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TELNO 2723
OF 100030Z DECEMBER 87
INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, MODUK
INFO PRIORITY BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, UKDIS GENEVA

MODUK FOR DACU

1. ONE REAGAN/GORBACHEV SESSION DEALING WITH AFGHANISTAN, IRAN/IRAQ AND START. NEWS BLACKOUT ON SUBSTANCE REMAINS EFFECTIVE. GORBACHEV MEETS CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS.

DETAIL

2. GORBACHEV'S FIRST EVENT ON 9 DECEMBER WAS A MEETING AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY WITH NINE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS FROM BOTH HOUSES. SPEAKING TO THE PRESS LATER, CONGRESSMEN GENERALLY AGREED THAT GORBACHEV HAD PUT ON AN IMPRESSIVE DISPLAY: AS SENATOR SIMPSON PUT IT: QUOTE HE WAS VERY CORDIAL, VERY DISARMING, VERY CANDID, VERY DIRECT UNQUOTE. THE MAIN TOPICS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN INF RATIFICATION: HUMAN RIGHTS: AFGHANISTAN AND NICARAGUA (ON WHICH HOUSE SPEAKER WRIGHT APPARENTLY PRESSED GORBACHEV ON WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE PREPARED TO CEASE SUPPORT FOR THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT IF CONGRESS CUT OFF AID TO THE CONTRAS: GORBACHEV APPARENTLY GAVE NO CLEAR REPLY).

3. THE MORNING'S SESSION WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN AT THE WHITE HOUSE BEGAN WITH A TEN MINUTE MEETING WITH ONLY INTERPRETERS PRESENT, AT THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST. THERE WAS THEN A TWO HOUR SESSION WITH SENIOR ADVISERS. ACCORDING TO THE WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN, THE DISCUSSION OF REGIONAL ISSUES WAS CONFINED TO AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN/IRAQ. THERE WAS ALSO SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF START IN THE LIGHT OF PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION IN THE WORKING GROUP THE PREVIOUS EVENING. ON AFGHANISTAN GORBACHEV SAID AT THE START OF THE MEETING IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE PRESS QUOTE THE FACT THAT WE ARE READY TO WITHDRAW FROM AFGHANISTAN IS SOMETHING THAT I HAVE SAID SOME TIME AGO. SO WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DISCUSS WILL BE MORE SPECIFIC UNQUOTE. THE PRESS SPOKESMAN ADDED LITTLE: ALTHOUGH GERASIMOV CONFIRMED THAT A TIME TABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. THE TONE OF WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING ON THE AFGHANISTAN DISCUSSION HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN NOTABLY UP-BEAT AND HAS LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS LIKELY TO BE SOME

UNCLASSIFIED

040 3
MDADAN 8680

AGREED LANGUAGE ON AFGHANISTAN IN THE JOINT STATEMENT ON 10 DECEMBER.

4. MR AND MRS GORBACHEV ATTENDED A LUNCH AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT GIVEN BY THE SHULTZES. IN HIS TOAST SHULTZ QUOTED FROM LAST WEEK'S EUROPEAN COUNCIL STATEMENT THAT RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM IS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR CONFIDENCE, UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION. HE ADDED QUOTE WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS UNQUOTE. GORBACHEV IN RESPONSE EMPHASISED AGAIN THAT THE INF TREATY WAS A FIRST STEP ON THE ROAD TO THE GOAL OF A NUCLEAR FREE WORLD WHICH HE HAD PROPOSED IN JANUARY 1986. HE ADDED QUOTE WHILE MOVING CLOSER TO EACH OTHER, WE HAVE COME TO APPRECIATE EVEN MORE THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET/AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ... PEACE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH IS INHERENTLY UNSTABLE WHATEVER ANYONE MIGHT CLAIM UNQUOTE. HE CONCLUDED WITH A TRIBUTE TO THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, ADDING THE COMMENT QUOTE FOREIGN POLICY HAS CEASED TO BE A DOMAIN OF PROFESSIONALS ALONE. THE PRACTICE OF SECRET COLLUSIONS AND AGREEMENTS WHICH DECEIVE NATIONS AND DOOM THEM TO ACTIONS AND SACRIFICIES THAT ARE CONTRARY TO THEIR VITAL INTERESTS IS ALSO BEING CONSIGNED TO THE PAST UNQUOTE.
5. IN THE AFTERNOON GORBACHEV CONTINUED HIS SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH US OPINION FORMERS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT. ON THIS OCCASION HE ADDRESSED A GROUP OF PUBLISHERS AND MEDIA EXECUTIVES. LATER THIS EVENING PRESIDENT AND MRS REAGAN WILL ATTEND THE RETURN DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY.
6. THE WORKING GROUPS ARE CONTINUING TO MEET. EACH HAS SUB-DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS. THE ARMS CONTROL GROUP INTO DEFENCE AND SPACE: AND CONVENTIONAL AND CHEMICAL, AND THE NON ARMS-CONTROL GROUP INTO REGIONAL: AND HUMAN RIGHTS/BILATERAL ISSUES.
7. THE NEWS BLACKOUT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MEETINGS CONTINUES TO BE REMARKABLY EFFECTIVE. THE PRESS HAVE LITTLE TO GET THEIR TEETH INTO. BUT THE OVERALL TONE OF THE VISIT CONTINUES TO BE VERY POSITIVE AND GORBACHEV IS, AS EXPECTED, MAKING A CONSIDERABLE IMPACT.

