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FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

SECRETARY OF STATE'S BILATERAL WITH SHEVARDNADZE

## SUMMARY

1. SHORT MEETING IN WHICH SHEVARDNADZE URGES MORE INTENSE DISCUSSION AMONG EXPERTS IN THE 2+4. TRAILS SOVIET PROPOSALS ON A FINAL SETTLEMENT. SHEVARDNADZE STRESSES CONTINUED IMPORTANCE OF NATO/WARSAW PACT DECLARATION. DISCUSSION ON START NON-CIRCUMVENTION. NO AGREEMENT. FOR DISCUSSION ON START SEE MIFT (NOT TO ALL).

## DETAIL

2. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND SHEVARDNADZE HAD TIME ONLY FOR A FAIRLY SHORT MEETING IN BERLIN TODAY. SHEVARDNADZE BEGAN BY SAYING HOW SUCCESSFUL THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT HAD BEEN AND HOW PLEASED GORBACHEV HAD BEEN AT THE RESULTS.

3. SHEVARDNADZE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW DISCUSSION IN THE 2+4 WOULD GO. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD HAD DIFFICULTY MAKING PROGRESS BUT WE NEEDED TO DO SO BOTH TODAY AND AT THE MEETING WITH THE POLES IN JULY. HE ALSO HOPED WE COULD AGREE A SEPTEMBER DATE FOR THE MOSCOW MEETING. SHEVARDNADZE SAID THAT THERE WAS NOT YET ANY REAL BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. HE WOULD TABLE A PROPOSAL FOR A FINAL LEGAL AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. HE BELIEVED THAT OCCASIONAL SHORT MEETINGS OF OFFICIALS AND MINISTERS WOULD NOT LEAD TO A FINAL AGREEMENT. WE SHOULD ESTABLISH A NEGOTIATING MECHANISM, I.E. WITH EXPERTS MEETING ON VIRTUALLY A PERMANENT BASIS. THEY COULD THEN GO OVER DRAFTS OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT AND PROPOSE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE FOR MINISTERS. THIS WORK SHOULD GO ON A MORE OR LESS CONTINUING BASIS BEFORE AND AFTER PARIS SO THAT BY THE TIME OF THE MOSCOW MEETING WE WOULD HAVE A CLEAR VIEW OF WHAT THE END PRODUCT LOOKED LIKE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AGREED ON THE NEED FOR GREATER IMPETUS. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE PEOPLE DOING THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO TAKE DECISIONS SO THAT EVERYTHING WAS NOT REFERRED UPWARDS. (COMMENT: THIS WAS AN OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO BONDARENKO,

WHO HAS BEEN CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE RUSSIAN SIDE AND HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT DRAG ON THE PROCEEDINGS SO FAR.)

4. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT SOME ISSUES WERE APPROPRIATE FOR DISCUSSION WITHIN THE 2+4 SUCH AS FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. OTHER ISSUES WERE RELEVANT AND IMPORTANT AND COULD BE NOTED AND DISCUSSED IN THE 2+4 BUT SHOULD BE DECIDED ELSEWHERE, EG AT VIENNA. WE SHOULD IDENTIFY WHICH WAS WHICH. SHEVARDNADZE DID NOT DISAGREE BUT THERE MUST BE AN OVERALL DOCUMENT. SOME ISSUES COULD INDEED BE ALLOCATED ELSEWHERE, EG THE NUMERICAL SIZE OF THE BUNDESWEHR COULD BE TACKLED IN VIENNA BUT WHATEVER DECISIONS WERE REACHED SHOULD BE RECORDED IN THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT DOCUMENT. FOR THE TIME BEING, HE DID NOT SEE SCOPE FOR PROGRESS ON ANYTHING OTHER THAN BORDERS BECAUSE OF THE INABILITY OF EXPERTS TO AGREE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID WE MUST CLEAR A WAY FOR FURTHER WORK BY EXPERTS. WE ALSO NEEDED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE ATMOSPHERE OF OUR TALKS WAS GOOD AND THAT IT WAS THE DIFFICULTY OF THE ISSUES, NOT LACK OF GOODWILL, THAT WAS HOLDING UP PROGRESS.

5. SHEVARDNADZE SAID THAT, WHILE THE SOVIET UNION WOULD TABLE THEIR FINAL SETTLEMENT DOCUMENT IN THE 2+4, THEY ALSO HOPED TO DISCUSS IT BILATERALLY. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID WE ALSO WANTED TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF A DECLARATION BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. DID SHEVARDNADZE STILL THINK SUCH A DECLARATION COULD MAKE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION? SHEVARDNADZE BELIEVED THAT IT COULD AND THAT IT WAS CENTRAL TO THE WHOLE PROCESS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION. WE COULD BEGIN TO SPEAK OF NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO ALLIANCES AND THE COUNTRIES COMPOSING THE TWO ALLIANCES. HE WOULD HAVE SOME SUGGESTIONS TO MAKE. MUCH HAD CHANGED, INCLUDING THE ALLIANCES. RELATIONS WOULD BE DIFFERENT AND THE GERMAN QUESTION TOO WOULD LOOK QUITE DIFFERENT IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGED ALLIANCES. EVEN THE MATTER OF POLITICAL/MILITARY STATUS COULD THEN BE DISCUSSED.

6. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT WE HAD TRIED TO SEND AN ENCOURAGING MESSAGE FROM TURNBERRY. THE NATO SUMMIT WOULD ALSO GIVE AN IMPORTANT SIGNAL. SHEVARDNADZE AGREED THAT THE MESSAGE FROM TURNBERRY HAD BEEN A GOOD ONE - A FAIRLY GOOD RESPONSE TO THE MOSCOW DECLARATION. THE NATO SUMMIT IN LONDON WOULD BE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE.

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