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MODUK (FOR DACU)

REYKJAVIK MEETING: NAC BRIEFING BY NITZE AND RIDGWAY: OTHER ARMS CONTROL AND EAST/WEST ISSUES

SUMMARY

1. HUMAN RIGHTS WILL HEAD US AGENDA. BUT AMERICANS WILL ALSO RAISE CW, CTB, REGIONAL ISSUES, AND BILATERAL MATTERS.

DETAIL

HUMAN RIGHTS

2. RIDGWAY SAID THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES AT REYKJAVIK. SINCE THE LAST SUMMIT, THE US HAD CONCENTRATED ON QUIET DIPLOMACY AND THE RUSSIANS HAD APPEARED WILLING TO MEET US CONCERNS. BUT THE PRESENT POSITION, PARTICULARLY REGARDING JEWISH EMIGRATION, WAS QUOTE DISMAL UNQUOTE, AND THE CLIMATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM QUOTE QUITE BAD UNQUOTE: IT HAD INDEED DETERIORATED SINCE GENEVA, RESULTING IN INCREASING AMERICAN CONCERN. THE DANILOFF AFFAIR HAD REMINDED AMERICANS THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES PERSISTED AS SOURCES OF MISTRUST AND TENSION. RIDGWAY EMPHASISED THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION TO HIGHLIGHT HUMAN RIGHTS: HE WAS PARTICULARLY EXERCISED OVER DIVIDED FAMILY CASES.

3. SMITH (CANADA) SAID THAT SHEVARDNADZE HAD BEEN SURPRISINGLY RELAXED IN OTTAWA OVER HUMAN RIGHTS. HE HAD EVEN SPOKEN OF THE PROSPECT OF MODIFYING SOVIET LAW TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION. RIDGWAY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN SOME RESPECTS THERE HAD BEEN CHANGES, BUT STRESSED THAT THE US WAS LOOKING FOR SUSTAINED LONG-TERM IMPROVEMENT.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

4. RIDGWAY SAID THAT THE US PLANNED TO TOUCH ON CW ONLY BRIEFLY. US/SOVIET BILATERAL SESSIONS AT THE CD HAD REVEALED SOME SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF CHALLENGE INSPECTION HAD YET TO BE RESOLVED. RIDGWAY ACKNOWLEDGED VARYING INTRA-ALLIANCE VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION. BUT ALL ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR A STRONG VERIFICATION REGIME. I SAID THAT SOVIET REACTIONS TO THE LATEST UK PROPOSAL HAD BEEN RELATIVELY ENCOURAGING. DID THE US INTEND TO PRESS THE RUSSIANS FURTHER ON THIS? RIDGWAY DID NOT RESPOND.

5. ON CW PROLIFERATION, RIDGWAY SAID THERE WAS LIKELY TO BE A REVIEW OF THE TWO RECENT EXPERT MEETINGS. THE RUSSIANS NOW APPEARED TO RECOGNISE US CONCERN ON THIS ISSUE.

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NUCLEAR TESTING

6. RIDGWAY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, GIVEN GORBACHEV'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN THIS ISSUE, IT WAS BOUND TO FEATURE. THE US WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT A CTB WAS NOT ON THE CARDS. THEY WERE NEVERTHELESS ENCOURAGED BY THE TWO EXPERT MEETINGS HELD IN JULY AND SEPTEMBER. IN REYKJAVIK, THE US WOULD STRESS THEIR PRACTICAL, STEP-BY-STEP, APPROACH. PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE IF THE RUSSIANS WERE PREPARED TO BE REALISTIC. RIDGWAY ADDED IN PARENTHESIS THAT A US TEAM WOULD SHORTLY VISIT NATO HQ AND CAPITALS TO BRIEF ON US TESTING POLICY. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE SEEKING ALLIES' VIEWS BEFORE IT LEFT ON HOW BEST TO PRESENT THE BRIEFING.

