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PAGE #1 USDEL SECRETARY IN 3819 DTG: 061320Z NOV 86 PSN: 077304
EOB#89 A802638 TOR: 310714062 CSN: H06321

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SIT:
EOB:

THIS EITHER LAST NIGHT OR AT THE SECOND SESSION WITH SHEVARDNAZIE THIS MORNING, AND IT REMAINS ON THE TABLE. THE EXPERTS MEETING BROKE UP AFTER 3 HOURS WITH NO PROGRESS TO REPORT.

TODAY'S MEETING GOT INTO SOME OTHER SUBJECTS, INCLUDING CHEMICAL WEAPONS, CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND TERRORISM, BUT THERE WAS NO MORE PROGRESS ON THE MAIN ARMS CONTROL ISSUES. YESTERDAY'S MEETING, ALL ONE-ON-ONE, WAS TWO-THIRDS ARMS CONTROL AND ONE-THIRD HUMAN RIGHTS. S

OP IMMEDIATE
DE RUEVHE 38019 3101345
O 061320Z NOV 86 ZFF4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2815

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THE SECRETARY LAID OUT OUR POSITION IN SOME DETAIL IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER THE SESSIONS, AND SEVERAL OTHERS ELABORATED ON THE SESSIONS IN A SUBSEQUENT BACKGROUND. WITH NO PROGRESS BEING MADE, WE ARE MAKING CLEAR IN PUBLIC THE POSITIONS WE ARE TAKING. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT IS MOTIVATING THE SOVIET APPROACH, BUT FOR WHATEVER REASONS THEY SHOW NO INTEREST IN NARROWING DIFFERENCES, AND INSTEAD ARE FOCUSING ON THEIR DISTORTION OF THE REYKJAVIK MEETINGS AND THE ABM TESTING QUESTION.

FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM TIMBIE

THE FOLLOWING IS A QUICK SUMMARY OF THE MEETINGS WITH SHEVARDNAZIE. YOU SHOULD ALSO RECEIVE SHORTLY A CABLE WITH THE TEXT OF THE POINTS THE SECRETARY MADE IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE HERE THIS MORNING.

SHEVARDNAZIE HAS NOT BEEN SILENT EITHER. ON DEPARTURE FROM VIENNA THIS MORNING, HE SAID HE "CONFRONTED ATTEMPTS OF THE AMERICAN SIDE TO BEAT A COMPLETE RETREAT FROM THE HIGH GROUND REACHED IN ICELAND." HE DESCRIBED THE U.S. POSITION AS "A MIXED BAG OF OLD HOBBALLED VIEWS," AND CLOSED HIS COMMENTS WITH "THE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE NUMEROUS AMERICAN TEAM LEFT US WITH A BITTER TASTE." YOU GET THE PICTURE.

THERE ARE NO ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO REPORT. AS YOU KNOW, THE OBJECTIVES WERE TO TRY TO CONSOLIDATE WHAT WAS AGREED IN REYKJAVIK, CLARIFY THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES ON ISSUES WHERE DIFFERENCES REMAIN, TRY TO NARROW THOSE DIFFERENCES A BIT, AND GET ON THE RECORD SOME OF GORBACHEV'S REYKJAVIK STATEMENTS ON VERIFICATION. THE SECRETARY DID HAND OVER THE PACKAGE OF PAPERS WE PRODUCED ON EACH SUBJECT, BUT THE SOVIETS DID NOT COOPERATE IN THIS EFFORT.

HAVE A GOOD TRIP.
SHULTZ
BT

INSTEAD, SHEVARDNAZIE TOOK THE POSITION THAT ALL ISSUES WERE SETTLED AT REYKJAVIK EXCEPT FOR THE QUESTION OF WHAT TESTING OF DEFENSES IS PERMITTED, AND THAT WAS THE ONLY SUBJECT HE WANTED TO DISCUSS HERE. HE WAS ADAMANT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD AGREED AT REYKJAVIK TO ELIMINATE ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS, AND WANTED TO CHARACTERIZE THE CENTRAL QUESTION HERE AS WHETHER THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD IN IMPLEMENTING THIS AGREEMENT OR IS BACKING AWAY FROM WHAT THE LEADERS AGREED TO. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ULTIMATE GOAL IS ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT THAT WOULD REQUIRE US FIRST TO RESOLVE A NUMBER OF CONDITIONS (CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE, CV VERIFICATION, ETC.) AND THEREFORE IT WAS NOT PRUDENT TO SPECIFY ANY TIME PERIOD IN WHICH THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED. THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IS THAT THE APPROPRIATE STEP FOR THE SECOND FIVE YEARS IS ELIMINATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES. AS YOU CAN IMAGINE, THEY WENT ROUND AND ROUND ON THIS QUESTION. SHEVARDNAZIE GAVE US HIS OWN PAPER REFLECTING THEIR POSITIONS IN ALL FOUR AREAS, BUT WHICH HE CLAIMED REFLECTED AGREEMENTS REACHED AT REYKJAVIK EXCEPT FOR THE QUESTION OF PERMITTED TESTS. S

