Socialist system or, at least, to effect radical changes in it.

I asked him if he had read Shultz's statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He said that he had and that it had been very badly received in Moscow. I said that this surprised me. I had read it carefully and it had seemed to me to be a very moderate and measured statement of the American position. It contained no abuse or extravagant rhetoric. It recognised that the Soviet Union had genuine security preoccupations and that the Soviet Union had global interests. I realised that the Soviet Union might not enjoy being lectured on their international behaviour, but they were not in the habit of failing to do so in reverse, vis a vis the Americans. I compared Shultz's statement to Gromyko's statement to the CPSU. Arbatov's comment was that the Reagan Administration was paranoid. I said that his response was clear evidence of paranoia on the Soviet side. The temperature of the conversation rose further.

Arbatov's parting shot was that the Soviet military had decided that they could not afford to continue to wait until the Americans developed new weapon systems before doing the same themselves. In future they would have to find short cuts in order to keep ahead. I did not have time to elucidate exactly what he meant by this.

From something else which Arbatov said - I forget exactly what - I came away with the impression that the next target for the Soviet propaganda machine will be the Democrat Presidential Election platform on the nuclear weapons question and that the Russians will start propagating the idea that a nuclear freeze is the answer to our problems. From what the Americans at the seminar were saying in private about the Presidential election campaign, such a propaganda line would fall on fertile ground with a large section of the population in United States.

  
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