

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

9225

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November 15, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz <sup>GPS</sup>

SUBJECT: 11/14 Hartman-Shevardnadze Meeting

Art Hartman spent two hours this morning with Shevardnadze reviewing where we stand on the eve of your meeting with Gorbachev. The main thing Art came away with was that the Soviets badly want a final document of some sort in Geneva.

The document issue came up when Art presented our proposed language on the new exchanges initiatives. When he would not be pinned down on whether we expected the language to be included in a communique, Shevardnadze expressed "amazement" that there could be any question on this issue. He claimed to have a report from Dobrynin that a joint document had already been agreed except for a few details. (Shevardnadze was presumably referring to our having accepted on Monday for consideration some new Soviet ideas on specific issues in a joint document.) Shevardnadze complained that it would be a "waste of time" for you and Gorbachev simply to go to Geneva and say you had agreed to meet again. In the end, Shevardnadze acknowledged our right to refuse to accept a joint document, but made clear that he and Gorbachev personally felt that one was desirable.

Art reminded Shevardnadze of my repeated warnings that we remained to be convinced of the necessity or desirability of a final document. Art speculated that you and Gorbachev might make a final decision on how the meeting should be recorded only in Geneva. Shevardnadze was clearly not comfortable with this prospect.

It is clear from Shevardnadze's discomfiture how much importance the Soviets attach to a final document in Geneva. Dobrynin, probably pandering to the mood in Moscow, has apparently fueled expectations in the Kremlin by overstating our willingness to consider a document. I will use my Friday session with Dobrynin to be sure he knows our position on a final document and to underscore our continued seriousness as Geneva draws nigh.

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BY CH NARA DATE 10/30/07