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US SOVIET RELATIONS: BAKER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW  
SUMMARY

1. THE MAIN US AIM AT NEXT WEEK'S MEETINGS IN MOSCOW WILL BE TO GET BACK INTO BUSINESS ACROSS THE WHOLE RANGE OF THE US/SOVIET AGENDA. ACCORDING TO MRS RIDGWAY, THE DISCUSSIONS WILL MOSTLY COVER FAMILIAR GROUND. AGREEMENT ON RESUMING START TALKS IN JUNE LIKELY: BUT US DO NOT EXPECT TO SET SUMMIT DATES.

DETAIL

2. BAKER WILL BE HOLDING HIS FIRST FULL-SCALE BILATERAL MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE IN MOSCOW ON 10 AND 11 MAY (AND WILL BE BRIEFING THE NATO COUNCIL ON HIS WAY HOME ON 12 MAY). THE MINISTER CALLED ON MRS RIDGWAY AT STATE ON 1 MAY TO ESTABLISH WHAT BAKER'S APPROACH WOULD BE AND WHAT INITIATIVES THE US WERE EXPECTING FROM THE RUSSIANS. WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN SOUNDINGS AT OTHER LEVELS IN THE ADMINISTRATION.
3. MRS RIDGWAY SAID THAT THE PRIMARY AIM OF THIS VISIT WOULD BE TO QUOTE ENGAGE THE MACHINERY UNQUOTE ON THE FULL RANGE OF ISSUES AFTER THE HIATUS DURING THE TRANSITION, AND TO FAMILIARISE THE NEW US TEAM WITH THE STYLE OF US/SOVIET BILATERALS, AS WELL AS WITH THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS. WITH THAT IN MIND, BAKER WAS TAKING TO MOSCOW A LARGE TEAM OF OFFICIALS (RATHER LARGER THAN HE NORMALLY PREFERRED) INCLUDING (FROM STATE) BARTHOLOMEW, BURT (IF CONFIRMED), ZOELICK, ROSS, TUTWEILER, SCHIFTER, HERSELF, AND SIMONS AND (FROM THE NSC) GATES (HIS FIRST EVER VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION), KANTER AND PROFESSOR RICE (THEIR SOVIET SPECIALIST).
4. MRS RIDGWAY CONTINUED THAT THE US EXPECTED THAT FOLLOWING A PRIVATE BAKER/SHEVARDNADZE MEETING AND AN OPENING PLENARY, THE TWO TEAMS WOULD BREAK INTO WORKING GROUPS. BUT THE DISCUSSIONS AT THESE INITIAL ENCOUNTERS WERE LIKELY TO BE ON STANDARD LINES WITH NO NEW GROUND BROKEN. A GOOD DEAL OF TIME WOULD PROBABLY BE SPENT ON PROCEDURAL ISSUES, SUCH AS ESTABLISHING TIMETABLES FOR FUTURE MEETINGS AT THE EXPERT LEVEL. IN RESPONSE TO THE MINISTER'S QUESTION, MRS RIDGWAY SAID THAT SHE DID NOT EXPECT DATES FOR A US/SOVIET SUMMIT

TO BE AGREED AT THIS MEETING: SHE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO THE TIMING OF A SUMMIT WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION.

5. ON SUBSTANCE, MRS RIDGWAY SAID THAT THE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS WOULD BE COVERED:

(A) HUMAN RIGHTS.

BAKER INTENDED TO LEAD OFF WITH THIS IN THE PLENARY. HE WOULD REVIEW THE REMAINING US BILATERAL CASES (NOW DOWN TO 8), THE NEW SOVIET LAWS TO REPLACE THE POLITICAL ARTICLES OF THE CRIMINAL CODE, AND THE RECENT VISIT BY A GROUP OF US PSYCHIATRISTS. SCHIFTER (WHO WAS GOING TO MOSCOW IN ADVANCE FOR MEETINGS AT HIS LEVEL) WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO CHAIR A WORKING GROUP.

(B) ARMS CONTROL.

THE AMERICANS WERE AWARE THAT A KEY SOVIET PRIORITY WOULD BE TO FIX A DATE FOR RESUMING THE START NEGOTIATIONS. THE US STRATEGIC REVIEW WAS NOT YET COMPLETED AND BAKER WAS THEREFORE UNLIKELY TO HAVE ANY NEW US POSITION TO DEPLOY. BUT MRS RIDGWAY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WOULD BE DISCUSSION OF DATES FOR RESUMING THE TALKS. SHE HAD HEARD JUNE AS A LIKELY TIMING. VERSCHBOW (DIRECTOR OF THE SOVIET OFFICE, WHO WAS PRESENT) CONFIRMED TO US LATER THAT THE US SIDE WOULD IN PRACTICE HAVE TO BE IN A POSITION TO SETTLE ON DATES DURING BAKER'S VISIT.

