

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKDEL CSCE VIENNA (CORRECTED VERSION)

TO DESKBY 281000Z FCO

TELNO 426

OF 280926Z NOVEMBER 88

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO
INFO IMMEDIATE PRAGUE, OTTAWA, OTHER CSCE POSTSPl. d. 6
CM.

CSCE VIENNA MEETING : US VIEWS

SUMMARY

1. SHULTZ IS REPORTED TO BE CONFIDENT THAT THE VIENNA MEETING CAN BE CONCLUDED BY JANUARY 20. A LETTER FROM DUMAS ON THE 23/35 LINK HAS, IT SEEMS, CLEARED THE AIR. SHULTZ IS CONVINCED THE RUSSIANS WILL TRY TO MEET THE CONDITIONS FOR A MOSCOW CONFERENCE: SOME DIFFICULTY WITH CANADA EXPECTED OVER THESE. AMERICANS ARE PREPARED TO SWALLOW THE ECONOMIC MEETING PROVIDED NO PART OF IT IS HELD IN PRAGUE. A FIGHT STILL EXPECTED ON THE NUMBER AND VENUES FOR FOLLOW UP MEETINGS.

2. TWO CAUTIONARY NOTES: THE NEED FOR A CONSENSUS OF ALL 35: A POSSIBLE AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO LOWER THE BAR FOR MOSCOW.

DETAIL

3. DURING TWO LENGTHY CONVERSATIONS WITH ZIMMERMANN OVER THE WEEK-END IT EMERGED THAT SHULTZ IS NOW CONFIDENT THAT THE VIENNA MEETING CAN BE CONCLUDED BEFORE THE EXPIRY OF HIS TERM OF OFFICE. HE HAD RECEIVED A LETTER LATE LAST WEEK FROM DUMAS ON THE 23/35 LINK MAKING PROPOSALS WHICH HE THINKS THE ADMINISTRATION CAN LIVE WITH. HE IS ALSO ENCOURAGED BY SCHIFTER'S RECEPTION IN MOSCOW (YOUR TELS 255 AND 256) WHICH HAS CONVINCED HIM THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL TRY HARD TO MEET THE AMERICAN CONDITIONS FOR A CDH MEETING IN MOSCOW. WHEN I REMARKED THAT ALL EXPECTATIONS FOR AN END TO THE VIENNA MEETING HAVE SO FAR PROVED ILLUSORY, ZIMMERMANN AGREED BUT ADDED THAT IF WE MISSED THE TARGET BY JANUARY 20 WE HAD MISSED FOR A LONG TIME TO COME WHILE THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION WAS SETTling IN. AT ALL EVENTS, SHULTZ HAD TURNED DOWN HIS REQUEST TO MOVE ON TO THE BELGRADE EMBASSY AT THE NEW YEAR BECAUSE HE WAS NEEDED HERE TO MAKE THE ATTEMPT TO FINISH BY THIS DATE.

4. ZIMMERMANN SAID THAT THE CANADIAN CONDITIONS FOR ACCEPTING MOSCOW (OUR TELNO 402) LOOKED LIKE A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO WRECK THE IDEA AND HE HAD BEEN DISTURBED BY BAUER'S INTERVENTION IN THE 16 HERE ON 24 NOVEMBER DURING WHICH BAUER HAD SAID THAT A JEWISH WOMEN'S GROUP

IN CANADA HAD A LIST OVER 1,900 LONG-TERM REFUSENIKS. SCHIFTER'S LIST CONTAINED ONLY 80 IDENTIFIED CASES ACCORDING TO THE US DEFINITION (I.E. REFUSAL FOR TEN YEARS HAVING TWICE APPLIED TO LEAVE). ZIMMERMANN HAS RECOMMENDED THAT WASHINGTON BRIEF OTTAWA VERY CAREFULLY ON THIS: UNLIKE THEIR INFORMATION ON PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE, WHICH WAS NECESSARILY IMPERFECT, WASHINGTON'S INFORMATION ON REFUSENIKS HAD BEEN GATHERED OVER TWENTY YEARS AND WAS RELIABLE. I ACCEPTED THIS BUT SAID THAT OUR OWN DEFINITION OF 'LONG-TERM' WAS FIVE YEARS. THIS WOULD PROBABLY PRODUCE A HIGHER FIGURE THAN 80, BUT PROBABLY NOT AS MANY AS THE CANADIAN JEWISH LIST.

5. ZIMMERMANN ALSO SAID THAT WASHINGTON WAS NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ECONOMIC MEETING (THE GENSCHER PROPOSAL). THE AMERICANS HAD NEVER LIKED THE IDEA AND STILL DID NOT LIKE IT BUT THEY HAD SO FAR REFUSED CONSENT PRINCIPALLY TO MAINTAIN A HOLD OVER GENSCHER ON OTHER MATTERS E.G. HUMAN RIGHTS. WASHINGTON HAD NOW CONCLUDED THAT THE GERMANS HAD BEHAVED WELL OVER THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY DURING KOHL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND HAD BEEN HELPFUL WHEN MITTERRAND WENT OFF THE RAILS RECENTLY ON THE 23/35 LINK. WASHINGTON HAD NOW DECIDED TO SUPPORT THIS GERMAN PROPOSAL ALWAYS PROVIDED NO PART OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO BE HELD IN PRAGUE WHERE THE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD CONTINUED TO BE DEPLORABLE. I ENCOURAGED ZIMMERMANN IN THIS ARGUING THAT IF, AS SOME BELIEVED, THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP WAS DIVIDED ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THE BETTER ELEMENTS IF THEY COULD POINT TO THE DISADVANTAGES OF PRESENT BEHAVIOUR TO OTHER CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL INTERESTS. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE ON MATTERS TOUCHING ON EAST-WEST TRADE WHERE, AS I HAD SEEN MYSELF DURING MR CLARK'S VISIT TO PRAGUE LAST WEEK THERE WAS MUCH PENT-UP DEMAND.

