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OF 240315Z SEPTEMBER 88
AND TO DESKBY 241300Z UKMIS NEW YORK
INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, UKDEL VIENNA
INFO PRIORITY UKMIS GENEVA

SHULTZ'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE

SUMMARY

1. SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE'S TALKS ON 22/23 SEPTEMBER PRODUCED NO SURPRISES. DISCUSSION OF REGIONAL ISSUES LITTLE MORE THAN ROUTINE REVIEW. HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WERE AS USUAL PARAMOUNT IN SHULTZ'S MIND. DISCUSSION OF DEFENCE AND ARMS CONTROL (SEE MIFT) WERE MORE DETAILED, BUT NO DEFINITIVE PROGRESS MADE. EMPHASIS THROUGHOUT ON CONTINUITY AND MUTUAL DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE BILATERAL DIALOGUE THROUGH TO THE END OF THE YEAR.

DETAIL

2. RIDGWAY AND NITZE BRIEFED NATO AND OTHER MAJOR WESTERN EMBASSIES THIS EVENING, 23 SEPTEMBER, ON THE SHULTZ/SHEVARDNADZE TALKS. PARAS 4-8 BENEATH COVER REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES. THE RATHER MORE SUBSTANTIVE BRIEFING ON DEFENCE AND ARMS CONTROL IS IN MIFT.

3. RIDGWAY SAID THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAD BROUGHT A LETTER FOR REAGAN FROM GORBACHEV, THE MAIN THRUST OF WHICH WAS TO UNDERLINE SOVIET INTEREST IN MAINTAINING ACTIVE BILATERAL CONTACT WITH THE AMERICANS THROUGH TO THE END OF THE ADMINISTRATION. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THE RUSSIANS PUTTING THE RELATIONSHIP ON HOLD. THE TALKS BETWEEN SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE HAD BEEN CONDUCTED IN THIS SPIRIT. THEY HAD BEEN CHARACTERISED, AS RIDGWAY PUT IT, BY CONTINUITY, CONSISTENCY AND COMMITMENT. THERE HAD BEEN NO MAJOR BREAKTHROUGHS: BUT SOME OF THE DISCUSSIONS, IN PARTICULAR ON ARMS CONTROL, HAD HELPED TO CLARIFY POSITIONS.

HUMAN RIGHTS

4. AS USUAL, HUMAN RIGHTS HAD BEEN UPPERMOST ON THE US AGENDA. SHULTZ HAD GONE OVER THE GROUND IN HIS USUAL FORCEFUL WAY. HE HAD FOCUSSED HARD ON ALL THE FAMILIAR

POINTS, EMPHASISING IN PARTICULAR THE UNACCEPTABLE RESTRICTIONS ON SOVIET EMIGRATION, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, JAMMING, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND THE NEED FOR INSTITUTIONAL AND VERIFIABLE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION TO BACK UP PROTESTATIONS OF PROGRESS. SHULTZ HAD BEEN VERY FIRM IN LAYING DOWN US EXPECTATIONS ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP. A POSSIBLE MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE HAD BEEN RAISED. THE US POSITION ON THIS HAD REMAINED UNCHANGED. SHULTZ HAD SAID NEITHER YES OR NO. HE HAD REHEARSED FIRMLY THE AREAS WHERE PROGRESS WAS NEEDED. THERE HAD BEEN NO MOVEMENT OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE ON THESE QUOTE INDICATORS UNQUOTE. US ALLIES WOULD BE BRIEFED MORE FULLY NEXT WEEK.

REGIONAL ISSUES

5. ALL REGIONAL ISSUES HAD BEEN TOUCHED ON, BUT DISCUSSIONS HAD NOT BEEN DETAILED. SHEVARDNADZE HAD PLACED GREAT EMPHASIS ON GORBACHEV'S KRASNOYARSK SPEECH, AND SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS WISHED TO EXPLORE HOW BEST TO REPLACE CONFRONTATION WITH CONSULTATION ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISSUES. SHULTZ HAD SUGGESTED THIS SHOULD BE CARRIED FORWARD AT EXPERT LEVEL IN EARLY NOVEMBER.

