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BAKER/SHEVARDNADZE MEETING : US PREVIEW

SUMMARY

1. WIDE RANGING ADMINISTRATION BRIEFING ON US OBJECTIVES. NO SURPRISES. EMPHASIS ON PREPARATION FOR ARMS CONTROL AND BILATERAL AGREEMENTS FOR THE SUMMIT. LITHUANIA, GERMANY EXPECTED TO FEATURE. SOME CONCERN AT THE SLOWING OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS GENERALLY IN RECENT WEEKS.

DETAIL

2. ON 4 APRIL STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS BRIEFED NATO-PLUS AMBASSADORS ON AMERICAN OBJECTIVES AT THE MEETINGS WITH SHEVARDNADZE WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE OVER THE NEXT TWO DAYS. IT WAS GIVEN BY KIMMITT, BARTHOLOMEW, SEITZ, AND KAMAN, EACH OF WHOM WERE OBLIGED TO BREAK OFF FROM TIME TO TIME IN ORDER TO ATTEND THE IN-HOUSE BRIEFING MEETINGS WITH BAKER WHICH WERE RUNNING CONCURRENTLY. DESPITE THE SOMEWHAT DISJOINTED NATURE OF THE PRESENTATION, A FAIRLY CLEAR PICTURE OF AMERICAN OBJECTIVES EMERGED.

3. KIMMITT SAID THAT ALL FIVE PARTS OF THE TRADITIONAL US/SOVIET AGENDA WOULD BE COVERED, ALTHOUGH ON THIS OCCASION THE AMERICANS WOULD FOCUS ON SUMMIT PREPARATIONS AND CONCENTRATE ON THOSE SUBJECTS ON WHICH THERE WAS A PROSPECT OF REACHING AGREEMENTS, SIGNED OR OTHERWISE, AT THE MEETING BETWEEN BUSH AND GORBACHEV IN JUNE.

ARMS CONTROL

4. BARTHOLOMEW SAID THAT THE AIM WOULD BE TO BUILD ON THE FIRM BASIS ALREADY LAID DOWN IN WYOMING AND MOSCOW. THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE SOME PROPOSALS, NOTABLY ON START, BUT GENERALLY THERE WAS CONCERN THAT THE SOVIET NEGOTIATORS HAD BEEN MOVING MORE SLOWLY RECENTLY, PARTICULARLY ON CFE, BUT ALSO IN GENEVA. IT

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WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS WAS THE RESULT OF BUREAUCRATIC OVERLOAD IN MOSCOW, A REFLECTION OF THE TRANSITION IN DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES FROM THE POLITBURO TO ONE BASED ON AN NSC-TYPE SYSTEM, OR SIMPLY HESITATION AS NEGOTIATIONS CAME TO A HEAD. BUT THE AMERICANS PLAN WOULD ATTEMPT TO ENERGISE ARMS CONTROL ACROSS THE BOARD: ON START (THE SLCM DECLARATION, VERIFICATION OF MOBILE ICBM PRODUCTION, NUMERICAL LIMITS FOR NON-DEPLOYED MISSILES AND THE DURATION OF THE TREATY ITSELF): DEFENCE AND SPACE (ESSENTIALLY SEEKING AGREEMENT TO THE US CREDIBILITY PACKAGE): CW (WHERE THE AGREEMENT ON DESTRUCTION HAS NOW NARROWED DOWN TO ONE OR TWO KEY QUESTIONS): CFE (WHERE BAKER WOULD REMONSTRATE OVER THE LACK OF SOVIET FOLLOW-THROUGH IN VIENNA ON ISSUES SUCH AS AIRCRAFT AND DESTRUCTION ARRANGEMENTS): AND OPEN SKIES (WHERE THE RUSSIANS NEEDED TO SHOW A GREATER SENSE OF COMMITMENT IF AGREEMENT WAS TO BE REACHED FOR BUDAPEST). LESS PRESSURE WAS LIKELY TO BE NEEDED ON NUCLEAR TESTING, WHERE THE TTBT AND PNET PROTOCOLS WERE ON TRACK FOR SIGNATURE IN JUNE. BAKER ALSO PLANNED TO GIVE SHEVARDNADZE A DRAFT STATEMENT OF COOPERATION ON NON-PROLIFERATION, WITH A VIEW TO ISSUING AT THE SUMMIT, ON WHICH BARTHOLOMEW MIGHT HAVE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WITH KARPOV. ONE GENERALLY ENCOURAGING SIGN WAS THAT AKHROMOYEV WOULD BE PRESENT FOR THE TALKS.