BARTHOLOMEW WOULD CHAIR THE WORKING GROUP (THE TWO SIDES WOULD NOT ON THIS OCCASION BREAK DOWN INTO SUB-GROUPS ON INDIVIDUAL ARMS CONTROL ISSUES). THE US WERE LIKELY TO MAKE A GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THEIR APPROACH TO THE VARIOUS ISSUES. ON START, THEY WOULD EXPLAIN THE UNDERLYING OBJECTIVE OF ENHANCING STABILITY AND MOVING AWAY FROM SYSTEMS WHICH ENCOURAGED PRE-EMPTION. THEY WOULD NOT HOWEVER BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC POSITIONS ON SUBLIMITS OR SYSTEMS. ON DEFENCE AND SPACE THEY WOULD SPELL OUT THEIR THINKING THAT A NEGOTIATION COULD RUN PARALLEL WITH START BUT NOT BE LINKED TO IT. ON CFE THEY WOULD SPEAK TO THE NATO APPROACH. ON CW PROLIFERATION, THEY WOULD PRESS THE RUSSIANS TO RESPOND TO THE INITIATIVES LAUNCHED BY BAKER IN HIS VIENNA SPEECH. THERE WOULD BE NO NEW US PROPOSALS ON CW ARMS CONTROL. ON NUCLEAR TESTING AND MISSILE PROLIFERATION, THE AIM WOULD BE TO SET DATES FOR EXPERT LEVEL MEETINGS.

(C) REGIONAL ISSUES.

ROSS WILL CHAIR THE WORKING GROUP. MRS RIDGWAY FORESAW A DISCUSSION OF:

(I) CENTRAL AMERICA. BAKER WILL PRESS FOR A MORE FORTH-COMING SOVIET RESPONSE TO BUSH'S LETTER TO GORBACHEV APPEALING FOR RESTRAINT IN SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS THE REGION. VERSCHBOW TOLD US SEPARATELY THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME HINTS THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD GIVE SOME GROUND ON THIS, ALTHOUGH WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY MOVEMENT AT NEXT WEEK'S MEETINGS WAS NOT CLEAR. (WE ARE REPORTING SEPARATELY ON A TOUGH SPEECH BY BUSH ON THIS ISSUE ON 2 MAY.)

(II) AFGHANISTAN. THE RUSSIANS WOULD NO DOUBT RAISE THIS. THE US INTENDED TO RESPOND ON FAMILIAR LINES.

(III) MIDDLE EAST. ROSS HAS TOLD US SEPARATELY THAT BAKER HAS SENT SHEVARDNADZE A LETTER DESCRIBING THE US APPROACH FOLLOWING THE RECENT HIGH-LEVEL VISITS TO WASHINGTON AND REPEATING THAT THE US SAW AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE BUT THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE A MORE RESPONSIBLE SOVIET UNION ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR CLIENTS IN THE REGION. BAKER WOULD SPEAK ON THESE LINES IN MOSCOW AND WOULD RAISE IN PARTICULAR THE SUPPLY OF SU24S TO LIBYA.

(IV) AFRICA. COHEN HAS HAD TO POSTPONE HIS TALKS WITH ADAMISHIN IN LONDON THIS WEEK. IN MOSCOW, THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE OVER NAMIBIA ARE LIKELY TOPICS.

(V) CAMBODIA. THE US WILL BE INTERESTED TO PROBE HOW THE RUSSIANS WILL BE APPROACHING THIS ISSUE AT THE SINO/SOVIET SUMMIT.

(D) BILATERAL ISSUES

SIMONS WILL BE GOING TO MOSCOW IN ADVANCE TO UNDERTAKE AN INVENTORY WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART OF THE CURRENT RANGE OF ACTIVITIES. THERE ARE NO CONTENTIOUS ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. AN AGREEMENT ON THE CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN THE BERING STRAITS WOULD PROBABLY BE SIGNED DURING THE VISIT (AND WAS PARTICULARLY TIMELY GIVEN THE VALDEZ INCIDENT).

(E) TRANS NATIONAL ISSUES

THERE WOULD BE A FIRST DISCUSSION OF THIS ADDITIONAL SUBJECT (ADDED TO THE EARLIER FOUR POINT AGENDA AT BAKER'S REQUEST). SIMONS WOULD CHAIR THE WORKING GROUP. MRS RIDGWAY EXPECTED THAT TERRORISM WOULD BE THE MAIN ISSUE (ALTHOUGH THERE WERE UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW FAR THE US COULD GO IN EXCHANGING INFORMATION WITHOUT COMPROMISING INTELLIGENCE METHODS AND SOURCES). ONE AIM WOULD BE TO FIX AN EARLY MEETING BETWEEN THE NEW US TERRORISM COORDINATOR, BUSBY, AND HIS SOVIET EQUIVALENT. THE ENVIRONMENT, NARCOTICS AND CO-OPERATION OVER AIDS WERE WOULD ALSO BE RAISED. MRS RIDGWAY COMMENTED THAT NEITHER SIDE WAS CLEAR HOW THIS NEW

AGENDA ITEM WOULD DEVELOP. EACH OF THE ISSUES WERE ALREADY DISCUSSED IN MULTILATERAL FORA. STATE INTENDED TO KEEP A TIGHT GRIP ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES UNDER THIS HEADING ON THE US SIDE, TO PREVENT OTHER PARTS OF THE US BUREAUCRACY FROM RUNNING AHEAD WITH PET PROJECTS.

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