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VIENNA/BRUSSELS ALSO FOR CSCE/USEC; GENEVA FOR SCC/C

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US

SUBJECT: ALLIED BRIEFING ON REAGAN-GORBACHEV

- LUNCHEON MEETING

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS FOR BRIEFING ALLIES ON  
REAGAN-GORBACHEV LUNCHEON MEETING.

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3. BEGIN TALKING POINTS:

OVERVIEW

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-- PRESIDENT REAGAN, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH AND CHAIRMAN  
GORBACHEV HAD A GOOD AND USEFUL EXCHANGE ON US-SOVIET

-- THE EXCHANGES WERE VERY CORDIAL; IT WAS AGREED THAT THESE WERE NOT NEGOTIATING SESSIONS.

-- THE THREE MET PRIVATELY FOR TWENTY MINUTES, AND WERE THEN JOINED BY THEIR ADVISORS FOR A LUNCHEON MEETING LASTING ABOUT TWO HOURS.

-- THIS MEETING -- THE FIFTH BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN -- WAS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE LEADERS TO TAKE A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS THE LAST THREE YEARS, SINCE THEIR FIRST MEETING IN GENEVA IN NOVEMBER, 1985.

CHANGE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTINUITY  
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-- THE TALKS CAN BE SUMMARIZED BY TWO THEMES.

-- THE FIRST THEME WAS CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRESIDENT SAID WE SUPPORT THE DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE GORBACHEV HAS INTRODUCED, AND INVITED HIM TO DESCRIBE THE STATUS OF PERESTROYKA. HE SAID:

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. - THE USSR IS SEEKING TO BECOME STRONGER IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TERMS, BUT DOES NOT INTEND THROUGH ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT TO THREATEN THE U.S. OR THE WEST.

. - PERESTROYKA HAS ITS DOMESTIC OPPONENTS AND ENTAILS A COMPLEX STRUGGLE. THERE WILL BE DIFFICULTIES AND PERHAPS SOME TEMPORARY BACK-SLIDING, BUT THE USSR HAS MADE A FIRM CHOICE FOR CHANGE.

. - THE GUARANTEE THAT THE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE IS THE DEMOCRATIZATION UNDERWAY, SUPPORTING PERESTROYKA, IN EVERY ASPECT OF SOVIET LIFE

-- THE SECOND THEME WAS CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THE PROSPECTS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CONTINUITY.

. - IN REVIEWING US-SOVIET RELATIONS SINCE GENEVA, THE PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV NOTED THAT THROUGH OPEN AND DIRECT DIALOGUE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN EACH ASPECT OF THEIR COMPREHENSIVE AGENDA: HUMAN RIGHTS, ARMS CONTROL, REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND BILATERAL MATTERS.

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. - THE LEADERS AGREED THAT WE SHOULD BUILD ON THE FOUNDATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND MOVE FORWARD ON OTHER QUESTIONS. THIS INCLUDES CONTINUING THE PATTERN OF HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS THAT HAS EVOLVED OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS.

. - THE VICE PRESIDENT ASSURED GORBACHEV THAT THE TRANSITION WOULD PROCEED IN A MANNER NOT DISRUPTIVE TO RELATIONS, THOUGH OF COURSE HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD WISH TO REVIEW THE SPECIFICS OF ISSUES ON THE AGENDA.

HUMAN RIGHTS  
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-- THE PRESIDENT, AS A WAYS, RAISED HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE OUTSET OF THE MEETING. HE NOTED RECENT PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF EMIGRATION CASES AND THE CESSATION OF JAMMING OF WESTERN RADIO STATIONS. HE ALSO WELCOMED THE HUMAN RIGHTS STEPS GORBACHEV HAD ANNOUNCED AT THE UN. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT A NUMBER OF CASES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN REMAINED UNRESOLVED.

. - GORBACHEV REFERRED TO HIS UN ADDRESS IN WHICH HE HAD OUTLINED FORTHCOMING CHANGES IN LAWS AND REGULATIONS AIMED AT INSTITUTIONALIZING IMPROVED SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES.

. - HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE CHANGES UNDERWAY INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT BE REVERSED, REGARDLESS OF WHO MIGHT LEAD THE COUNTRY.

-- IN THEIR MORNING MEETING, SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE ALSO HAD A DETAILED EXCHANGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE COURSE OF REVIEWING THE REMAINING ISSUES AT THE VIENNA CSCE MEETING AND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE.

. - THE SECRETARY WELCOMED THE PROGRESS TO DATE IN REDUCING THE NUMBER OF CASES ON OUR BILATERAL DIVIDED-FAMILY LISTS AND IN LIFTING THE SECRECY BAR ON MANY LONG-TERM REFUSENIKS.

. - RECALLING OUR CONDITIONS FOR A MOSCOW CONFERENCE, THE SECRETARY URGED THE SOVIETS TO SETTLE ALL OUTSTANDING BILATERAL CASES, TO RELEASE REFUSENIKS, AND TO AGREE TO A

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. - SHEVARDNADZE AGREED TO TRY TO TAKE A "ZERO OPTION"  
APPROACH TO OUR BILATERAL CASES. HE SAID THE SOVIETS  
WOULD NOT PAY ANY PRICE FOR A MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS  
CONFERENCE AND DID NOT INSIST ON SUCH A CONFERENCE, BUT  
THEY WERE CARRYING OUT HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS FOR  
THEIR OWN INTERNAL REASONS. HE CLEARLY WISHED TO AVOID  
THE APPEARANCE OF ACTING UNDER PRESSURE IN TAKING STEPS  
TO MEET OUR CONDITIONS.

