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MOSCOW SUMMIT: FIRST DAY: 29 MAY

SUMMARY

1. ARRIVAL OF PRESIDENT REAGAN, WELCOMING SPEECHES AND FIRST MEETINGS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS. SOVIET EMPHASIS ON HISTORIC NATURE OF THE VISIT AND ON CONSOLIDATION OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. REFERENCES BY THE PRESIDENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, FOLLOWING HIS HELSINKI SPEECH. SOVIET TETCHINESS APPARENT.

DETAIL

2. THE PRESIDENT LANDED IN MOSCOW AT 2.00PM ON SUNDAY 29 MAY. IN THEIR PREPARATIONS AND THE ARRIVAL ARRANGEMENTS, OF WHICH YOU WILL HAVE SEEN EXPANSIVE COVERAGE BY OVER 5,000 VISITING JOURNALISTS FROM 63 COUNTRIES, THE RUSSIANS HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES DETERMINED NOT TO BE OUTDONE BY THE TREATMENT GIVEN TO GORBACHEV IN WASHINGTON IN DECEMBER. THEY HAVE SPRINGCLEANED THE TOWN, REPAIRED ROADS, PAINTED BUILDINGS ALONG THE ROUTES THE REAGANS WILL TRAVEL, EVEN PLANTED TREES, AND HAVE BEEN BLESSED WITH GLORIOUS WEATHER. SOVIET PRESS REPORTING HAD EMPHASISED THE HISTORIC NATURE OF THE VISIT, COMING AFTER A 14 YEAR INTERVAL SINCE AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WAS LAST IN MOSCOW, AND ARE TAKING THE LINE THAT IT MARKS A POINT IN THE TRANSITION FROM AN ERA OF MISTRUST AND CONFRONTATION TOWARDS (IN PRAVDA'S WORDS) 'MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION, TOWARDS A NUCLEAR-FREE AND JUST WORLD'. WELCOMING SPEECHES.

3. GORBACHEV'S THEME, IN HIS BRIEF REMARKS AT THE WELCOMING CEREMONY IN THE KREMLIN, WAS THAT THE EYES OF THE WORLD WERE ON THIS MEETING, AND THAT THE OLD ANTIPATHIES AND STEREOTYPES CONNECTED WITH THE

'IMAGE OF AN ENEMY' WERE ON THEIR WAY OUT. ON THE VERGE OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM, HISTORY HAD CONNECTED THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES 'WITH SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF MANKIND'. THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD EXPECTED THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO GIVE A NEW IMPULSE TO ALL DIRECTIONS OF THE DIALOGUE AND TO COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT STATES.

4. SUMMARISING THE AGENDA, GORBACHEV PUT DISARMAMENT IN FIRST PLACE, CITING THE COMPLEX OF QUESTIONS RELATING TO A 50% REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS. 'IN CONDITIONS OF THE MAINTENANCE OF THE 1972 ABM TREATY', THE LIQUIDATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, THE REDUCTION OF OLORECS AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN EUROPE, AND THE CURTAILMENT OF NUCLEAR TESTING. HE THEN REFERRED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, AND TO COOPERATION IN TACKLING BACKWARDNESS, POVERTY, MASS DISEASES AND HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS. FINALLY HE SAID THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS WOULD BE DISCUSSED. THE INF TREATY WAS A SYMBOL OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS ESTABLISHED IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS: BUT THE TASKS AHEAD WERE YET MORE COMPLICATED AND RESPONSIBLE. THE PRESIDENT COULD NOW SEE WITH HIS OWN EYES THE SOVIET UNION, OF WHICH HE HAD OFTEN SPOKEN IN HIS SPEECHES.

5. IN HIS REPLY, PRESIDENT REAGAN REFERRED TO THE MAJOR OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIRST TWO MEETINGS AT GENEVA AND REYKJAVIK, AND TO THE FORWARD MOVEMENTS REGISTERED FROM THE TIME OF GORBACHEV'S WASHINGTON VISIT. IN HIS OWN SUMMARY OF THE AGENDA, REAGAN PUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN FIRST PLACE, FOLLOWED BY REGIONAL QUESTIONS, ARMS LIMITATION AND BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE SUBSEQUENTLY GAVE A SECOND MENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS (IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WORK OF EXPERT GROUPS), AND ALSO LISTED SIGNATURE OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN AMONG THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOVIET/AMERICAN DIALOGUE. (NEITHER OF THESE TWO SUBJECTS HAD RATED A MENTION FROM GORBACHEV.)