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IN CONTRAST TO REYKJAVIK, THE NOCTURNAL EXPERTS MEETING WAS A WASTE OF TIME. THEIR TEAM WAS LED BY BESHYRNYKH, AND INCLUDED KARPOV AND DUBININ. ALL THEY WANTED TO TALK ABOUT WAS CONSTRAINTS ON TESTING OF DEFENSES, AND REFUSED TO ADDRESS OUR PACKAGE OR EVEN THEIR PAPER, CLAIMING THE POINTS IN THEIR PAPER WERE ALL AGREED EXCEPT FOR THE ABM TESTING ISSUE. THEY PROPOSED A MEETING OF EXPERTS IN DECEMBER COMPARABLE TO THE MEETINGS BETWEEN ROUNDS IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON LAST SUMMER, WITH ONLY TESTING OF DEFENSES ON THE AGENDA. WE COUNTERED WITH A PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING TO DISCUSS ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES. THEY REFUSED TO AGREE TO

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PAGE 01 USDEL SECRETARY IN DTG: 060024Z NOV 86 PSN: 002348
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OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE OF MAKING THE REYKJAVIK RESULTS THE STARTING POINTS FOR NEXT STEPS. BUT TOMORROW WILL TELL THE TALE.
SHULTZ
BT

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SECRET 23013

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DEPARTMENT - S/S FOR PLATT ONLY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)
SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNAZHE
IN VIENNA, NOVEMBER 5, 1986

- 1. ~~TX~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
- 2. MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: GEORGE P. SHULTZ
SUBJECT: MY MEETING WITH SHEVARDNAZHE
IN VIENNA, NOVEMBER 5, 1986

I MET WITH SHEVARDNAZHE FOR THREE HOURS THIS AFTERNOON, ALMOST THE WHOLE TIME WITH ONLY INTERPRETERS AND A NOTETAKER PRESENT. THE TONE OF THE MEETING WAS SERIOUS AND TO A LARGE EXTENT NON-POLEMICAL, BUT THE RESULTS WERE MIXED AND INCONCLUSIVE. WORKING GROUPS ON ARMS CONTROL AND NON-ARMS CONTROL ISSUES WILL BE IN SESSION TONIGHT, AND WE MEET AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING. WE MAY HAVE A CLEARER SENSE OF DIRECTION AFTER THOSE MEETINGS.

WE SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, ALTHOUGH HE HAD NO NEWS ON THE CASES AND ISSUES OF PRIMARY INTEREST TO US, AND WE ALSO TOUCHED ON BILATERAL AND REGIONAL MATTERS. OUR EXPERTS WILL FOLLOW UP ON THESE TOPICS TONIGHT, BUT MOST OF MY TIME WITH SHEVARDNAZHE WAS DEVOTED TO ARMS CONTROL. HE FOCUSED STRONGLY ON YOUR REYKJAVIK DISCUSSION WITH GORBACHEV ON ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND TRIED TO BUILD A CASE THAT WE ARE RENEGING ON AGREEMENT BETWEEN YOU TO "LIQUIDATE" ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY 1996. I EXPLAINED THAT YOU ARE INDEED COMMITTED TO THE GOAL OF ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT ALSO AWARE OF THE AMBIGUITIES AND OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF REACHING THAT GOAL, AND I KEPT THE FOCUS ON THE PRACTICAL WORK THAT IS REQUIRED TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD IT. AFTER ABOUT TWO HOURS THE FOCUS SHIFTED TO DIFFERENCES IN OUR INTERPRETATIONS OF WHAT IS MEANT BY STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE ARM TREATY FOR THE 10-YEAR PERIOD AGREED AT REYKJAVIK. HERE HE INVITED EXPLANATION FROM US OF WHAT OUR INTERPRETATION IS, AND FILLED IN A BIT ON WHAT THEY MEANT BY "LABORATORY TESTING."