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ADVANCE 21

US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS
PS
PS/MRS CHALKER
PS/MR EGGAR
PS/MR MELLOR
PS/PUS
SIR J FRETWELL
MR BOYD
MR RATFORD
MR FALL
MR FEARN

HD/SEC POL D
HD/ACDD
HD/SOVIET
HD/DEFENCE
~~MR POWELL NO. 10 DOWNING ST.~~
MR D NICHOLLS DUS(P) MOD
D.NUC (POL) SY MOD
DACU MOD
CDI MOD
RESIDENT CLERK

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POLITICAL STATEMENT

1. We the Leaders of our seven countries, and the representatives of the European Community, have considered the future of East-West relations. The discussion has confirmed that our free and democratic societies will stand together in solidarity and cohesion within the framework of our existing alliances. We also reaffirmed that nuclear deterrence and adequate conventional strength are the guarantees of peace in freedom. Equally, we confirm our belief in constructive and realistic dialogue and cooperation, including arms control, as the way to build stability between East and West.

2. In several important respects changes have taken place in relations between Western countries and the Soviet Union since we last met. This evolution has come about because the industrialized democracies have been strong and united, and because the inherent limitations of the Soviet social and economic system have forced changes in Soviet policies. Greater freedom and openness in the Soviet Union will offer opportunities to reduce mistrust and build confidence. Each of us will respond positively to any such developments.

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3. We call upon the Soviet leadership to play a responsible role on issues of common concern. We welcome the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal of its occupation troops from Afghanistan. It must be total, and apply to the entire country. The Afghan people must be able to choose their government freely. Each of us confirms our willingness to make our full contribution to the efforts of the international community to ensure the return of the refugees to their homeland, their resettlement, and the reconstruction of their country. We now look to the Soviet Union to make a constructive contribution to resolving other regional conflicts as well.

4. Since our last meeting, progress has been made between the United States and the Soviet Union in agreeing to reduce arms without compromising the security of any of our countries. The INF Treaty, the direct result of Western firmness and unity, is the first Treaty ever to abolish an entire class of weapons. It sets vitally important precedents for future arms control agreements: asymmetrical reductions and intrusive verification arrangements. We now look for deep cuts in US and Soviet strategic offensive arms. We congratulate President Reagan on what he has already accomplished, along with General Secretary Gorbachev, towards this goal.

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5. Nonetheless, the massive presence of Soviet conventional forces in Eastern Europe and the Soviet capacity to launch surprise attacks and large scale offensive operations lies at the core of the security problem in Europe. The Soviet military buildup in the Far East is equally a major source of instability in Asia. These threats must be reduced; enhanced security and stability at lower levels of forces is our goal. We seek a comprehensive, effectively verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons.

6. Genuine peace cannot be established solely by arms control. It must be firmly based on respect for fundamental human rights. We urge the Soviet Union to move forward in ensuring human dignity and freedoms, and to implement fully the commitments it has undertaken in the Helsinki process. Recent progress must be institutionalized, the painful barriers that divide people must come down, and the obstacles to emigration must be removed.

7. We take positive note of Eastern countries' growing interest in ending their economic isolation, for example in the establishment and development of relations with the European Community. East-West economic relations can be expanded so long as the commercial basis is sound, they are conducted within the framework of the basic principles and rules of the international trade and payments system, and are consistent with our security interests.

(French reserve on preceding section.)

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8. We pay special attention to the countries in eastern Europe. We encourage them to open up their economies and societies, and to improve respect for human rights. In this context, we support the continuation and strengthening of the Helsinki process.

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If leaders wish to have text on the Middle East, paragraphs 9 and 10 are agreed.

9. We express our deep concern at the increasing instability in the Near East. The current violence in the Occupied Territories is a clear sign that the status quo is not sustainable. An early negotiated settlement to the underlying Arab/Israel dispute is essential. We declare our support for the convening of a properly structured international conference as the appropriate framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned. In this perspective, we salute current efforts aimed at achieving a settlement, including the initiative pursued by Mr. Shultz since March. We urge the parties to cooperate fully in the search for a solution.

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10. We have pursued our consultations about the continuing war between Iraq and Iran which remains a source of profound concern to us. We reaffirm our support for Security Council Resolution 598, which was adopted unanimously. We express our warm appreciation for the efforts of the Secretary General to work for a settlement on this basis, and reiterate our determination to ensure implementation of this mandatory resolution by a follow-up resolution if compliance cannot otherwise be secured. We condemn the use of chemical weapons by either party, deplore proliferation of ballistic missiles in the region, and renew our commitment to uphold the principle of freedom of navigation in the Gulf.

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If leaders wish to have text on terrorism, paragraphs 11-15 are agreed language.

11. We strongly reaffirm our condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, including the taking of hostages. We renew our commitment to policies and measures agreed at previous Summits, in particular those against state sponsored terrorism.

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12. We strongly condemn recent threats to air security, in particular the destruction of a Korean Airliner and the hijacking of a Kuwaiti Airliner. We recall the principle affirmed in previous declarations that terrorists must not go unpunished. We appeal to all countries who are not party to the international conventions on civil aviation security, in particular the Hague Convention, to accede to these conventions.

13. We express support for work currently underway in the International Civil Aviation Organization aimed at strengthening international protection against hijackings. (This includes measures to investigate future hijackings, to help countries to deal with hijackings, to strengthen security guidelines and to endorse the principle that hijacked aircraft should not be allowed to take off once they have landed, apart from exceptional circumstances.)

14. We welcome the adoption this year in Montreal and Rome of two international agreements on aviation and maritime security to enhance the safety of travellers.

15. We reaffirm our determination to continue the fight against terrorism through the application of rule of law, the policy of no concessions to terrorists and their sponsors, and international cooperation.