EAST/WEST

5. SEITZ SAID THAT LITHUANIA WOULD BE A MAJOR ITEM AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA. BOTH BAKER AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD EMPHASISE QUOTE VIBRANTLY UNQUOTE THAT USE OF FORCE IN LITHUANIA WOULD HAVE A SEVERE POLITICALL IMPACT ON THE US/SOVIET RELATIONSHIP AS A WHOLE. ASKED WHETHER LITHUANIA WAS A REASON WHY NO FIRM DATE HAD YET BEEN SET FOR THE SUMMIT, SEITZ SAID THAT THE MAIN REASONS WERE THE COMPLICATIOINS CAUSED BY THE DOMESTIC SOVIET AGENDA, INCLUDING THE DATE OF THE PARTY CONGRESS (WHICH HAD ONLY JUST NOW BEEN FIXED FOR 2 JULY), AND THE FSR CONGRESS IN MID-JUNE. KIMMITT ADDED HOWEVER THAT LITHUANIA WAS NEVERTHELESS AN ELEMENT IN US CALCULATIONS IN THIS RESPECT.

6. ON GERMAN UNIFICATION, SEITZ SAID THAT IN REVIEWING PROGRESS OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR DISCUSSIONS IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ENVISAGE A FURTHER MEETING OF OFFICIALS (ONCE THE NEW GDR GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED) AROUND THE THIRD WEEK OF APRIL, WITH A MINISTERIAL MEETING BY THE END OF THE MONTH OR IN THE FIRST PART OF MAY - AN INTERESTING COMMENT IN THAT SEITZ HAD BEEN PRESSING AT THE DISCUSSIONS WITH GENSCHER ON THIS EARLIER IN THE DAY. OTHERWISE THE AMERICANS WOULD BE PRESSING FAMILIAR

VIEWS ON THE INCORPORATION OF GERMANY INTO WESTERN STRUCTURES.

7. THE TWO SIDES WOULD ALSO REVIEW PROSPECTS FOR THE CSCE SUMMIT, THE US RETAINING ITS PRE-CONDITIONS AS BEFORE. THE ADMINISTRATION ALSO EXPECTED TO HAVE TO COUNTER SOVIET VIEWS ON THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF CSCE AND THE SYNCHRONISATION WHICH THEY SEEM TO ENVISAGE BETWEEN THIS AND REUNIFICATION. REGIONAL ISSUES.

8. KIMMIT SAID THAT THE US APPROACH AS A WHOLE WOULD BE TO SECURE SOVIET AGREEMENT TO FREE ELECTIONS AS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE TO THE RESOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THE MAIN EMPHASIS IN THIS RESPECT WOULD BE ON AFGHANISTAN (WHERE THERE WAS SOME OPTIMISM THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE WORKING SERIOUSLY ON HOW TO PERSUADE NAJIBULLAH TO STAND ASIDE). THEY WOULD ALSO RAISE ANGOLA, WHERE SHEVARDNADZE SEEMED TO HAVE A HIGH DEGREE OF INTEREST AND HAS SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT APPOINT AN ENVOY ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS. ON EHTIOPIA THEY WOULD SEEK SOVIET HELP IN ENABLING FAMINE RELIEF TO PROCEED. OTHER US ITEMS WERE CAMBODIA, NORTHERN TERRITORIES (WHERE BAKER WOULD STRESS THE VALUE TO THE RUSSIANS OF RESOLVING ITS DISPUTE WITH THE JAPANESE), KOREA: (TO PRESS THE NORTH KOREANS OVER AN IAEA SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT AS WELL AS RESUMPTION OF NORTH/SOUTH TALKS), KASHMIR, NICARAGUA (TO RESTRAIN SANDANISTAS): SALVADOR (WHERE THE RUSSIANS COULD DO MORE TO INFLUENCE CUBA TO CEASE SUPPLYING THE FLMN), CUBA (THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUING MIG 29 DELIVERIES) AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

9. KAMAN LISTED VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THE AMERICANS WANTED TO PUSH TOWARDS AGREEMENT FOR THE SUMMIT. THESE WERE PRIMARILY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD: THE US/SOVIET COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT, DOUBLE TAXATION TREATY AND INVESTMENT AGREEMENT (THOUGH THE LATTER TWO MIGHT NOT NOW BE READY IN TIME). THE RUSSIANS MIGHT BE READY TO SIGN A NEW AGREEMENT ON OCEANS - EVIDENCE OF GREATER DETERMINATION TO BE MORE ACTIVE ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES. THERE WOULD ALSO BE TALKS IN THIS CONTEXT ON THE FORTHCOMING INTERNATIONAL AGENDA OF CONFERENCES ON THE ENVIRONMENT. PROGRESS WAS ALSO LIKELY ON A NEW AGREEMENT ON SPACE (POSSIBLY EXPANDING THE EXISTING LIST OF PROJECTS): ON CUSTOMS COOPERATION IN THE NARCOTICS FIELD, ON THE US PROPOSALS FOR QUOTE OPEN LANDS UNQUOTE, ON THE NEW OFFICE BUILDING IN MOSCOW AND ON EXPANDING STUDENT EXCHANGES. HUMAN RIGHTS

10. THE US WOULD PRESS FOR PROGRESS ON REFUSNIK CASES (WHERE THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE CHANGE SINCE THE MOSCOW MINISTERIAL). BAKER WOULD ALSO OFFER ASSISTANCE, AT BOTH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE LEVELS, TO ENABLE THE RUSSIANS TO STRENGTHEN CIVIL AND

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