Harriman - What to advise

Shultz - Appraisal of KGB and associates

Relationship with each other. You talked more with 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 content they want to put on table. Whether exclusively arms control.

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 msg with Dubravin

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' Moscow should see Hartman. As result this and talks with Gromyko, have had little talk with D' on each arms control issue

Shultz - Nitze, Rowny, Abramowitz nec our regulars with Dubravin questions

- Have had these sessions posing in different ways from Geneva

- Mostly no different response

Harriman - Do has no authority

Shultz - But reports back

- Reviewed large number of bilat arrangements, including some expiring this year which they want review
- Said willing discuss long-term grain agreement
- Farmers like, but diff 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 some back 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 through Syria
- General way this is what we trying to do Background
  for your getting your own sense Moscow
- Take view discs with D not secret
- Acknowledge mtgs as asked

Harriman - See all the time
Shultz - Dobrynin tells despair of relationship with
  we trying since last fall
Harriman - Delighted to hear
Shultz - Partic issues, not asking you handle
Harriman - will say privat. Interested in US-Soviet. like to
  help move forward. This help 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 tell them

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 - Soviets not held back their remarks. Call Pres liar

Harriman - Doesn't look. Lived through it (PRES UPDATE ON JUICER names)

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

Kennen not at his best, George has no influence.

- Will stick to idea that am private citizen
Shultz - Ideal

Harriman - Do wish Pres could be more careful

Estimates of S's desire for better relations with US. Basis for the S's wants need to explore.

Particular issues which may come up. Don't want our way in position of negotiating what content they want (e.g. relations to be put on table. Whether exclusively aim control over Poland, Afghanistan, Central America.

Give outline of our approach.

Harriman - grateful.

Shultz - Fair to say. USSR relationship frustrates competition for conceptual sense.

Pres view that is not satisfactory. If can see better pattern or behavior between us, want to see more constructive relationship.

Harriman - Glad to hear.

Shultz - Pres has work on Program.

No publicity and don't want