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FM WASHINGTON 220434Z NOV 84

TO PRIORITY FOO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3485 OF 22 NOVEMBER

INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, BONN, PARIS.

MY TELNO 3406: US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS.

SUMMARY.

1. MESSAGES EXCHANGED WITH MOSCOW. US HOPES FOR SUBSTANTIVE TALKS, PERHAPS EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR. NO QUOTE CZAR UNQUOTE, BUT POSSIBLY A SPECIAL CO-ORDINATOR UNDER SHULTZ. LITTLE NEW INTERAGENCY WORK ON SUBSTANCE, BUT STATE DEPARTMENT CONTINUE TO ENVISAGE A POSSIBLE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON ASATS AND OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS, AND SOME SUGGESTIONS THAT THEY MIGHT BE PREPARED TO START WORK ON ASATS FIRST, UNDER THE OVERALL UMBRELLA.

DETAIL.

2. OUR STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS CONFIRM THAT A SOVIET MESSAGE ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE ARMS CONTROL TALKS WAS RECEIVED HERE ON 17 NOVEMBER. THIS PRESUNABLY EXPLAINS HARTMAN'S REFERENCE TO QUOTE LETTERS UNQUOTE (TELNO 1314), BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE REAGAN MESSAGE HE DELIVERED TO GROMYKO ON 19 NOVEMBER WAS NOT A RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET MESSAGE, BUT SIMPLY A FURTHER RE-STATEMENT OF US WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. (IT HAD BEEN DRAFTED BEFORE THE SOVIET MESSAGE ARRIVED).

3. THERE IS NOW A GENERAL AIR OF EXPECTATION HERE THAT THE REACTIVATION OF THE US/SOVIET DIALOGUE ON ARMS CONTROL IS STARTING TO HAPPEN, THAT THE RUSSIANS DO NOT REJECT THE CONCEPT OF QUOTE UMBRELLA TALKS UNQUOTE AND THAT THERE WILL BE AN EARLY MEETING BETWEEN SHULTZ AND GROMYKO, PERHAPS IN GENEVA IN EARLY JANUARY.

4. THE PRECISE NATURE OF THE QUOTE UMBRELLA UNQUOTE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN KEPT DELIBERATELY VAGUE IN US/SOVIET EXCHANGES. BUT THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF THE CONCEPT IS CLEAR: TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH PARTICULAR NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE CARRIED ON IN A WAY WHICH PERMITS LINKAGES BUT DOES NOT RESULT IN PROGRESS IN ONE AREA BEING HELD HOSTAGE TO LACK OF PROGRESS IN ANOTHER. SIX AREAS HAVE BEEN MENTIONED AS CANDIDATES FOR SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UMBRELLA COVERAGE: STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, INF, SPACE WEAPONS, CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE, CW, AND CBMS.

5. AS REPORTED IN MY TUR, THE IDEA OF APPOINTING A QUOTE CZAR UNQUOTE TO HOLD THE UMBRELLA SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DROPPED, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT. ARMACOST CONFIRMED THIS TO ME TODAY. HE BELIEVES THAT

SHULTZ WISHES TO TAKE THE LEAD (UNDER THE PRESIDENT) HIMSELF, AND IS NOW SUFFICIENTLY STRONG TO ENSURE THAT HE DOES. HOWEVER, THE IDEA OF AN ENVOY WHO, REPORTING TO SHULTZ, MIGHT PLAY IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD VERY MUCH THE ROLE PLAYED BY AMBASSADOR SCHLAUDERMAN ON CENTRAL AMERICA IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE. NITZE IS NOW THE NAME MOST OFTEN MENTIONED BY ADMINISTRATION CONTACTS AS A LIKELY CANDIDATE, AND HE IS CERTAINLY ATTENDING HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS.

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6. ALL OUR CONTACTS MAINTAIN THAT VERY LITTLE STAFF WORK IS BEING CONDUCTED ON THE SUBSTANCE OF POSSIBLE US NEGOTIATING POSITIONS, THOUGH THOSE IDENTIFIED IN INTERAGENCY WORK IN THE SUMMER (BAND'S TELETYPE TO PAKENHAM OF 10 OCTOBER) OF COURSE REMAIN IN PLACE. STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS STILL REGARD THE LIKELY OBJECTIVE AS A THREE YEAR ASATS MORATORIUM, COUPLED WITH A CAP ON OFFENSIVE LAUNCHERS

AND WARHEAD NUMBERS, AND A JOINT COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR AN AGREED REDUCTION IN SUCH NUMBERS. DOD REMAINS UNHAPPY ABOUT THE MORATORIUM, THOUGH STATE MAINTAINS THAT ITS SHORT DURATION WOULD MEAN THAT IT HAD NO IMPACT ON SDI.

7. SOME IN STATE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD NOW BE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN A NEGOTIATION ON ASAT CONSTRAINTS IN ADVANCE OF SOVIET AGREEMENT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS- AND THE UMBRELLA CONCEPT COULD OF COURSE PERMIT A FAIRLY ELASTIC LINK BETWEEN THE TWO - BUT DOD NATURALLY RESIST THIS TOO. SHULTZ HAS SAID TO FEEL THAT THE US SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SHOW A HINT OF FLEXIBILITY ON SUBSTANCE, AS WELL AS ON NEGOTIATING FORMAT, AND THE OBVIOUS AREAS IS ASATS. BUT THE DOD MOTTO IS NO CONCESSIONS BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS (IF THEN). AND OUR STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS ADMIT THAT MUCH MORE WORK WILL BE REQUIRED ON THE US NEGOTIATING POSITION BEFORE THE PRESIDENT COULD BE INVITED TO ENDORSE SUCH A MOVE.

8. THE INTERNAL BATTLE HAS HARDLY STARTED YET, BUT WILL DOUBT NOT UP SOON IF CONTACTS WITH MOSCOW CONTINUE TO GO REASONABLY WELL AND TO PICK UP MOMENTUM. AT SOME STAGE THE PRESIDENT MAY WELL HAVE TO CRACK HEADS TOGETHER.

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EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

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DEFENCE D		PS/MR RIFKIND
RESEARCH D		PS/MR LUCE
PLANNING STAFF		PS/PUS
EED		MR DEREK THOMAS
NAD		SIR W HARDING
WED		MR GOODALL
ACDD		MR JENKINS
		MR WESTON
		MR DAVID THOMAS

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