

**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO ROUTINE FCO

TELNO 3293

OF 272000Z NOVEMBER 85

INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, MOD UK (NPS(A) @ DACU)

MY TELNO 3244: US/SOVIET SUMMIT

SUMMARY

1. SOME GLOSSES ON THE JOINT STATEMENT. BUT ON MOST OF THE SUBJECTS IT COVERS, THERE IS NO MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE.

DETAIL

2. THE FOLLOWING GLOSSES ON THE SUMMIT JOINT STATEMENT, GLEANED FROM OFFICIALS IN STATE, MAY BE USEFUL.

3. NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS. EARLY US DRAFTS CONTAINED COMMITMENTS TO ADHERE TO THE ARM TREATY, COUPLED WITH LANGUAGE ABOUT THE ADMISSIBILITY OF PERMITTED RESEARCH ON ARM SYSTEMS. THESE FORMULAE WERE REJECTED BY THE RUSSIANS, AND THERE WAS APPARENTLY NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE DEFINITION OF PERMITTED RESEARCH, OR ARM TREATY GREY AREAS GENERALLY.

SECURING LANGUAGE ON THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WHICH INCLUDES A CALL FOR PROGRESS ON REDUCTIONS IN OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS, BUT NO BALANCING REFERENCE TO PROGRESS ON THE DEFENCE/SPACE SIDE, IS REGARDED AS A SUCCESS. BUT VARIOUS SOVIET STATEMENTS, POST-SUMMIT ABOUT OFFENSIVE-DEFENSIVE LINKAGE HAVE BEEN NOTED, AND OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF 50 PCNT REDUCTIONS "APPROPRIATELY APPLIED" SIDESTEPS THE SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENT ON DEFINITIONS OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. THE APPARENT SUCCESS OF SECURING SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO DECOUPLE THE INF NEGOTIATIONS IS REGARDED WITH SOME SCEPTICISM:

THERE WAS APPARENTLY NO SIGN IN GENEVA OF ANY CHANGE IN THE SUBSTANTIVE SOVIET POSITION ON INF, INCLUDING THE DEMAND FOR COMPENSATION FOR UK AND FRENCH SYSTEMS. AS FOR ACCELERATING WORK IN GENEVA, NEITHER SIDE HAS SUGGESTED BRINGING FORWARD THE 16 JANUARY RESUMPTION DATE. ON SALT II INTERIM RESTRAINT, OUR CONTACTS REPORT NO NEW DEVELOPMENTS EITHER AT OR (AS INACCURATELY REPORTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES) BEFORE THE SUMMIT. US POLICY CONTINUES TO BE NOT TO UNDERCUT SALT II AS LONG AS THE RUSSIANS SHOW COMPARABLE RESTRAINT, AND NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN GENEVA. (PART II OF PERLE'S RSVP REPORT HAS NOT YET BEEN CAST BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT SWINE).

4. "RISK REDUCTION CENTRES." THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTEREST IN THE CONCEPT IS ONLY LUKEWARM (BAND'S LETTER OF 27 NOVEMBER TO THOMAS): THEIR AGREEMENT TO STUDY IT AT EXPERT LEVEL WAS DESIGNED PRIMARILY TO WIN APPLAUSE FROM THOSE SENATORS, EG BUNN AND WARNER, WHO FAVOUR THE IDEA.

5. NON-PROLIFERATION. AS YOU KNOW, THE JOINT STATEMENT LANGUAGE WAS PRE-COOKED. THE "REGULAR CONSULTATIONS" WHICH ARE TO CONTINUE ARE KENNEDY'S SIX-MONTHLY CONTACTS.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

/6.

