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MODUK FOR DACU
CFE/CSBM MINISTERIAL, 6 MARCH: SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER

SUMMARY

1. BAKER CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A QUOTE NEW EUROPE UNQUOTE BASED ON FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN FREEDOMS. INVITED EAST/WEST COOPERATION OVER ENVIRONMENT. LOOKED FORWARD TO PROGRESS ON NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION ONCE ADMINISTRATION REVIEW COMPLETE. ANNOUNCED THAT THE US WAS EXPLORING WAYS OF ACCELERATING REMOVAL OF US CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW) FROM GERMANY: CALLED ON THE SOVIET UNION TO REDUCE ITS CW HOLDINGS: AND PROPOSED A CONFERENCE WITH INDUSTRY ON CW PRECURSORS. REVIEWED NATO PRIORITIES FOR CFE/CSBM NEGOTIATIONS.

DETAIL

2. BAKER IDENTIFIED QUOTE NEW HORIZONS UNQUOTE OPENING UP AS A RESULT OF WESTERN DETERMINATION AND NEW-FOUND SOVIET REALISM. HE CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A QUOTE NEW EUROPE UNQUOTE BASED ON FOUR FREEDOMS:

- A) FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS AFFECTING THEIR LIVES, INCLUDING FREEDOM OF THE WORK PLACE. LEGALITY OF SOLIDARITY SHOULD BE QUOTE THE NORM UNQUOTE
- B) FREEDOM TO EXPRESS POLITICAL DIFFERENCES:
- C) FREEDOM TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND INFORMATION, AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INCLUDING REMOVAL OF THE BERLIN WALL:
- D) FREEDOM FROM MILITARY INTIMIDATION OR ATTACK. BAKER CALLED ON GORBACHEV EXPLICITELY TO RENOUNCE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.

3. BAKER NOTED PROGRESS TOWARDS THESE FREEDOMS THROUGH THE CSCE PROCESS, BUT STRESSED MORE WAS NEEDED. THE WEST HAD A DUTY TO ENSURE THAT NEW SOVIET RHETORIC WAS TRANSLATED INTO ACTION, PARTICULARLY IN CHANGED MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS AND RESPECT FOR HUMANS RIGHTS. HE ALSO CITED ECONOMIC CHANGE AS A FEATURE OF THE QUOTE NEW

EUROPE UNQUOTE. THE CREATION OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET IN 1992 COULD BUTRESS PEACE AND FREEDOM. THE LOOSENING OF CENTRALISED ECONOMIES IN EASTERN EUROPE ALSO OFFERED HOPE.

4. ON THE ENVIRONMENT, BAKER INVITED THE SOVIET UNION TO JOIN THE WEST IN TACKLING TRANS-NATIONAL PROBLEMS. HE CITED THE RECENT EC/US AGREEMENT TO BAN USE OF CFCS BY THE YEAR 2000 AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SCOPE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

5. ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BAKER RECALLED THE IMPORTANT PRECEDENTS SET BY THE INF TREATY IN VERIFICATION AND ASSYMETRIC REDUCTION. HE NOTED THE ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN START TALKS. HE SAID THE US LOOKED FORWARD TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION ONCE THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTERNAL REVIEW WAS COMPLETE.

6. BAKER STRESSED THE LEADING ROLE OF THE US IN CW NEGOTIATIONS, BUT SAID THAT THE US WOULD MAINTAIN A MINIMAL CHEMICAL DETERRENT UNTIL CW COULD BE ELIMINATED IN VERIFIABLE WAY. HE ANNOUNCED THAT ADMINISTRATION WAS EXPLORING HOW TO ACCELERATE CW REMOVAL FROM GERMANY, BUT SAID EARLY REMOVAL WOULD REQUIRE SAFE STORAGE AND PRACTICAL DESTRUCTION PLANS. HE CALLED ON THE SOVIET UNION TO ACCELERATE DESTRUCTION OF ITS CW STOCKPILE. HE ANNOUNCED THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S AGREEMENT TO ORGANISE A CONFERENCE ON CW PRECURSORS INVOLVING GOVERNMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.

7. BAKER SAID THAT ARMS CONTROL PROCESS MUST NOW FOCUS ON THE EAST/WEST CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE. REMOVING THE IMBALANCE WAS A PREREQUISITE FOR ENDURING IMPROVEMENT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, THOUGH IT WAS IN ITSELF THE SYMPTON, NOT THE CAUSE, OF THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. HE RECALLED WARSAW PACT SUPERIORITY IN ARMS WITH INVASION CAPABILITY, ESPECIALLY TANKS, ARTILLERY AND ARMOURED TROOP CARRIERS (ATCS). HE WELCOMED RECENT EASTERN ANNOUNCEMENTS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS REDUCTIONS. BUT STRESSED THAT CUTS HAD YET TO BE IMPLEMENTED, AND THAT EVEN WITH THEM, THE WARSAW PACT WOULD RETAIN A MORE THAN 2 TO 1 ADVANTAGE IN TANKS AND ARTILLERY.

8. ON CFE/CSBM NEGOTIATIONS, BAKER REAFFIRMED WESTERN COMMITMENT TO THE GOALS OF PREVENTING WAR, DETERRING AGRESSION AND INCREASING STABILITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES. HE IDENTIFIED CLEAR NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES: EQUAL CEILINGS OF KEY EQUIPMENT BELOW CURRENT NATO LEVELS: NO STATE TO POSSESS CAPABILITIES DESIGNED PRIMARILY FOR INVASION: AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGIME OF MUTUAL OPENNESS AND TRANSPARENCY IN MILITARY MATTERS. HE ALSO CALLED FOR THE ADOPTION OF

DOCTRINES AND FORCE STRUCTURES REFLECTING DEFENSIVE INTENTIONS.

9. BAKER SAID THE ALLIANCE WOULD FOCUS ON ACHIEVING REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY CAPABILITIES DESIGNED FOR INVASION, EG THE PROPOSED LIMIT OF 40,000 TANKS IN EUROPE. THE ALLIANCE WAS ALSO PREPARED TO INTRODUCE NEW CSBMS DESIGNED TO INCREASE TRANSPARENCY AND REDUCE POSSIBILITY OF SURPRISE ATTACK. BUT HE WARNED AGAINST ABANDONING DETERRENCE FOR THE SAKE OF PROPOSALS WHICH SEEMED TO OFFER SWEEPING REDUCTIONS.

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