6. ON FOLLOW-UP GENERALLY ZIMMERMANN SAID THAT WASHINGTON HAD AGREED TO ADVANCE SOME WAY TOWARDS THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED POSITION BUT NOT THE WHOLE WAY. AN ATTEMPT AT A FAIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG EAST/WEST/NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS MIGHT HELP TO SECURE A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS. I REVEALED TO HIM, IN CONFIDENCE, THAT MY INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTED ME TO GO TO TEN MEETINGS (INCLUDING CST) BUT NOT BEYOND: MY SUPPORT FOR ONLY EIGHT SO FAR HAD BEEN AN OPENING BID. AFTER SOME CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVES DURING WHICH WE WERE JOINED BY MEESMAN (NETHERLANDS), WE AGREED TO TRY TO SECURE THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES MEETING AND THE SCIENTIFIC FORUM AT ERICE FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION AT HELSINKI. WE AGREED THAT WHILE THESE HAD THE LEAST SUPPORT GENERALLY, THERE WAS BOUND TO BE A STIFF FIGHT EVEN TO SECURE THIS

MODEST REDUCTION.

COMMENT

7. SHULTZ'S CONFIDENCE MAY WELL BE JUSTIFIED ON THE CHANCES OF REMOVING THE TWO MAIN STUMBLING BLOCKS TO A CONCLUSION HERE. BUT THE HISTORY OF THE CSCE GENERALLY, AND THIS MEETING IN PARTICULAR, IS OF SINGLE-ISSUE CONSTITUENCIES HOLDING UP PROCEEDINGS IN A WAY WE AND THE AMERICANS (AND NOW IT SEEMS THE RUSSIANS) WOULD CONSIDER IRRESPONSIBLE. AS ZIMMERMANN OBSERVED, THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN UNSCRUPULOUS IN THE PURSUIT OF THEIR OBJECTIVES SO FAR AND IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER DUMAS' LETTER IS THEIR LAST WORD. TURKISH/CYPRIOT/BULGARIAN PROBLEMS MIGHT STIRKE US AS TIRESOME AND CANADA UNDER BAUER'S INFLUENCE HAS BEEN UNUSUALLY DIFFICULT SO FAR: BUT IT REMAINS THE CASE THAT CONSENSUS OF ALL THIRTY FIVE IS NECESSARY BEFORE THIS MEETING CAN CLOSE. NONETHELESS, IT IS CLEARLY IN OUR INTERESTS TO HELP THE AMERICANS ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE OF A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION BEFORE JANUARY 20 IF WE POSSIBLY CAN.

8. SLIGHTLY TROUBLING IS THE SUSPICION THAT IN ORDER TO FINISH (AND, AS ZIMMERMANN PUT IT, TO ADD ONE FINAL FEATHER TO SHULTZ'S CAP) THE AMERICANS MAY BE TRYING SLIGHTLY TO LOWER THE BAR FOR THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE. IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE DUBIOUS PSYCHIATRIC CASES CAN ALL BE FINALLY RESOLVED BY JANUARY 20: AS ZIMMERMANN, WAS CLEARLY HINTING TO ME, THE AMERICANS MAY TRY TO PERSUADE US THAT A PROMISE TO RESOLVE THE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE ISSUE ''SPEEDILY'' SHOULD BE ENOUGH.

9. MORE WORRYING IS SCHIFTER'S LIST OF 80 LONG-TERM REFUSENIK CASES. THIS SEEMS LOW AND THE DEFINITION OF ''LONG-TERM'' OVER-GENEROUS TO THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES. SCHIFTER IS KNOWN TO BE AN ENTHUSIAST FOR THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE AND IS THOUGHT BY OTHERS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (NOT TO SPEAK OF CONGRESS) TO BE TOO ACCOMMODATING TO THE SOVIET POSITION. BESIDES TELLING ZIMMERMANN THAT OUR OWN DEFINITION OF ''LONG-TERM'' WAS STRICTER (SEE ABOVE) I SAID THAT YOU HAVE SO FAR REFUSED TO ENTER THE NUMBERS GAME BECAUSE YOU BELIEVED IT WAS FOR EACH COUNTRY TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WERE SATISFIED BY THE RUSSIAN RESPONSE TO THE AMERICAN CONDITIONS. I ADDED THAT I IMAGINED THAT, IF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE CAME UP DURING THE GORBACHEV VISIT TO LONDON, YOU MIGHT WISH TO EXPLORE THE ISSUE FURTHER. I RECOMMEND THAT YOU DO SO IF A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY ARISES. MEANWHILE IT MIGHT BE A GOOD IDEA TO TALK TO OTTAWA AS PART OF THE LIST-COMPILING EXERCISE YOU ARE CONSIDERING (YOUR TELNO 255).

10. IT LOOKS AS IF THE CHRISTMAS BREAK WILL BE UNUSUALLY SHORT IN

VIENNA THIS YEAR.

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ADDITIONAL

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