7. SEVERAL PERM REPS URGED PROGRESS ON TESTING. CURIEN (FRANCE) STRESSED FRENCH AGREEMENT WITH THE US POSITION ON CTB BUT WARNED THAT THE RATIFICATION OF PNET AND TTBT COULD PROVE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO FRANCE. I SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT'S UNGA SPEECH PROVIDED A REALISTIC BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. WE HOPED THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD PICK UP THE PROSPECT OF RATIFICATION OF THE OUTSTANDING TREATIES.

REGIONAL/BILATERAL ISSUES

8. RIDGWAY SAID THAT, TIME PERMITTING, A NUMBER OF REGIONAL ISSUES - AFGHANISTAN, THE MIDDLE EST, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR - WERE LIKELY TO COME UP. THE RUSSIANS MIGHT SEEK TO PUBLICISE THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL OF SIX REGIMENTS FROM AFGHANISTAN. BUT EVEN IF THIS PROVED GENUINE, IT WOULD NOT LIMIT SOVIET MILITARY ACTION. THE US CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE PROMPT AND COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS. MEANWHILE, THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD DEAL OF ACTIVITY ON BILATERAL QUESTIONS SINCE THE LAST SUMMIT. BUT THE TWO LEADERS WOULD PROBABLY DO NO MORE THAN NOTE PROGRESS.

ALEXANDER

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EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

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RES D
PLANNING STAFF
EED
NAD
WED
ACDD
CRD
NEWS D
INFO D
ECD (E)
FED
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POD
PUSD
CSCE UNIT
PROTOCOL D
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RENTON
PS/MR EGGAR
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
CHIEF CLERK
MR GOODALL
MR FERGUSSON

MR RATFORD
MR DAUNT
MR FEARN
MR LONG
MR BRAITHWAITE
MR BARRINGTON
MR WINCHESTER
MR RENWICK

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

ARMS CONTROL TALKS

(Repetition to Reykjavik
referred to a final decision,
repeated as requested to other posts.)

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US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS

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PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR RENTON
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
MR GOODALL
MR RATFORD
MR ~~WILSON~~ DAUNT
MR FEARN

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SIC EME

MODUK (FOR DACU)

YOUR TELNO 177: REYKJAVIK MEETING: NAC BRIEFING BY NITZE AND
RIDGWAY: NUCLEAR AND SPACE ISSUES

SUMMARY

1. NITZE REVIEWS CURRENT STATUS OF NST TALKS IN STANDARD TERMS. NO BREAKTHROUGH EXPECTED IN REYKJAVIK. US WILL TABLE INF VERIFICATION PACKAGE.

DETAIL

2. NITZE REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS, INCLUDING THE EXPERTS' EXCHANGES IN AUGUST AND OCTOBER, IN STANDARD TERMS. ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS, WHILE THERE HAD BEEN SOME CONVERGENCE, VIEWS CONTINUED TO DIFFER ON THE PERMITTED LEVELS OF BALLISTIC MISSILE SUB-LIMITS, THE AGGREGATE COMPOSITION OF FORCES (ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET DESIRE TO INCLUDE SRAMS AND FREE FALL BOMBS), MOBILE MISSILES, VERIFICATION, THROW-WEIGHT, SLCMS, AND LINKAGE TO SPACE AND DEFENCE. ON INF, THE US HAD TABLED THEIR NEW PROPOSAL ON 18 SEPTEMBER, BUT NITZE HAD NO MORE TO REPORT. HE DID HOWEVER SAY, ON SRINF, THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD INDICATED SOME INTEREST IN CONSTRAINTS ON THE SCALEBOARD BUT NOT THE SS-23. SUMMARISING THE POSITION ON DEFENCE AND SPACE, NITZE SAID THAT THE US HAD TOLD THE

POSITION ON DEFENCE AND SPACE, NITZE SAID THAT THE US HAD TOLD THE RUSSIANS THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF A FIVE-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE ABM TREATY, THEY WERE NOW READY TO SIGN A TREATY REQUIRING ANY SIDE WHICH WISHED TO DEPLOY A NEW DEFENSIVE SYSTEM AFTER 1991 TO OFFER A PLAN FOR SHARING THE BENEFITS OF SUCH A SYSTEM ON CONDITION THAT MEASURES WERE AGREED TO ELIMINATE BALLISTIC MISSILES. HE WAS FIRM THAT THE US SAW NO NEED FOR CLARIFYING AMENDMENTS TO THE ABM TREATY. THE TREATY AND NEGOTIATING RECORD WERE FULLY ADEQUATE.

