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FROM MOSCOW 261145Z NOVEMBER

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1339 OF 26 NOVEMBER

IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON AND UKDEL NATO IMFO

INFO PRIORITY PARIS AND BONN

US/SOVIET RELATIONS.

SUMMARY.

1. SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON 22 NOVEMBER OF THE SHULTZ-GROMYKO MEETING (MY TELNO 1331) THERE HAS BEEN NO SUBSTANTIAL COMMENT IN THE SOVIET PRESS ON THE FORM OR AGENDA FOR FUTURE US-SOVIET TALKS BUT ZAGLADIN HAS GIVEN MR HEALEY SOME POINTERS TO THE SOVIET POSITION ON BOTH SEMICEN I HAVE ALSO SOME INDICATORS FROM THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN DEPARTMENT OF THE MFA. BOTH SOVIET OFFICIALS SEE THE OBJECTIVE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AS THE CREATION OF A FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON OUTER SPACE AND OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS BUT NOT OTHER ARMS- CONTROL ISSUES. ACCORDING TO ZAGLADIN A FREEZE ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS A SOVIET OBJECTIVE BUT NOT A PRE-CONDITION FOR TALKS.

DETAIL

2. SOVIET PRESS TREATMENT.

PRAVDA OF 23 NOVEMBER PUBLISHED A BALD STATEMENT OF THE GROMYKO-SHULTZ TALKS ON AN INSIDE PAGE WITHOUT PROMINENCE OF COMMENT PLUS A SHORT ITEM STATING THAT AN MFA PRESS CONFERENCE ABOUT THE TALKS HAD BEEN CIVEN BY LOMEIKO. THE ONLY COMMENT TO HAVE APPEARED SO FAR WAS IN PRAVDA'S WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL REVIEW COLUMN ON 25 NOVEMBER WHICH DEALT WITH PROSPECTS FOR THE MEETING AT LENGTH BUT CONTAINED MORE ATMOSPHERICS THAN SUBSTANCE. IT ADOPTED A HIGHLY CAUTIOUS NOTE ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE ''TALKS ABOUT TALKS'' BUT THE '' DEEDS NOT WORDS '' THEME WAS MUTED . BUT QUOTING EXTENSIVELY FROM U.S. PRESS COMMENT ABOUT A CONFLICT OF VIEWS IN WASHINGTON ABOUT FUTURE POLICY THE ARTICLE SEEMED TO ALLOW THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE ''REALISTIC'' APPROACH BY THE REAGAN ADMIN-ISTRATION. "' THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN OBSERVERS " WAS QUOTED FOR THE VIEW THAT THE "'STAR WARS" PROGRAMME WAS THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO SOVIET-US AGREEMENT ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS .

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ZAGLADIN'S ACCOUNT.

- 3. ON HIS RETURN WITH MR KINNOCK FROM THE WEEKEND IN LENINGRAD, MR HEALEY HAS GIVEN ME AN ACCOUNT OF A CONVERSATION HE HAD ON THE AFTERNOON OF 23 NOVEMBER WITH ZAGLADIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ZAGLADIN SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION SAW THE OBJECTIVE OF THE MEETING IN GENEVA AS THE CREATION OF A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS ON (A) OUTER SPACE AND (B) OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS. THE MEETING SHOULD AGREE NOT ONLY THE SUBJECTS FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS BUT ALSO REACH AN AGREED DEFINITION OF OBJECTIVES. AS REGARDS SUBJECTS, THE RUSSIANS WISHED TO EXCLUDE FROM CONSIDERATION ARMS CONTROL ISSUES OTHER THAN (A) AND (B) SEMICLN TO INCLUDE OTHERS , EG CHEMICAL WEAPONS, WOULD OVERBURDEN AND COMPLICATE THE FRAMEWORK. THE SOVIET OBJECTIVES WERE, IN GENERAL TERMS, THE DEMILITARISATION OF OUTER SPACE AND TO CALL A HALT TO THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. ZAGLADIN ATTACHED PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO AGREEMENT ON OBJECTIVES. THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH AGREE-MENT FOR THE INF/START NEGOTIATIONS , NOT EVEN BETWEEN THE U S AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. THE RUSSIANS WISHED TO DRAW A LINE UNDER THOSE NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR(B), IN EFFECT TO MERGE START AND INF.
- A FREEZE ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF INTERMEDIATE AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE RUSSIANS WOULD LIKE TO SEE AGREEMENT ON THIS SOON SEMICLN IF THE AMERICANS DID NOT AGREE IT WOULD BE A PITY SEMICLN BUT A FREEZE WAS NOT A PRECONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS. (MR HEALEY COMMENTED TO ME THAT THIS PARALLELED WHAT HE HAD WRITTEN IN HIS RECENT ARTICLE IN THE OBSERVER). THERE WAS ALSO SOME DISCUSSION OF THE CURRENT STATE OF DEVELOPMENT IN LAND AND AIR-BASED ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS AND ON THE PROSPECTS FOR A BAN ON CRUISE MISSILES.

 ZAGLADIN MAINTAINED THAT THE AMERICANS HAD SAID THEY WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SUCH A BAN.

BESSMERTNIKH'S ACCOUNT.

5. ZAGLADIN'S ACCOUNT OF WHAT THE SOVIET UNION ENVISAGED FOR THE SHULTZ/GROMYKO MEETING ACCORDS WITH WHAT BESSMERTNIKH, HEAD OF THE AMERICAN DEPARTMENT AT THE MFA TOLD ME AT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S THANKSGIVING DAY DINNER, IN THAT HE TOO SPOKE OF THE EXCLUSION OF ALL TOPICS APART FROM ARMS IN SPACE AND OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE SAW THE MEETING AS TALKS ABOUT A FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS ON (A) AND (E) IN MY PARA 3 ABOVE, WITH AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE TWO

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SETS OF DISCUSSIONS WERE RELATED. BUT HE DID NOT LIKE THE TERM "'LINKED" . ON (B) BESSMERTNIKH ALSO SPOKE OF STARTING ANEW IN COMBINED TALKS ON INTERMEDIATE AND STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. ON THIRD PARTY SYSTEMS, HE COMMENTED THAT THEY WOULD NO DOUBT BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT , IN VIEW OF FRENCH AND BRITISH PLANS FOR MODERNISATION.

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