



External Affairs / Affaires extérieures
Canada / Canada

MGTC/DIARY/CIRC/FILE
MGTC/JOURNAL/CIRC/DOSSIER

MESSAGE

Accession/Référence	
ACC 836729	DATE 900215
File/Dossier	
FILE 28-6-3-2	DOSSIER
15 FEB 90 22 52 42	20-1-101

Align first character of Security Classification under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère de la Sécurité sous cette flèche

SECURITY
SÉCURITÉ

~~S E C R E T~~

USS 0039

FM/DE
TO/À
INFO
DISTR
REF
SUBJ/SUJ

FM EXTOTT/ ~~150008~~ 15FEB90 DELBY 160900 25-3-5-*Hermany* A-7
 TO BRU COPEN PARIS BONN ATHNS ROME LUXEMBOURG HAGUE ANKRA OSLO
 LSBON MDRID LDN WSHDC MOSCO WSAW PRGUE BPEST BUCST BGRAD GENEV
 BRÉEC BNATO VNACE DBLN VIENNA HLSKI STKHM BERN TOKYO CNBRA PRMNY
 OECD PMOOTT/HARTT/HEINBECKER PCOOTT/TELLIER/DOYLE/ELCOCK *NDHQOTT/MIN/AM, CDS/ADMPOL/DNACPOL*
 DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS ~~AMC~~ DMT IDX BCB PGB EFB URB RGB CPD CPP
 BMA BFD EED EER RGX RED RGZ RWD RWR RDD RBR RBT IND INE INP IMD
 IMM IMH IDD IDA IDR ICX ISD URR IFB

---OTTAWA CONFERENCE: ~~EAST-WEST~~ RELATIONS

WE HAD ALL PREDICTED THAT MINISTERIAL PORTION OF OPEN SKIES CONF
 WLD BECOME SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE OF ITS UNIQUE POSITIONING OF KEY
 PLAYERS AT A KEY TIME IN HISTORY. IS THREE-LINE FULL PAGE HEADLINE
MORE THAN VINDICATES PREDICTION:
 OF NY TIMES 14FEB INDICATES, QUOTE ACCORD IN OTTAWA: WEST AND
 SOVIETS AGREE WITH TWO GERMANYNS ON RAPID SCHEDULE FOR UNIFICATION
 TALKS; GORBACHEV ACCEPTS BUSHS TROOP CEILING UNQUOTE. ~~PREDICTION~~
 WAS MORE THAN BORNE OUT.

2. OTTAWA MTG HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN UNIQUE VENUE FOR COUNTLESS HIGH
 LEVEL BEHIND-THE-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS AND CONVERSATIONS, MANY
 INVOLVING SSEA, AND PM. BAKER AND SHEVARDNADZE, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD
 FIVE SEPARATE NEGOTIATING SESSIONS ON TUESDAY. SSEA AND SHEVARDNADZE
 HAD SIX HRS OF DISCUSSION DURING BILATERALS ON WED ALONE. THIS TEL
 ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE SOME OF THE MORE CENTRAL ASSESSMENTS THAT WERE
 MADE PRIVATELY TO CDNS IN LAST SEVERAL DAYS, OR TO OTHERS AS
 REPORTED TO US, TO INFORM YOUR OWN DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF EVENTS,

DRAFTER/RÉDACTEUR	DIVISION/DIRECTION	TELEPHONE	APPROVED/APPROUVÉ
SIG <i>J2</i> J. Kinsman/efa	IFR	3-4228	SIG <i>Man</i> MARCHAND





Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE TWO IFB0028 S E C R E T

12|

10

BEARING IN MIND THAT CDA IS NOT/NOT TO BE A MERE OBSERVER,
OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE BUT A PARTICIPANT IN THE PROCESS,
WITH VIEWS TO OFFER, AND INTERESTS TO ADVANCE.

3. THIS TEL WILL NOT/NOT BE ABOUT OPEN SKIES. THAT PART OF
CONF IS PROCEEDING VERY WELL. IDEA WAS APPLAUDED BY MINS AS
MOST-IMPORTANT CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE YET AND THOUGH
DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH REMAIN, THERE IS EVERY LIKELIHOOD
THEY WILL BE SETTLED IN TIME FOR A TREATY TO BE PRESENTED TO
MINS IN BUDAPEST IN MAY. THIS WILL BE A VERY CONSIDERABLE
ACCOMPLISHMENT. AS PM PUT IT PRIVATELY, A TREATY IS A TANGIBLE
PROOF OF ACHIEVEMENT AND PROGRESS, AND WE CDNS SHLD PRESS AND
PRESS TO ENSURE ITS IMPORTANCE IS APPRECIATED SO THAT THIS
ACHIEVEMENT IS REALIZED.

