

SECRET

126050
MDHIAN 0903

SECRET

FM UKDEL CSCE VIENNA

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 386

OF 091242Z NOVEMBER 88

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

INFO SAVING OTHER CSCE POSTS

MIPT: THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF SHEVARDNADZE'S LETTER TO SHULTZ,
DATED 7 NOVEMBER:

BEGINS

DEAR MR SECRETARY,

- I WOULD LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE SITUATION AT THE VIENNA MEETING. IN THE COURSE OF OUR RECENT CONTACTS IN LATE SEPTEMBER IN WASHINGTON YOU SAID IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THE WORK IN VIENNA COULD BE CONCLUDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND WITH A BALANCED RESULT.
- OVER THE MONTH THAT HAS ELAPSED SINCE THEN, I THINK YOU WILL AGREE THERE HAS BEEN MOVEMENT IN VIENNA TOWARD FINALIZING CONCRETE AND TANGIBLE RESULTS. THIS HAS BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF MUTUAL FLEXIBILITY DEMONSTRATED BY THE NEGOTIATORS, REALISM ON THE PART OF YOUR AND OUR ALLIES, AND THE USEFUL EFFORTS BY THE NEUTRAL STATES. IT IS TIME TO MAKE FINAL EFFORTS TOWARD COMPLETING THE MEETING.
- AS WE SEE IT, THERE REMAIN NO MAJOR OBSTACLES TO FINALIZING THE MANDATE FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMS TALKS. THE MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK HELPED RESOLVE THE KEY PROBLEM, THE WORDING OF THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. A JOINTLY FOUND COMPROMISE ON WHAT IS, IN FACT, THE ONLY OUTSTANDING ISSUE, THAT OF A GEOGRAPHIC ZONE OF THE TALKS, IS POSSIBLE. FINALLY, THE TASK LENDS ITSELF TO SOLUTION.
- SEVERAL NATO COUNTRIES ARE SUGGESTING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE TO COMPLETE THE WORK ON THE MANDATE AND EVEN PUBLISH IT BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE VIENNA MEETING ITSELF, I.E. PRIOR TO ITS CONCLUSION. THIS WOULD BE GOOD, ALTHOUGH, AS IS ALWAYS THE CASE WITH THE CSCE PROCESS, WE NEED TO LOOK AT ALL THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING IN THEIR ENTIRETY.
- SUCH A PROSPECT IS CURRENTLY EMERGING IN QUITE SPECIFIC TERMS, AFTER THE COORDINATORS HAVE TABLED THE REVISED DRAFTS OF THE MAIN SECTIONS OF THE VIENNA CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. NATURALLY, WE DO

SECRET

126050
MDHIAN 0903

SEE SOME SHORT-COMINGS IN THE NEUTRALS' DOCUMENT. ONE COULD ARGUE WITH SOME OF ITS PROVISIONS. I WOULD ASSUME A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR FEELING MAY EXIST IN WASHINGTON, TOO. NEVERTHELESS, IF THE GOAL IS TO HAVE AT THIS FINAL STAGE IN VIENNA A REASONABLE AND WELL-CONSIDERED POLITICAL COMPROMISE, THE CURRENT DRAFT BY THE NEUTRALS, IN OUR VIEW, OFFERS SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY. IT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE WEST AND THE EAST.

- THE 'N AND N' COUNTRIES ARE CALLING FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TO THEIR DRAFT, FOR ADOPTING IT BY CONSENSUS AS A WHOLE WITHOUT BURDENING IT WITH NEW AMENDMENTS. WE ARE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO THAT UNLESS, OF COURSE, THE WESTERN PARTNERS START MAKING THEIR PREVIOUS DEMANDS OR RAISE NEW INTRACTABLE ONES. THE MADRID AND STOCKHOLM EXPERIENCE CAN BE USEFUL HERE.

- NOR SHOULD THE SITUATION BE MADE COMPLICATED IN CONNECTION WITH CSCE ACTIVITIES SCHEDULED FOR THE POST-VIENNA PERIOD. OF COURSE, THE 12 PROPOSED FORUMS (IF THEIR JUST GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST IS ENSURED) MAKE FOR A PRETTY HEAVY SCHEDULE FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS. BUT SUCH IS THE MOMENTUM OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS, AND SUCH ARE ITS GROWING NEEDS AND CONSTRUCTIVE OPPORTUNITIES.

- IT IS IN THAT SENSE THAT, WE BELIEVE, ONE SHOULD VIEW OUR PROPOSAL ON HOLDING A HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW WITHOUT ADVANCING COMPLICATING 'CRITERIA' AND REQUIREMENTS. THE ESSENTIAL POINT TO BE BORNE IN MIND IS THAT THE FORUM IN MOSCOW WOULD BE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAME CSCE RULES AND STANDARDS AS WOULD BE APPLIED TO PARIS AND COPENHAGEN.

- THE RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF FRANCE, FRG, ITALY, DENMARK, AND A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES TESTIFY TO AN INCREASINGLY CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR A MOSCOW CONFERENCE. WE HOPE THAT SUCH AN APPROACH WILL PREVAIL IN THE UNITED STATES, TOO.

- THUS, THE PROSPECTS FOR CONCLUDING THE VIENNA MEETING WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL DELAY ARE GENERALLY GOOD. AS THEY SAY, EXTRA EFFORTS ARE NEEDED TO REALIZE THESE PROSPECTS AND COMPLETE THE VIENNA MEETING WITH SUBSTANTIVE AND BALANCED ACCOMPLISHMENTS BEFORE THE END OF 1988, LET'S SAY, IN NOVEMBER. IN THIS CASE, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO WOULD MEET IN VIENNA FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE MEETING WOULD AT THE SAME TIME OPEN THE TALKS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND ARMED FORCES FROM ATLANTIC TO THE URALS AND THE NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES IN EUROPE. THIS WOULD, IT

E.

SECRET

126050
MDHIAN 0903

SEEMS TO ME, PROVIDE A GOOD IMPETUS TO THOSE TALKS WHOSE POSITIVE
OUTCOME WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND OF THE
WHOLE WORLD.

- WITH RESPECT,
- EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE
ENDS

2. SEE MIFT

O'KEEFFE

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

130

MAIN

97

.CSCE
LIMITED
CSCE UNIT
SOVIET
EED
WED
NEWS
PLANNERS
PUSD

ECD (E)
UND
RESEARCH
SEC POL D
PS
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE
PS/PUS
PS/SIR J FRETWELL
MR RATFORD

ADDITIONAL

1

MR P J WESTON CAB OFF

SAVING

32

ANKARA
ATHENS
BELGRADE
BERNE
BRUSSELS
BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST

NICOSIA
UKMIS NEW YORK
OSLO
OTTAWA
PRAGUE
REYKJAVIK
ROME

SECRET

126050
MDHIAN 0903

COPENHAGEN
DUBLIN
EAST BERLIN
UKDIS GENEVA
UKMIS GENEVA
HELSINKI
LISBON
LUXEMBOURG
MADRID

SOFIA
STOCKHOLM
UKDEL STRASBOURG
THE HAGUE
VALLETTA
WARSAW
HOLY SEE
UKDEL VIENNA
VIENNA

NNNN