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REYKJAVIK: KARPOV'S VISIT TO BONN

SUMMARY

1. KARPOV WAS IN BONN YESTERDAY FOR TALKS WITH GENSCHER AND RUTH: KAMPELMAN TODAY.

DETAIL

2. ON INF LINKAGE TO SDI. KARPOV SAID CLEARLY THAT HE COULD ENVISAGE A SEPARATE INF AGREEMENT. NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CARRY ON WHERE REYKJAVIK LEFT OFF. HE SAID THE SAME PUBLICLY (EG TO THE SPD). HIS FORM OF WORDS LEFT OPEN A DISTINCTION BETWEEN REACHING AGREEMENT ON INF AND IMPLEMENTING THAT AGREEMENT, BUT KARPOV HIMSELF DID NOT DRAW ONE. HOWEVER AUSWAERTIGES AMT SEE KARPOV'S COMMENT AS NOW OVERTAKEN BY AN ON THE RECORD STATEMENT IN MOSCOW TODAY, APPARENTLY RE-CREATING SUCH A LINK. AUSWAERTIGES AMT RECALL SIMILAR CONFUSION OVER LINKAGE LAST JANUARY WHEN KWITSINSKI SEEMED NOT TO BE IN STEP WITH MOSCOW.

3. ON SRINF, GERMAN UNDERSTANDING FROM US SOURCES (EG KAMPELMAN TODAY) WAS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD AGREED TO A FREEZE AT PRESENT LEVEL FOR SOVIET SYSTEMS WITH A US RIGHT TO MATCH. KARPOV HOWEVER HAD SPOKEN OF A 'MUTUAL FREEZE', IE OMITTING THE RIGHT TO MATCH AND BY IMPLICATION REQUIRING A FREEZE OF US SYSTEMS AT THE CURRENT LEVEL (IE. A TOTAL IMBALANCE, WHICH THE GERMANS AGREE IS QUITE UNACCEPTABLE). KARPOV HAD AGREED THAT THERE WAS A COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER ON SRINF (AFTER 6 MONTHS), AND HAD USED THE PHRASE 'SYSTEMS BELOW 1,000 KM'. WHEN CHALLENGED WHETHER THIS MEANT SRINF IN THE RANGE 125-1,000, KARPOV HAD SAID NO, FROM 0-1,000. IT REMAINED UNCLEAR WHAT SYSTEMS KARPOV INCLUDED IN HIS 'MUTUAL FREEZE'.

4. ON STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, AND THE LINK TO SDI, KARPOV SAID BOTH SIDES WERE AGREED ON A TEN-YEAR PERIOD. HE REITERATED THE SOVIET CONDITION THAT ONLY LABORATORY TESTING BE PERMITTED FOR SPACE-BASED SYSTEMS DURING THAT PERIOD. BUT HE DECLINED TO ANSWER A QUESTION WHETHER THAT REPRESENTED THE EXISTING SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF THE ABM TREATY, OR A CHANGE. AS TO THE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS TO BE CUT DURING THIS PERIOD, KARPOV SAID THERE WAS NO DISPUTE THAT DURING THE FIRST FIVE YEARS 50 PERCENT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN IN ALL THREE ELEMENTS OF THE NUCLEAR TRIAD. FOR THE SECOND FIVE YEARS, KARPOV SAID THE AGREEMENT IN REYKJAVIK HAD BEEN THAT ALL STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES AND HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE INCLUDED. KAMPELMAN HOWEVER HAD REITERATED TODAY THAT THE US PROPOSAL WAS ONLY FOR 'BALLISTIC' (NO REFERENCE TO STRATEGIC) SYSTEMS, AND WITHOUT AIR-BREATHING SYSTEMS.

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5. GERMANS ASKED KARPOV WHY THE SOVIET UNION WERE SO WORRIED IF THE UNITED STATES HAD A "SHIELD" AGAINST A NON-EXISTENT "SWORD", IE FOLLOWING THE TEN-YEAR PERIOD WHEN ALL SUCH NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAD BEEN ELIMINATED. SURPRISINGLY, KARPOV HAD NOT (NOT) SAID THIS WAS BECAUSE SDI WAS AN OFFENSIVE SYSTEM CAPABLE OF GROUND ATTACK. KARPOV HAD MENTIONED TWO DANGERS:

- (A) DURING THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, DURING WHICH THERE WOULD BE PROGRESSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILE REDUCTION AND THE US WOULD BE PREPARING (BUT NOT YET DEPLOYING) A DEFENSIVE SYSTEM, THE US MIGHT "MIS-CALCULATE", THINKING THEY WERE PROTECTED BEFORE THEY WERE, AT A TIME WHEN SOME NUCLEAR MISSILES STILL REMAINED AVAILABLE. IN SHORT, A DESTABILISING TRANSITION PERIOD.
- (B) AFTER TEN YEARS, THE US, WITH A DEFENSIVE SHIELD IN PLACE, MIGHT DENOUNCE THE EARLIER AGREEMENT AND START TO PRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAIN. THE SOVIET UNION COULD DO THE SAME, BUT WOULD THEN BE AT A DISADVANTAGE, NOT HAVING A DEFENSIVE SHIELD IN PLACE. (THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT, WHO SEE SOME FORCE IN THIS, CALL IT THE SOVIET INSURANCE POLICY).

6. KARPOV DID NOT MENTION THIRD COUNTRY SYSTEMS, AND WAS NOT ASKED.

7. KAMPELMAN HAD LITTLE NEW TO ADD TODAY, EXCEPT GRAPHIC DETAIL ABOUT HOW THE LAST PHASE OF REYKJAVIK NEGOTIATIONS WAS PLAYED. HE HAD STRESSED US FEARS THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT RETAIN ITS VETO OVER SDI DEPLOYMENT AT THE END OF THE TEN-YEAR PERIOD. IT WAS ONLY IN THE VERY LAST SESSION THAT GORBACHEV HAD INTRODUCED THE LABORATORY-ONLY CRITERION.

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