6. ON AFGHANISTAN, SHEVARDNADZE HAD MADE THE USUAL DISOBLIGING NOISES ABOUT ALLEGED PAKISTANI VIOLATION OF THE ACCORD: SHULTZ HAD REJECTED THESE ALLEGATIONS, TOGETHER WITH SOVIET EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE FOUR PARTY TALKS IN NEW YORK, AND HAD COUNTERED WITH EMPHASIS ON THE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF MEETING THE DEADLINE FOR WITHDRAWAL. RIDGWAY OFFERED NO FURTHER DETAIL.

7. SOUTHERN AFRICA HAD BEEN DEALT WITH VERY SPEEDILY. SHULTZ NEVERTHELESS HAD THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE STILL REASONABLY POSITIVE IN THEIR APPROACH TO THE CURRENT DELICATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. ON CAMBODIA, RIDGWAY SAID MERELY THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAD UNDERLINED VIETNAMESE DETERMINATION TO WITHDRAW AS PROMISED. DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS HAD BEEN NO MORE THAN A REHEARSAL OF FAMILIAR POSITIONS. RIDGWAY OFFERED NO DETAIL OF ANY DISCUSSION ON IRAN/IRAQ. ON CW, SHE NOTED THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAD QUESTIONED THE US EVIDENCE ABOUT IRAQI USE, BUT HAD BEEN READY TO REAFFIRM BOTH SOVIET CONDEMNATION OF CW GENERALLY AND SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE ROLE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN CARRYING OUT PROMPT INVESTIGATIONS IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN THE FACTS OF SUCH USE. ON THE KOREAN PENINSULAR, SHULTZ HAD URGED SHEVARDNADZE TO EXPAND SOVIET CONTACTS WITH THE SOUTH, AND SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD LOOK AGAIN AT CONTACTS

WITH THE NORTH IF THE OLYMPICS PASSED WITHOUT DISTURBANCE.
BILATERAL ISSUES

8. ON BILATERAL ISSUES, THERE WAS LENGTHY DISCUSSION AT WORKING LEVEL ABOUT LIVING CONDITIONS FOR DIPLOMATS AND OTHER MATTERS CONCERNING THEIR RESPECTIVE EMBASSIES. THESE HAD AT TIMES BEEN DIFFICULT, AND DISCUSSION WOULD CONTINUE. BOTH SIDES HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN FURTHER CONTACT ON COOPERATIONS ON BASIC SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

9. SEE MIFT.

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MIFT: SHULTZ'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE: ARMS CONTROL
SUMMARY

1. A LOW-KEY BRIEFING. APPARENT LACK OF DISCUSSION ON
THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT ON START
(THOUGH THE US MADE A STATEMENT WITH UK CONCERNS IN
MIND). OTHERWISE ALL MAJOR ARMS CONTROL ISSUES DISCUSSED
THOROUGHLY BY MINISTERS AND BY THE SUPPORTING WORKING
GROUPS OF OFFICIALS. BUT PROGRESS LIMITED TO PNET/TTBT
AND POSSIBLE SOVIET MOVEMENT ON THE MAIN CONVENTIONAL
STABILITY MANDATE ISSUE. LITTLE CHANGE ON DEFENCE AND
SPACE, AND NONE ON START OR ABM TREATY VIOLATIONS.

DETAIL

2. ON START, NITZE SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD FAILED
TO ELABORATE ON THEIR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM START
AGREEMENT ON MISSILE WARHEAD NUMBERS AND FLIGHT TESTING.
SHEVARDNADZE HAD MENTIONED IT ON THE FIRST DAY ONLY IN
PASSING. THE US HAD THEREFORE ASKED A NUMBER OF
QUESTIONS. THE RUSSIANS SEEMED UNPREPARED AND HAD SAID
THAT THEY WOULD TAKE THE POINTS BACK FOR STUDY AND
REPLY SUBSEQUENTLY IN GENEVA. NITZE ADDED THAT THE
US HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY
PROPOSITION THAT WOULD AFFECT EXISTING PATTERNS OF
COOPERATION WITH ALLIES.