4. MOST PERM REPS' INTERVENTIONS WERE DIRECTED AT INF. FULCI (ITALY) AND OLCAY (TURKEY) BOTH CONFIRMED THEIR GOVERNMENTS' SUPPORT FOR THE US GLOBAL APPROACH. THEY, TOGETHER WITH ZU RANTZAU (FRG), ALSO HOPED THAT AN INTERIM INF AGREEMENT WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO SR-INF NEGOTIATIONS.

5. I ASKED WHETHER THE US HAD YET REACHED A CLEAR POSITION ON VERIFICATION. IF SO, HAD THIS BEEN PUT TO THE RUSSIANS? NITZE CONFIRMED THAT WASHINGTON NOW HAD AN AGREED POSITION: THE US PROPOSED TO PRESENT THIS AT REYKJAVIK. SMITH (CANADA) ASKED WHETHER THE US SAW A NEED FOR A CHALLENGE INSPECTION MEASURE. NITZE SAID THAT THEIR MAIN CONCERN ON VERIFICATION CENTRED AROUND CONTINUING DATA EXCHANGE, INSPECTIONS TO RATIFY INITIAL DECLARATIONS AND SUBSEQUENT DESTRUCTION OF EXCESS WEAPONS AND COMPONENTS, AND CONTINUOUS ROUTINE INSPECTIONS OF SPECIFIC SITES. HE BELIEVED THAT WHILE THE RUSSIANS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT INSPECTION TEAMS WHICH QUOTE ROAMED THE COUNTRY UNQUOTE, THEY MIGHT SEE SPECIFIC ON-SITE INSPECTION AS LESS OF A PROBLEM. GIVEN SUCH A REGIME, HE SAW NO NEED FOR A CHALLENGE INSPECTION MEASURE WHICH THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT, IN ANY CASE, ACCEPT.

6. ZU RANTZAU ASKED WHETHER THE RUSSIANS WOULD AGREE THAT AN INTERIM INF AGREEMENT SHOULD REMAIN IN EFFECT UNTIL A FINAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. NITZE SAID THAT THEY DID NOT YET ACCEPT THIS.

7. CURIEN (FRANCE) CAUTIONED AGAINST UNDERESTIMATING THE RISKS INVOLVED IN REACHING AN INTERIM INF AGREEMENT. WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT SEE THIS AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS QUOTE DE-NUCLEARISATION UNQUOTE. THE PRINCIPLE OF GLOBALITY AND THE EXCLUSION OF THIRD COUNTRY FORCES NEEDED EMPHASIS. WHILE RECOGNISING THAT INF OFFERED THE BEST PROSPECTS FOR EARLY AGREEMENT, I ALSO STRESSED THAT EXCLUSION OF BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES REMAINED A CONDITION FOR ALLIANCE ACCEPTANCE OF INF REDUCTIONS. NITZE ASSURED THE COUNCIL THAT THIS POSITION HAD BEEN MADE VERY CLEAR TO THE RUSSIANS AT ALL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS: SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO DROP REFERENCES TO THIRD PARTY FORCES HAD BEEN ONE OF THE GREAT MOVES FORWARD.

ALEXANDER

US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS

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 MR GOODALL
 MR RATFORD
 MR ~~WATSON~~ DAUNT
 MR FEARN

MR POWELL, ~~NO~~ 10 DOWNING ST

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 MODUK (FOR DACU)

YOUR TELNO 177: REYKJAVIK: NAC BRIEFING BY NITZE AND RIDGWAY

SUMMARY

1. US TEAM SEEK TO DAMPEN EXPECTATIONS OVER REYKJAVIK. NO BREAKTHROUGHS EXPECTED. STATED AIM TO PROVIDE IMPETUS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, LEADING TO FULL SUMMIT. NO SURPRISES ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ISSUES.

