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MOSCOW SUMMIT, DAY 3: 31 MAY

SUMMARY

1. THE TWO LEADERS SPENT THE MORNING TETE-A-TETE DISCUSSING BILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES BEFORE GORBACHEV TOOK THE PRESIDENT ON A TOUR OF THE KREMLIN AND RED SQUARE, THAT INCLUDED ORCHESTRATED 'MEET THE PEOPLE' OPPORTUNITIES. AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED ON SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COLLABORATION. THE PRESIDENT MET LEADING CULTURAL FIGURES AND MADE A MAJOR SPEECH AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY. THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION CONTINUES TO RANKLE, BUT IN THEIR DINNER SPEECHES BOTH LEADERS PREFERRED TO DWELL ON THE PROGRESS MADE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR TAKING THIS FORWARD.

DETAIL

2. THE THIRD DAY OF THE MOSCOW SUMMIT OPENED WITH MR GORBACHEV AND PRESIDENT REAGAN HAVING THEIR FOURTH SESSION OF TALKS, THIS TIME TETE-A-TETE. BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WAS AT THE CENTRE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. THE RUSSIANS SAW THAT GORBACHEV RAISED THEIR EXCLUSION FROM MOST FAVOURED NATION STATUS AND THE JACKSON/VANIK AMENDMENT. GORBACHEV ALSO BRIEFED THE PRESIDENT ON THE PROGRESS OF PERESTROIKA AND THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIZATION. THE TETE-A-TETE SESSION RAN OVER ITS SCHEDULED TIME AND THE PLENARY SESSION WHICH SHOULD HAVE FOLLOWED WAS IN FACT HELD BETWEEN SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSSED REGIONAL ISSUES AND HEARD REPORTS FROM FOUR WORKING GROUPS.

3. YAZOV AND CARLUCCI HAD A FURTHER SEPARATE MEETING LASTING 2 1/2 HOURS IN THE AFTERNOON. THE TWO DEFENCE MINISTERS DISCUSSED VARIOUS CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, INCIDENTS AT SEA, START VERIFICATION, MISSILE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND THE GULF WAR.

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4. DAY 3 SAW THE FORMAL SIGNING OF GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENTS COVERING THE NOTIFICATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILE TESTING, THE CONDUCT OF A JOINT VERIFICATION EXPERIMENT FOR MEASURING THE SIZE OF UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS, CULTURAL EXCHANGES FOR THE PERIOD OF 1989-91, FISHERIES, TRANSPORT SCIENCES, AND THE CREATION OF A JOINT SATELLITE NAVIGATIONAL SYSTEM. IN ADDITION THE TWO SIDES EXCHANGED LETTERS AND NOTES ABOUT SEARCH AND RESCUE AT SEA AND THE EXPANSION OF COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF SPACE RESEARCH AND PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.

DINNER SPEECHES

5. IN THE BANQUET SPEECHES AT SPASO HOUSE, THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS, RECALLING TIMES WHEN THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE HAD BEEN FULL OF SOVIET CITIZENS AND ALSO WHEN IT HAD BEEN SO EMPTY THAT YOU COULD HEAR THE METRO RUMBLING BELOW. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE DIFFERENCES THAT REMAINED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT HE AND GORBACHEV HAD MADE HISTORIC PROGRESS AND HAD COMMITTED THE TWO NATIONS TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER. GORBACHEV'S WIDE-RANGING REPLY SKETCHED OUT AREAS WHERE HE SAW PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE BILATERAL COOPERATION. HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE ENTIRE WORLD. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO MORE SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES WITH THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH HE AGREED THAT THE TALKS THIS WEEK HAD BEEN ROBUST, EACH SIDE NEEDED TO "HAVE A REALISTIC VIEW AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF EACH OTHERS INTERESTS AND INTENTIONS. WE MUST LEARN THE DIFFICULT ART OF NOT JUST EXISTING SIDE BY SIDE, BUT OF BUILDING BRIDGES OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION".

JOINT WALK-ABOUT

6. AFTER THE FORMAL PROGRAMME IN THE MORNING, GORBACHEV TOOK THE PRESIDENT ON A WALK-ABOUT THROUGH THE KREMLIN AND INTO RED SQUARE. THERE THE TWO LEADERS MET SMALL GROUPS OF TOURISTS AND ANSWERED THEIR QUESTIONS. AS WITH THE REAGANS' VISIT TO THE ARBAT PEDESTRIAN PRECINCT ON SUNDAY EVENING, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT ACCESS TO RED SQUARE DURING THE WALK-ABOUT WAS STRICTLY CONTROLLED. THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED THE GOOD WISHES OF A GERRYMANDERED CROSS-SECTION OF SOVIET SOCIETY, AND IN RETURN EXPRESSED HIS RESPECT FOR THE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE COUNTRY BY SOVIET WOMEN. THROUGHOUT THIS TOUR GORBACHEV PLAYED THE ROLE

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OF AN EFFECTIVE GUIDE AND MENTOR, STEERING THE CONVERSATION AND TAKING THE LEAD IN ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

JOINT EXCHANGES WITH PRESS

7. GORBACHEV'S DYNAMICH APPROACH TO THE PRESS WAS ALSO EVIDENT IN THE BRIEF EXCHANGES WITH REPORTERS BEFORE THE DAY'S WORK BEGAN. HE ANSWERED FULLY EVEN THOSE QUESTIONS WHICH WERE PUT PRIMARILY TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, WHO BY CONTRAST WAS HESITANT AND CAUTIOUS IN HIS REPLIES. IN THIS WAY GORBACHEV WAS ABLE TO PUT ARMS CONTROL TOP OF THEIR JOINT AGENDA AND ALSO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IF THE TWO LEADERS INDULGED IN FRANK TALKING AS THEY HAD DONE IN GENEVA, THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO BREAK ANY APPARENT LOG-JAM.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PROGRAMME

