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MODUK FOR DUS(P) AND DACU.

MY TELNO 1580: GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS: NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS

SUMMARY

1. SUBSTANTIVE US RESPONSE UNLIKELY BEFORE GENEVA ROUND V ENDS ON 26 JUNE. BUT THIS DELAY NOT NECESSARILY UNFORTUNATE, AND STATE ACCEPT THE NEED FOR FULL US FOLLOW-UP, AND FURTHER CONTACTS, BETWEEN ROUNDS. FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE WHITE HOUSE TAKES THE OFFER SERIOUSLY. SOME OF ITS DETAILS LEAKING OUT, BUT STILL UNACCOMPANIED BY ANY OVERT PENTAGON RUBBISHING.

DETAIL

2. STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS TELL US THAT THE INTER-AGENCY GROUP DID NOT IN THE EVENT AGREE ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO THE GENEVA DELEGATION, OR EVEN ON A LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR THEM TO PUT, BEFORE TODAY'S (STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS) PLENARY IN GENEVA. WHILE THIS NO DOUBT REFLECTS THE PREDICTABLE INTER-AGENCY DISAGREEMENTS

HERE, IT IS NOT SEEN BY STATE AS A SERIOUS SET-BACK, FOR KAMPELMAN AND CO ARE THOUGHT TO ALREADY HAVE AMPLE FLEXIBILITY TO PROBE THE SOVIET 11 JUNE PROPOSALS, AND THE NATURE OF THE LINK WITH ABMT STRENGTHENING ETC. MOREOVER, SOME IN STATE THINK IT GOOD TO GIVE KAMPELMAN AT THIS STAGE A PRETTY LOOSE REIN: A PRECISE LIST OF SPECIFIC QUESTIONS WOULD HAVE HAD TO DRAW HEAVILY ON OSD INPUT, AND WOULD THEREFORE HAVE HAD A FAIRLY NEGATIVE TINGE.

3. OUR CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT THERE WILL NOT IN FACT BE ANY SUBSTANTIVE NEW US INSTRUCTIONS DURING THIS ROUND, WHICH ENDS NEXT WEEK. BUT THEY ACCEPT THAT THE BALL CANNOT SIMPLY BE KICKED INTO TOUCH FOR THE SUMMER. THE SOVIET TIMING HAS BEEN CLEVER, AND LEAVES THEM WITH A POTENTIAL PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE, BUT STATE'S HOPE IS FOR AN EARLY SHULTZ/SHEVARDNADZE SESSION AT WHICH A FULL US RESPONSE, OR COUNTER-PROPOSAL WOULD BE MADE: IF SHULTZ/SHEVARDNADZE DOES NOT COME OFF, THEY ACCEPT THAT ANOTHER MEANS OF TAKING FORWARD THE US/SOVIET DISCUSSION MUST BE FOUND IN JULY.

4. DETAILS OF THE SOVIET THREE-PART PROPOSALS ARE LEAKING OUT TO SPECIALIST US JOURNALISTS. SOME HAVE COME FROM SOKOLOV, THE NUMBER 2 AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY HERE, BUT MOST CLEARLY BEAR OSD OR STATE DEPARTMENT FINGERPRINTS, AND WE AGREE WITH SIR B CARTLEDGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION COULD HAVE NO VALID BREACH OF CONFIDENTIALITY COMPLAINT ABOUT GORBACHEV'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SPEECH. WHAT IS STRIKING IS THAT THE WHITE HOUSE/NSC EFFORT TO

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PREVENT OSD-INSPIRED KNOCKING COPY HAS SO FAR SUCCEEDED. THE NEAREST THAT PERLEY, WHO IS PRIVATELY CRITICAL OF THE SOVIET PROPOSALS AS PROPAGANDA-INSPIRED, HAS COME TO A PUBLIC COMMENT WAS WHEN HE ALLEGEDLY TOLD A NORWEGIAN JOURNALIST THAT HE HAD AGREED NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO CRITICISE THE PROPOSALS .) WE UNDERSTAND THAT REGAN, IN A GENERAL LOBBY TERMS BRIEFING ON 13 JUNE, WAS AT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT, WHATEVER THEIR PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE 27 MAY SALT CONSTRAINT DECISIONS, THE RUSSIANS HAD NOT REACTED ADVERSELY IN PRIVATE, AND IN THIS CONNECTION STRESSED THAT THE PROPOSALS FORMALLY TABLED IN GENEVA SINCE ON AND 29 MAY HAD BEEN HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT, AND PROMISING.

CONCLUSION

5. SO FAR SO GOOD. THE CATCH WILL PRESUMABLY BE IF THE RUSSIANS, HAVING WRONG-FOOTED THE AMERICANS BY SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS ISSUED SERIATIM LATE IN THE ROUND, CHOOSE TO PLAY THEIR PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE ALL OUT, MEANWHILE STRINGING THE AMERICANS ALONG ON ARRANGING A SHULTZ/SHEVARDNADZE OR OTHER NON-GENEVA FIXTURE. IF THE RUSSIANS SEEM TO BE MAKING PUBLIC OPINION HEADWAY WITH A CONTRAST BETWEEN THEIR OWN DETAILED PROPOSALS AND US SILENCE/OBDURACY, THE CHANCES OF OSD BEING ALLOWED/ALLOWING THEMSELVES TO RUBBISH THESE PROPOSALS WILL RISE. THIS ILLUSTRATES THE APPARENT CONTINUING ABSENCE OF ANY RELIABLE (KISSINGER/ DOBRYNIN TYPE) BACK-CHANNEL FOR REAL AND RAPID NEGOTIATION, WITHOUT THE STALEY AND FORMAL CHARACTER OF THE GENEVA OPERATIONS, POTENTIALLY A SERIOUS PROBLEM.

6. ON INF DEVELOPMENTS, SEE MIFT.

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