DETAIL

2. NITZE AND RIDGWAY BRIEFED THE NAC THIS MORNING ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE QUOTE PRE-SUMMIT UNQUOTE MEETING IN REYKJAVIK, AND ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S 4 OCTOBER DECISIONS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL. MY FOUR BIFTS COVER THE DISCUSSION ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ISSUES, OTHER ARMS CONTROL AND EAST/WEST ISSUES, AND RIDGWAY'S STATEMENT ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL.

3. RIDGWAY AND NITZE SOUGHT TO DAMPEN EXPECTATIONS OF ANY BREAKTHROUGH AT REYKJAVIK, WHICH CONSTITUTED NO MORE THAN A MEETING TO PREPARE THE FULL WASHINGTON SUMMIT. THE US HOPED IT WOULD PROVIDE AN IMPETUS TO THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND IDENTIFY BROAD ISSUES FOR

AN IMPETUS TO THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND IDENTIFY BROAD ISSUES FOR FURTHER WORK. THE TWO MAIN ITEMS ON THE AGENDA WOULD BE ARMS CONTROL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. BOTH SIDES HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN AN INTENSE DIALOGUE ON THESE ISSUES SINCE BESSMERTNYKH'S VISIT IN JULY, AND RIDGWAY HOPED THAT THIS WOULD PROVIDE A SOLID BASIS FOR EXCHANGES IN REYKJAVIK.

4. IN GENERAL DISCUSSION, THE SECRETARY GENERAL POINTED OUT THAT THE WESTERN PRESS APPEARED TO HAVE EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS FOR REYKJAVIK. THEY WERE REPORTING RUSSIAN SUGGESTIONS THAT IF THERE WERE NO PROGRESS THERE WOULD BE NO WASHINGTON SUMMIT. SMITH (CANADA) ADDED THAT GORBACHEV'S PRIVATE MESSAGE TO MULRONEY APPEARED TO CONFIRM THIS. RIDGWAY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT RECENT PRESS REPORT ACCURATELY REFLECTED SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THESE MIGHT BE DESIGNED TO ALLOW GORBACHEV AN ESCAPE ROUTE IN CASE HE DECIDED NOT TO GO TO WASHINGTON, THE IMAGE BEING BUILT UP BEING THAT OF AN INTRANSIGENT US, CONCERNED TO KILL THE US/SOVIET DIALOGUE. BUT SHE DID NOT BELIEVE THE RUSSIANS COULD BRING THIS OFF. MOREOVER, THE ATTRACTION FOR THEM OF A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO MOSCOW NEXT YEAR, THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, QUOTE MIGHT GET US THROUGH UNQUOTE.

5. ZU RANTZAU (FRG) ASKED IF THE ANTICIPATED IMPETUS FROM REYKJAVIK MIGHT LEAD TO THE GENEVA NEGOTIATORS BEING GIVEN QUOTE MARCHING ORDERS UNQUOTE TO PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT BY THE FULL SUMMIT. NITZE REPLIED THAT IF THE RUSSIANS SHOWED FLEXIBILITY SUCH AN OUTCOME WAS POSSIBLE. BUT, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE WOULD BE SURPRISED IF IT EVENTUATED.

6. THE NETHERLANDS PERM REP ASKED HOW THE MEETINGS AT REYKJAVIK WOULD BE STRUCTURED. RIDGWAY SAID THAT BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED THAT MEETINGS SHOULD BE INFORMAL AND MOST WOULD PROBABLY BE ONE ON ONE. BUT EXPERTS MIGHT WELL DISCUSS THE MAIN ISSUES IN THE MARGINS OF PLENARIES WHICH WOULD THEMSELVES BE CONFINED TO VERY SMALL NUMBERS.

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