WRITERS' UNION

8. THE PRESIDENT WAS INVITED TO LUNCH AT THE UNION OF WRITERS, WHERE HE MET LEADING LIGHTS OF GLASNOST IN THE ARTS, INCLUDING ZALYGIN, THE EDITOR OF NOVIY MIR, AND KURIOV, THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE FILM-MAKERS UNION. THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSED HIMSELF TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ARTISTIC FREEDOM, AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH. THE SOVIET PRESS REPORTED HIS REMARKS ONLY BRIEFLY, BUT DID INCLUDE HIS PRAISE FOR GORBACHEV AS A MAN OF INSIGHT.

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SPEECH

9. THE SPEECH TO THE MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WAS CLEARLY A MAJOR ELEMENT IN THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMME. HE BEGAN BY SPEAKING ABOUT THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION WHICH WAS UNDERWAY IN THE WEST. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE KEY TO THIS NEW ECONOMIC REVOLUTION WAS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, OF INFORMATION AND OF COMMUNICATION. HE ATTACKED CENTRAL PLANNING AND THE INERTIA OF ANY BUREAUCRACY. HE DEVOTED A PARAGRAPH TO EACH OF THE MANIFESTATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES, IN THE SCHOOLS, THE COURTS, THE UNIVERSITIES, AND THE UNIONS. HE STRESSED THAT FREEDOM WAS ACTUALLY MORE THAN THIS: 'FREEDOM IS THE RIGHT TO QUESTION AND TO CHANGE THE ESTABLISHED WAY OF DOING THINGS'.

10. THE PRESIDENT ALSO SPOKE OF THE COMMON TIES THAT BIND THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID THAT AMERICANS

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DID NOT SIMPLY FEEL GOODWILL TOWARDS SOVIET CITIZENS, THEY HAD MANY TIES OF KINSHIP. A FEW FAMILIES HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT THEIR RELATIVES AND THE PRESIDENT HOPED IT WOULD NOT BE TOO LONG BEFORE UKRAINIAN-AMERICANS, BALTIC-AMERICANS AND ARMENIAN-AMERICANS COULD FREELY VISIT THEIR HOMELANDS JUST AS HE, AND IRISH-AMERICAN, COULD VISIT HIS. SAYING IT WAS TIME TO REMOVE THE BARRIERS THAT KEPT PEOPLE APART, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE BERLIN WALL WITH GORBACHEV. QUOTING THE POPULAR SONG WHOSE CHORUS IS "'DO THE RUSSIANS WANT A WAR?'" , HE POINTED OUT THAT THE WARTIME EXPERIENCE OF THE AMERICANS, AND THEIR LOSSES, MEANT THAT THE ANSWER WAS JUST THE SAME FOR THEM.

11. THE PRESIDENT SPOKE ABOUT THE FAITH AND SELF-CONFIDENCE THAT WERE NEEDED BY THOSE INVOLVED IN PERESTROIKA. HE REMEMBERED THAT BUTCH CASSIDY AND THE SUNDANCE KID, WHEN SURROUNDED BY A POSSE ON THE EDGE OF A CLIFF, HAD LEAPT BOLDY INTO THE UNKNOWN. HE TOLD THE STUDENTS THAT THEIR GENERATION WAS LIVING IN ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING, HOPEFUL TIMES IN SOVIET HISTORY. USING GOGOL'S FAMOUS DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIA AS A TROIKA SPEEDING JOYFULLY TOWARD A DESTINATION WHICH IS NOT YET CLEAR, HE HOPED THAT THE JOURNEY WOULD LEAD TO A BLOSSOMING OF FREEDOM AND GLASNOST, "'LEADING TO A NEW WORLD OF RECONCILIATION, FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE'".

12. THE PRESIDENT THEN TOOK QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR. PREDICTABLY, MOST OF THESE SEEMED TO COME FROM STUDENTS WHO HAD DONE THEIR PARTY POLITICAL HOMEWORK. AFTER TWO SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS OF THE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS REDUCTIONS AND THE RESOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, HE WAS GRILLED ABOUT THE GUESTLIST FOR HIS RECEPTION AT SPASO HOUSE. "'WHY HAD HE INVITED A FORMER GESTAPO AGENT?'" (A SOVIET SPOKESMAN LATER EXPLAINED THAT HIS WAS AN ALLUSION TO ROSHKO, A POLICEMAN WHO HAD SERVED THE OCCUPYING POWERS DURING THE WAR.) A FURTHER QUESTION ASKED THE PRESIDENT WHY HE HAD NOT RECEIVED THE FOUR AMERICAN INDIANS WHO HAD COME TO MOSCOW TO PLEAD THEIR CASE.

13. THE SOVIET PRESS HAS PUBLISHED BRIEF ACCOUNTS OF THE UNIVERSITY MEETING, BUT HAS YET TO PRINT THE SPEECH.

MRS REAGAN

13. MRS REAGAN SPENT THE DAY IN LENINGRAD, ACCOMPANIED BY MRS GROMYKO. SHE WAS GIVEN AN EXTENSIVE TOUR OF THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL BEAUTIES OF THE CITY, WHICH SHE EVIDENTLY