6. ON START, REAGAN SAID THAT THE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA HAD PREPARED HUNDREDS OF PAGES OF A JOINT DRAFT TREATY, RECORDING BOTH AGREED AREAS AND QUESTIONS WHICH STILL REMAINED TO BE RESOLVED.

7. REAGAN PICKED OUT FOR A MENTION THE JOINT EXPERIMENT IN NUCLEAR TESTING. HE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF INCREASING INVOLVEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN BILATERAL EXCHANGES, TO LAY A FOUNDATION FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING IN THE NEXT GENERATION. HE

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WRAPPED UP HIS SUMMARY OF BILATERAL BUSINESS BY SAYING THAT
"DESPITE THE OBVIOUS AND FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES AND DESPITE
THE INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED, OUR
EFFORTS HAVE NOT BEEN WITHOUT RESULTS".

8. THE PRESS MANAGED TO PUT A FEW QUESTIONS TO BOTH LEADERS, WHICH
HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET PRESS. HAVING FENDED OFF
QUESTIONS ABOUT HIS FEELINGS ON SETTING FOOT IN THE EVIL EMPIRE,
REAGAN WAS ASKED IF HE HAD COME TO LECTURE THE RUSSIANS "IN
THE ROLE OF A TEACHER" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. HE REBUTTED THIS.
RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE RUSSIAN PROVERB QUOTED BY
REAGAN, GORBACHEV SAID THAT HE WAS IN FAVOUR OF STEADY AND
CONFIDENT FORWARD MOVEMENT, WITHOUT EXCESSIVE HASTE. HE QUOTED
BACK THE PROVERB "TRUST, BUT VERIFY". FINALLY IN REPLY TO
ANOTHER QUESTION, GORBACHEV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A FIFTH SUMMIT
MEETING WAS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE.

OTHER ASPECTS

9. FOLLOWING THE EXCHANGE OF SPEECHES, REAGAN AND GORBACHEV HELD
A FIRST MEETING WHICH LASTED FOR 70 MINUTES. IN A JOINT PRESS
CONFERENCE COMMENTING ON THIS MEETING AND THE FIRST DAY'S EVENTS,
THE SOVIET SPOKESMAN, GERASIMOV, REPORTED THAT GORBACHEV HAD CONVEYED
THE PROPOSAL (TRAILED IN HIS WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEW) FOR A JOINT
SPACE MISSION TO MARS: REAGAN HAD AGREED TO STUDY THIS. ON
HUMAN RIGHTS, GERASIMOV SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT DID NOT HAVE AN
ACCURATE VIEW OF THE CURRENT POSITION: HIS APPRAISAL WAS BASED ON
THE PAST AND DID NOT TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE
SOVIET UNION. THE RUSSIANS WERE AWARE OF THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND
WERE TACKLING THEM. IT DID NOT PLEASE THEM TO BE LECTURED ON
THIS BY OTHERS. THERE WAS NO NEED TO INTRODUCE AN ELEMENT OF
SENSATIONALISM AND PROPAGANDA. THE SOVIET SIDE HAD ACCORDINGLY
PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STANDING BILATERAL "SEMINAR"
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PARLIAMENTARY LINKS. HUMAN RIGHTS WAS
A 2-WAY STREET. WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN FITZWATER WAS ASKED
WHETHER THE PRESIDENT WOULD MEET A DELEGATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS
WHO HAD COME TO MOSCOW FOR THE PURPOSE: AND SAID THAT THIS SHOULD
BE DEALT WITH BACK IN THE UNITED STATES.

10 SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE HELD THEIR FIRST WORKING SESSION, AND,
AS ANTICIPATED, SET UP EXPERT GROUPS TO DEAL WITH POLITICO/
MILITARY, REGIONAL, BILATERAL, AND HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

11. THE DAY ALSO INCLUDED A SHOURT WALK ABOUT BY THE PRESIDENT

AND MRS REAGAN IN THE ARBAT PEDESTRIAN PRECINCT, AND A KREMLIN TOUR FOR MRS REAGAN CONDUCTED BY RAISA GORBACHEV.