## CONFIDENTIAL

6. CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THERE IS GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH THE JOINT STATEMENT LANGUAGE, IN PARTICULAR THAT VERIFICATION IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS SINGLED OUT FOR INTENSIFIED BILATERAL DISCUSSION, AND THAT THE AIM OF A COMPLETE BAN TAKES PRIORITY IN THE DOCUMENT OVER THE NON-PROLIFERATION AIM.
7. MBFR/CDE. THE PRESIDENT DID APPARENTLY REFER TO THE IMPORTANCE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA AND STOCKHOLM. BUT OFFICIALS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE WAS ANY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION. SOME CLAIM THAT THE LANGUAGE ON CDE COMMITS THE RUSSIANS MORE FIRMLY THAN HITHERTO TO ACCEPTING CSBMS, AND ALSO IMPLIES ABANDONMENT OF THE SOVIET PREFERENCE FOR TWO DOCUMENTS.
8. 'PROCESS OF DIALOGUE.' AN INVITATION TO SHEVARDNAZDE TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN JANUARY IS A POSSIBILITY. (AFGHANISTAN WOULD BE HIGH ON THE US AGENDA.) BALDRIGE WAS ALREADY PLANNING TO ATTEND NEXT WEEK'S MEETING IN MOSCOW OF THE US/SOVIET TRADE AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEE; NO OTHER CABINET LEVEL VISITS HAVE YET BEEN CONSIDERED.
9. REGIONAL ISSUES. THE TIMING AND ORDER OF THE NEXT ROUND OF EXPERT LEVEL TALKS HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED. THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS WAS NOT MENTIONED BY REAGAN/GORBACHEV; SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNAZDE HAD A BRIEF EXCHANGE, RESTATING KNOWN POSITIONS (DIRECT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS VERSUS FULL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE). NEITHER SIDE RAISED THE ISSUE OF SOVIET/ISRAELI RELATIONS. EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS WAS RAISED BY THE PRESIDENT, BUT AS A HUMAN RIGHTS, NOT A REGIONAL, ISSUE, AND INCONCLUSIVELY. (ON OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED, SEE PARAS 3-5 OF TUR.)
10. CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES. LAST WEEK'S INITIALLING OF THE CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT OPENS THE DOOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW CONSULATES IN NEW YORK AND KIEV. BOTH WILL HAVE A CEILING OF THIRTY STAFF. (THE US ARE MEANWHILE GOING AHEAD WITH PLANS TO REDUCE, AND CAP, THE STAFF OF THE SOVIET UN MISSION.)
11. NUCLEAR FUSION. MOST REPLIES TO THE (RELATED) US APPROACH JUST BEFORE THE SUMMIT WERE GENERALLY POSITIVE BUT NON-COMMITTAL. THE ADMINISTRATION NOW ENVISAGE A FURTHER ROUND OF MORE DETAILED EXPLANATORY PRESENTATIONS TO POTENTIAL COLLABORATIVE PARTNERS.
12. GENERAL. THE JOINT STATEMENT IS GENERALLY SEEN AS VERY SATISFACTORY, SO FAR AS IT GOES. THE RUSSIANS WERE MADE TO WORK ON US DRAFTS, AND, AFTER SHULTZ'S BUST-UP WITH KORNIENKO, NEGOTIATED FAIRLY CONSTRUCTIVELY. BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE

/TEXT

-2-  
CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL

TEXT IS NOT THE TIP OF THE ICE-BERG: THERE WAS NOT MUCH BELOW THE WATERLINE. AND NO-ONE IN STATE IS DISPOSED TO DISAGREE WITH THE JUDGEMENT THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE SUMMIT LAY IN CREATING A NEW IMPETUS, AND A NEW ATMOSPHERE, FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATION, RATHER THAN IN ANY SIGNIFICANT NEGOTIATED PROGRESS ON SUBSTANCE BEHIND THE SCENES.

WRIGHT

## US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS

LIMITED	PS
ACDD	PS/LADY YOUNG
DEFENCE D	PS/MR RIFKIND
SOVIET D	PS/MR RENTON
NEWS D	PS/PUS
NAD	MR DEREK THOMAS
EED	MR GOODALL
WED	MR SAMUEL
PLANNING STAFF	MR DAUNT
RES D	MR DAVID THOMAS
INFO D	MR BRAITHWAITE
PUSD	MR O'NEILL
NED	

## ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION ARMS CONTROL TALKS

COPIES TO:  
MR BERMAN LEGAL ADVISERS

- 3 -

# CONFIDENTIAL