3. THE MAIN DISCUSSION ON START HAD BEEN ON ALCMS
AND VERIFICATION OF MOBILE ICBMS - SHOULD THE US EVER
CHANGE THEIR POSITION AND AGREE TO PERMIT THEM. NITZE
SAID THAT THE ALCM DISCUSSIONS BECAME BOGGED DOWN BECAUSE
BOTH SIDES HAD BROUGHT SEPARATE PACKAGES ON THE TWO SETS
OF ISSUES OUTSTANDING (RULES FOR ATTRIBUTING WARHEADS TO
HEAVY BOMBERS AND ALCM RANGES). THE RUSSIANS HAD STILL
OPPOSED 10 ALCMS PER BOMBER AND HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED TO
MOVE BEYOND 600KM ON THE RANGE ISSUE. NO PROGRESS HAD
BEEN MADE ON MOBILE ICBMS: BOTH SIDES HAD MANAGED TO AGREE
ON THE PRINCIPLE OF DISPERSAL AREAS BUT HAD DISAGREED ON

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THEIR PURPOSE - THE RUSSIANS ARGUING THAT EXERCISING SHOULD TAKE PLACE BEYOND THESE AREAS, THE AMERICANS INSISTING THAT IT SHOULD BE WITHIN THEM. THE RUSSIANS SAID THEY HAD TABLED IDEAS IN GENEVA ON THE REGISTRATION OF MOBILES. IT WAS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER THIS WAS A RESPONSE TO US PROPOSALS FOR 'TAGGING'. THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS ON ICBM SUBLIMITS OR SLCM VERIFICATION.

4. ON DEFENCE AND SPACE, NITZE SAID THE US HAD EXPRESSED REGRET OVER THE CONTINUING SOVIET REFUSAL TO AGREE TO WORK ON A JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS A WAY OF NARROWING DIFFERENCES. THEY HAD CALLED ON THEM AGAIN TO IMPLEMENT THIS STANDARD PROCEDURE FOR MAKING PROGRESS. THEY HAD ALSO REPEATED THEIR PROPOSITION THAT NEITHER SIDE SHOULD OBJECT ON ABM TREATY GROUNDS TO SPACE-BASED SENSORS OF THE OTHER SIDE. THE RUSSIANS HAD EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS, BUT HAD AT LEAST AGREED TO DISCUSS THIS FURTHER, WHICH SUGGESTED SOME POSSIBLE MOVEMENT. ON THE DRAFT PREDICTABILITY PROTOCOL, THE RUSSIANS HAD SAID THEY WOULD HAVE SOME RESPONSE IN GENEVA.

5. ON ABM TREATY COMPLIANCE, THE US HAD RESTATED THAT KRASNOYARSK WAS A SERIOUS VIOLATION, RAISING THE QUESTION OF MATERIAL BREACH AND RULING OUT ANY STRATEGIC ARMS TREATY UNTIL THE WHOLE STRUCTURE WAS DISMANTLED. IDEAS SUCH AS CONVERSION TO AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE RESEARCH FACILITY COULD BE CONSIDERED ONLY IF DEMOLITION CAME FIRST. SHEVARDNADZE HAD REITERATED THE 'STRONG DESIRE TO CORRECT IT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF GORBACHEV'S PROPOSALS'. BUT NOTHING HAD BEEN OFFERED ON SPECIFICS. THE AMERICANS FELT, HOWEVER, THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION MIGHT OFFER HOPE AND INTENDED TO KEEP GOING.

6. NITZE REPORTED 'GOOD PROGRESS' ON PNET AND TTBT. AMBASSADORS WOULD RETURN TO GENEVE TO TRY TO WRAP UP BOTH PROTOCOLS BY THE END OF THE YEAR. GOOD RESULTS WERE POSSIBLE, GIVEN HIGH LEVEL COMMITMENT.

7. ON THE CONVENTIONAL MANDATE TALKS, RIDGWAY SAID THAT GOOD BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN HELD, ALTHOUGH THE US STRESSED THAT THEY COULD ONLY EXCHANGE VIEWS, NOT NEGOTIATE. THEY HAD PRESSED THE RUSSIANS HARD ON THEIR DEMANDS TO EXCLUDE FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, STRESSING THAT THE POSITION WAS BOTH WRONG IN LOGIC AND UNACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. AFTER AN UNENTHUSIASTIC INITIAL DEFENCE, THE RUSSIANS HAD COME FORWARD ON THE SECOND DAY WITH A PROPOSAL TO REPLACE FIGHTER EXCLUSION

WITH QUOTE LAND BATTLE-CAPABLE ARMAMENTS AND EQUIPMENTS UNQUOTE. THE US HAD SAID THAT THEY WERE NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS LANGUAGE, BUT INDICATED THAT THIS WAS A MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, ALTHOUGH THE NEW FORMULA WAS STILL NOT ACCEPTABLE. THEY HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION SHOULD NOW TAKE PLACE IN VIENNA.

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