12. MESSAGE OF GOODWILL HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM MANY GROUPS, INCLUDING MARGARET PAPANDRAEOU'S "'WOMVN FOR A PRODUCTIVE SUMMIT'", CHURCH LEADERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS. THE SOVIET PRESS HAS PLAYED BACK COMMENTS BY LEADING POLITICIANTS AND JOURNALISTS AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING YOUR OWN REMARK THAT THE TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE MOSCOW MEETING WILL BRING INTO OUR HOMES HOPE FOR THE FUTURE BASED ON SECURITY AND PEACE, HOPE WHICH HAS NOW A MUCH FIRMER FOOTING THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS.

COMMENT

13. THE SHARPEST NOTE ON THE FIRST DAY HAS BEEN ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. INEVITABLY, THE MASSIVE VISITING PRESS CORPS HAVE BEEN SCOURING LOCAL CONTACTS TO FIND AN ANGLE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE BBC AND OTHERS WERE TIPPED OFF ABOUT A DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE ON 28 MAY, AND SHOWED THIS TAKING PLACE WITHOUT INTERRUPTION FROM A SMALL MILITIA CONTINGENT. REAGAN'S REMARKS BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL HERE, AND HIS FURTHER REFERENCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE KREMLIN, HAVE PUT TO THE TOP OF THE PRESS AGENDA THE QUESTION OF HOW FAR HE WILL LECTURE THE RUSSIANS ON THIS SUBJECT. HUMAN RIGHTS WILL RECEIVE FURTHER EMPHASIS IN REPORTING OF THE SECOND DAY OF THE VISIT, AS REAGAN IS TO MEET REFUSENIKS AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGNERS AT THE AMERICAN RESIDENCE ON THE AFTERNOON OF 30 MAY. (LEADING REFUSNIKS ARE STAGING A HUNGAR STRIKE DURING HIS VISIT.) IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF SOVIET OFFICIALDOM WILL COUNTER BY RECEIVING THE FOUR VISITING AMERICAN INDIANS.

14. THE SOVIET PRESS HAVE REACTED WITH A SENSE OF OFFENDED DIGNITY TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN HELSINKI AND HIS INTERVIEW WITH SOVIET TELEVISION. ONE COMMENTATOR (KOBYSH, IZVESTIYA 28 MAY) ASKED IF THIS WAS THE CORRECT BEHAVIOUR FOR A GUEST AND REGRETTED THAT THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED TO DEFER TO THE AMERICAN RIGHT AND TO POLICIES OF 'A POSITION OF STRENGTH.'

15. THE SUMMIT IS ALSO PUTTING INTERNAL SOVIET DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE MICROSCOPE. THE PRESS HAVE BEEN CHASING PARTY FIGURES FOR INTERVIEWS, WITH SOME SUCCESS. SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY BORIS ELTSIN HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEWS WITH BOTH THE BBC AND GOOD MORNING AMERICA.

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16. IN SEPARATE TELEGRAMS I HAVE REPORTED SOVIET RATTIFICATION OF THE INF AGREEMENT, AND A SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON CAMBODIA WHICH, BY PUBLICATION ON 30 MAY, HAS POINTED UP SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS OF REGIONAL QUESTIONS. THE PRESS HAS ALSO CARRIED A DETAILED STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHICH CALLS ON ALL PARTIES TO OBSERVE THE AFGHANISTAN AGREEMENT AND CRITICIZES PAKISTAN FOR ITS FAILURE TO DO SO.

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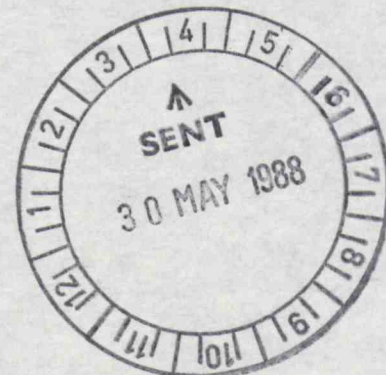
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