. - SHEVARDNADZE SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTIES TRY TO  
BRING THE VIENNA MEETING TO A CLOSE BY JANUARY 6,  
PERMITTING HIM AND THE SECRETARY TO MAKE A SINGLE TRIP TO  
VIENNA AND THE PARIS CW CONFERENCE.

ARMS CONTROL  
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-- GORBACHEV URGED THAT WE MOVE FORWARD ON START, AS PART  
OF WHAT HE CALLED THE "COMPLEX" OF STRATEGIC, CHEMICAL  
AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. ON START, THE  
PRESIDENT CITED THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS PROVIDING A SOLID  
BASIS FOR FUTURE WORK. GORBACHEV AGREED THAT WE SHOULD  
MOVE FORWARD ON START. HE DID NOT RAISE THE START-SDI  
LINKAGE ON THIS OCCASION.

-- THE PRESIDENT REITERATED OUR CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET  
RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK. GORBACHEV REPLIED THAT THE PROBLEM  
HAS BEEN SETTLED: THE RADAR HAS BEEN GIVEN TO SCIENTISTS.  
HE CONFIRMED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER "DISMANTLING"  
SOME PARTS OF THE RADAR, PER HIS UN ADDRESS.

. - IN THEIR MORNING MEETING, THE SECRETARY TOLD  
SHEVARDNADZE THAT THE U.S. CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT  
DISMANTLEMENT OF THE RADAR'S LONG LEAD-TIME ELEMENTS  
WHICH GAVE KRASNOYARSK A TREATY-PROHIBITED CAPABILITY

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WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CORRECT THE VIOLATION.

-- THE SIDES DISCUSSED CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN SOME DETAIL.

. - THEY AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UPCOMING PARIS

CONFERENCE ON CW USE, AND HOW IT SHOULD HIGHLIGHT THE ISSUES AND ENCOURAGE PROGRESS TOWARD ELIMINATION OF CW.

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. - AS A SUPPORTER OF SUCH PROGRESS, THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE AND DIFFICULTY OF EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION.

-- CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL WAS ADDRESSED AT BOTH THE LUNCHEON MEETING AND THE SESSION BETWEEN MINISTERS.

. - GORBACHEV STRESSED THE UNILATERAL CHARACTER AND THE PERESTROYKA CONTEXT OF THE CUTS HE HAD JUST ANNOUNCED IN HIS UN ADDRESS.

. - THE PRESIDENT HEARTILY WELCOMED THE SOVIET DECISION REGARDING CONVENTIONAL FORCES, AS IT HAD BEEN REPORTED TO HIM, AND REITERATED THAT THE WESTERN INTEREST WAS IN ELIMINATING ASYMMETRIES.

-- THE MINISTERS TOUCHED ON NUCLEAR TESTING, NOTING THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT THAT A VERIFICATION PROTOCOL FOR THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY HAD NOT BEEN FINISHED, AND AGREED THEY WOULD TELL THEIR NEGOTIATORS TO COMPLETE A BRACKETED JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

REGIONAL ISSUES  
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-- THE PRESIDENT NOTED THE EXAMPLES OF US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN DEFUSING REGIONAL CONFLICTS, THANKING GORBACHEV FOR THE SOVIET UNION'S HELP ON THE US-MEDIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA/ANGOLA PROBLEM.

-- GORBACHEV AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF FURTHER EAST-WEST COOPERATION ON REGIONAL ISSUES, AND SAID THE SOVIET UNION INTENDED TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WHILE HE MADE SEVERAL PROPOSALS ON AFGHANISTAN IN HIS UNGA SPEECH, HE DID NOT RAISE THE SUBJECT IN THE NEW YORK MEETINGS.

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE REVIEWED THE IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR A CAMBODIA SETTLEMENT IN THE WAKE OF SHEVARDNADZE'S RECENT TALKS WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN. THE MINISTERS ALSO BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE ONGOING NORMALIZATION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THE NEED FOR STABILITY AND DIALOGUE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

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-, GORBACHEV'S UNGA PROPOSALS ON THIRD WORLD DEBT, DEFENSE CONVERSION, AND ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE UN DID NOT COME UP IN ANY OF THE NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS.

BILATERAL RELATIONS  
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-- THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF FURTHER EXPANDING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN PEOPLES, EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH THE MAJOR EXPANSION SINCE THE GENEVA SUMMIT IN 1985.

-- GORBACHEV VOICED INTEREST IN EXPANDING BILATERAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. THE VICE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF PERESTROYKA WAS A DETERRENT TO WESTERN FIRMS CONSIDERING DOING BUSINESS WITH THE USSR.

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-- SECRETARY SHULTZ AND SHEVARDNADZE ALSO DISCUSSED THE DESIRABILITY OF INCREASED BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, A THEME WHICH ALSO APPEARED IN GORBACHEV'S SPEECH.

CONCLUSION  
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-- IN SUM, THE MEETING PROVIDED A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE LEADERS TO REVIEW WHERE WE ARE AND WHERE WE ARE GOING IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS.

-- THE CORDIAL AND POSTIVE TONE REFLECTED THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP THE PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV HAVE ESTABLISHED. THE VICE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT HE LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH GORBACHEV FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS.

END POINTS WHITEHEAD

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