IN THE END I HANDED OVER THE TEXTS WE HAD DEVELOPED SETTING FORTH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHERE WE ENDED UP IN REYKJAVIK ON OUR NON-ARMS CONTROL ISSUES AND ON STRATEGIC ARMS, INF, DEFENSE AND SPACE, NUCLEAR TESTING AND VERIFICATION, AND HE HANDED OVER A TEXT OF HIS OWN ON THESE ISSUES. HE SAID THEIR GENEVA DELEGATION WOULD BE MAKING A STATEMENT FRIDAY EMBODYING THE REYKJAVIK RESULTS AS THEY UNDERSTAND THEM, AND THAT IS PROBABLY WHAT THIS TEXT IS. OUR EXPERTS WILL BE COMPARING THESE TEXTS TONIGHT, AND THAT COULD BE USEFUL IN DEVELOPING A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WHERE WE AGREE AND DISAGREE, AS A BASELINE FOR FURTHER WORK. ON NON-ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, WE WILL BE SEEKING TO CONFIRM THE REYKJAVIK AGREEMENT ON LANGUAGE FOR PUBLIC USE AND ON THE CONFIDENTIAL WORK PROGRAM WHICH IS NOW GOING FORWARD. SO ALL THE BASES HAVE BEEN COVERED, AND WE MAY BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH

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PAGE 01 USDEL SECRETARY IN 3010 DTG: 060155Z NOV 86 PSN: 002344
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DEPT: S/S FOR PLATT ONLY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S PARTICIPATION IN OPENING OF
CSCE CONFERENCE IN VIENNA

- 1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.)
- 2. MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM:
GEORGE P. SHULTZ
SUBJECT:

MY DAY IN VIENNA, NOVEMBER 5, 1986
THE WEEK'S OPENING OF THE CSCE CONFERENCE IN VIENNA
HAS HELPED MOVE HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE FOREGROUND OF THE
EAST-WEST AGENDA. OUR MAJOR ALLIES HIT HARD AT SOVIET
VIOLATIONS WITH STRONG STATEMENTS, CITING CHAPTER AND
VERSE. IN MY SPEECH, I AGAIN PUT THE EAST ON NOTICE
THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS MUST BE BALANCED BY
PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. I ALSO REAFFIRMED OUR TIES
TO EUROPE AND YOUR DETERMINATION TO PURSUE MORE
CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST RELATIONS. AT A RECEPTION THIS
EVENING FOR PRIVATE AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHNIC
GROUPS, I READ YOUR MESSAGE SALUTING THEIR EFFORTS AND
PLEGGED WE WOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE THEIR CONCERNS TO
SOVIET AUTHORITIES AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. THEY WERE
VERY APPRECIATIVE.

WE ALSO HAD A CHANCE TO MAKE OUR POINTS ON TERRORISM.
I HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH GEOFFREY HOWE WHO FORESHADOWED
SOME OF THE ISSUES MRS. THATCHER WILL RAISE WITH YOU
NEXT WEEK, INCLUDING BRITISH CONCERNS ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMS
CONTROL POST-REYKJAVIK, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO
THE ELIMINATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES. BUT WE SPENT
MOST OF OUR TIME IN A GOOD DISCUSSION ON TERRORISM.
GEOFFREY REVIEWED BRITISH EFFORTS TO COUNTER SYRIAN
SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM AND WAS PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL
FOR OUR SUPPORT. I NOTED THAT OUR OBJECTIVE WAS TO
MAKE ASSAD FEEL ISOLATED IN ORDER TO INDUCE HIM TO
DROP HIS SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM. HOWE EXPECTS TO GET
EC APPROVAL FOR LIMITED MEASURES AGAINST SYRIA AT
MONDAY'S EC MEETING. WE GET A SIMILAR IMPRESSION FROM
CONSULTATIONS JERRY BREMER HAD HERE TODAY WITH OTHER
ALLIES. WE ARE QUIETLY ENCOURAGING THE EC
CONFERENCE TO TAKE STRONGER MEASURES, PARTICULARLY
IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER
ANNOUNCING NEXT WEEK OUR OWN PACKAGE OF MEASURES
TO PROVIDE CONTINUED U.S. LEADERSHIP.

SHULTZ
BT

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BY BJT, NARA, DATE 11/16/00

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