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Harriman - What to advise

Shultz - Appraisal of the man and associates

Relationship with each other. You talked more with ^{else} ~~him~~ than anyone; size up way he behaves. How to talk and negotiate with him.

Estimate of nature of his desire for better relationship with US. Basis for it. Says wants; need to explore.

Particular issues which may come up. Don't want put you in position of negotiating. What ^{is} content they want to put on table. Whether ^{of} ~~exclusively~~ ^{they want relationship to be} arms control. ~~Our~~ ^{also} Concern over Poland, Afghanistan, Central America.

Like Give outline of our approach.

Harriman - Grateful

Shultz - Fair to say, lousy relationship; bristles competing; confrontational sense.

Pres view this is not satisfactory

If can see better pattern of behavior between US, want to see more constructive relationship.

Harriman - Glad to hear

Shultz - Pres has me on program

No publicity and don't want

Pres has let Andropov know he would like better

but on content have gotten none back

Harriman - Good news

Shultz - Initiated m'tgs with Dobrynin

Once privately to WH. 2 hrs

Designed by Pres and me to make point Pres

interested knowledgeable, wants improve. Also

have had Hartman try for appts. told

D^{Dobrynin} Moscow should see Hartman As result this and

talks with Gromyko, have had little talk

with D^{Dobrynin} on each arms control issue

Shultz - Nitze, Rowny, Abramowitz ^{re our negotiations}

- Have had these sessions ^{with Dobrynin questions} posing in different ways from Geneva

- Mostly no different response

Harriman - D^{Dobrynin} has no authority

Shultz - ^{But he reports} back

- Reviewed large number of bilat arrangements, including some expiring this year which they want review

- Said willing discuss long-term grain agreement ^{with Soviets}

- Farmers like, but difficult for US, so that they realize

positive

- After 3-4 weeks, they said want to work on it

- Extensive discussions here and in Madrid on HR

Harriman - More important

- More imp to us than them

Shultz - Have listened. Think close to seeing results. If so,

major signal to us

- Let Lydia Vashchenko out. Asked and they did
- Others ^{went} ~~some~~ back ^{home get} to [^] them
- Confident they will get exit visas
- Describing effort on our part or on theirs to see what changes need. Small and large. Some leaders
- Nuc nonprolif - Some good discussions
- Like to see something more constructive unfold
- Tentative, ups and downs
- Largely on basis Afghan, Poland, CA, Kemp - what we regard as aggressive-makes it difficult
- Now trying to upset Leb-Is agree ^{mtg} through Syria
- [^] General way this is what we trying to do Background for your getting your ^{own} ~~over~~ sense in Moscow
- Take view discs with D ^{Dobrynin} not secret
- Acknowledge mtgs if asked

Harriman - See [^] ~~all~~ the time

Shultz - Dobrynin tells despair of relationship ^{with} Reagan. But we trying since last fall

Harriman - Delighted to hear

Shultz - Partic issues, not asking you to negotiate

Harriman - will say priv cit. Interested in US-Soviet. like to help move forward. This help ^{to} steer Don't know how they take rough statements

Shultz - Hard

Harriman - How should I explain. Never say word against Pres

Shultz - Taken view should be realistic, strong, reasonable

Shouldn't kid ourselves about what they doing. (e.g. chemical warfare)

Don't like to but to ~~kill~~ them

^{From} Diff focus ^{on} "evil empires"

Harriman - What about SALT II violations

Very easy for me to comment on

Shultz - Info on tests. Responses have been haven't violated

Specify elements of test programs

Don't correspond exactly to ours. But reviewing SALT II has some major loopholes

Allows you to test new weapon and say it old. They must have known when negotiating within tech limits of treaty, but controversy

Causes trouble

Harriman - Can't toast the bas.....

Eagleburger - ~~we~~ Soviets not holding back on their remarks. Call Pres liar

Harriman - Doesn't look. Lived through it (PBS update on juicer names)

- Will do my best. Understand reasons why you want.

Kennen not at his best ^{slurder} George has no influence.

- Will stick to idea that am private citizen

Shultz - Ideal

Harriman - Do wish Pres could be more careful

You talked more with
than anyone, even as far as he behaves. How to talk
and negotiate with him.

Estimate of what he is capable of better relationship
with US. Basis for it. Says wants need to explore.

Particular issues which are come up. Don't want put you
in position of negotiating. What content they want
to put on table. Whether exclusively arms control, or
Chicago, over Poland, Afghanistan, Central America.

Like Give outline of our approach.

Harriman - Grateful

Shultz - Fair to say, loose relationship, bilateral cooperation,
constitutional sense.

Pres view line is not satisfactory

If can see better pattern of behavior between US
want to see more constructive relationship.

Harriman - Glad to hear

Shultz - Pres has to go on program

No publicity and don't want

Don't know if this is what you want

But on central have gotten some back

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