4. IT WLD BE OBVIOUS TO SAY THAT IT WAS ISSUE OF GERMAN
UNIFICATION WHICH DOMINATED OTT MTG. CERTAINLY THIS WAS ALL
THAT GENSCHER HAD ON HIS MIND AND THE DRIVING HOME IN CORRIDOR
NEGOTIATIONS OF THE QUOTE 2 PLUS 4 UNQUOTE FORMULA FOR ITS
DISCUSSION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES WAS VERY MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT
(THOUGH TARNISHED BY VIVID AND BITTER CONTESTATION IN NATO
CAUCUS OF THE UNFORTUNATE WORDING OF ITS MANDATE).

5. BUT TO USA AND USSR, THE HURLING OF EVENTS IN GERMANY TOWARD
DE FACTO UNIFICATION IN ONLY SEVERAL WEEKS TIME WAS PART,
ALBEIT MAJOR PART, OF BIGGER TABLEAU OF UNPREDICTABILITY

...3



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE THREE IFB0028 S E C R E T

12|

10

AND INSTABILITY WHICH IS EVEN MORE MAJOR PREOCCUPATION. AS
SHEVARDNADZE PUT IT TO SSEA, QUOTE SITUATION IS SO COMPLEX,
SO URGENT, AND SO DANGEROUS UNQUOTE. IT IS SEARCH FOR
PREDICTABILITY AND STABILITY WHILE ACCOMMODATING FORCES OF
DEMOCRATIZATION AND REFORM WHICH CHARACTERIZES THE TWO GREAT
POWERS POLICY OBJECTIVES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY WILL WORK TOGETHER
IN THIS SEARCH. OUR TALKS WITH SOVIETS AND AMERICANS ALIKE
REVEAL UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF COOPERATION, AND FROM USA SIDE
STRENUOUS EFFORT TO SUPPORT GORBACHEV (AND SHEVARDNADZE)
POLITICALLY.

6. BAKER AND HIS COLLEAGUES STRESSED IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION
THAT WHILE GORBACHEV IS SECURE IN HIS CONTROL, THE USSR IS
IMPLoding. GOVT CAN PROBABLY COPE, BUT NOT/NOT IF IT IS
SUBJECT AS WELL TO EXTERNAL PRESSURES. SHEVARDNADZE HAD
STRESSED TO BOTH BAKER AND GENSCHER THE SHOCK OF HAVING BEEN
CRITICIZED BY THE CENTRAL CTTEE FOR RECENT USSR QUOTE LOSSES
UNQUOTE. QUOTE WHAT ARE YOU DOING WITH OUR SECURITY UNQUOTE,
CONSERVATIVES ARE SAYING. UNIFICATION OF GERMANY IS BY FAR
THE MOST EXPLOSIVE DEVELOPMENT IN VIEW OF THESE CRITICS.

7. USA IS THEREFORE DETERMINED TO WATCH ITS LANGUAGE IN
DESCRIBING USA-USSR RELATIONS. SOVIETS MADE A FUNDAMENTAL
SHIFT IN OTTAWA BILATERAL TALKS IN ACCEPTING BUSH FORCE
REDUCTION FORMULA IN THAT IT IS ASYMETRIC BOTH IN CUTS AND

...4



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE FOUR IFB0028 S E C R E T

121

10

IN END RESULTS. BUT THEY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THIS WAS NOT/NOT
A CONCESSION. WHAT USA SIDE UNDERSTOOD FROM THAT IS THAT IT
WLD PROVIDE UNACCEPTABLY VOLATILE FUEL TO MOSCOW CONSERATIVE
CRITICS IF IT WERE. USA PURPOSE IS TO ESTABLISH QUOTE DIGNITY
UNQUOTE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS FOR THAT REASON, AS TWO SIDES
BUILD TOWARD JUNE BILATERAL SUMMIT WITH AN INTENSITY IN
POLITICAL LEVEL DISCUSSION THAT IS WITHOUT PRECEDENT (2 MORE
MAJOR BAKER-SHEVARDNADZE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NOW AND JUNE).
8. IN MANY RESPECTS, SENSITIVITY TO USSR INTERESTS IS THE
DRIVING REASON BEHIND 2 PLUS 4 FORMULA FOR HANDLING THE
UNIFICATION OF GERMANY. EVERYONE ACCEPTS THAT UNIFICATION IS
UP TO THE GERMANS; IT WILL TAKE PLACE AND ALMOST IMMEDLY
AFTER THE 18MAR GDR ELECTIONS. THE QUESTION IS ITS POLITICAL
PACKAGING AS WELL AS THE NEED TO FIND A FORMULA FOR THE
CONTROVERSIAL EXTERNAL ASPECTS.
9. AS GENSCHER PUT IT TO NATO CAUCUS, SHEVARDNADZE WAS QUOTE
CERTAINLY NOT/NOT SHY UNQUOTE IN DESCRIBING SOVIET PUBLIC
SENTIMENT ON THE ISSUE. TO SSEA, SOVIET FM SAID QUOTE LEADERS
OF FRG SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THEY HAVE GONE TOO FAR UNQUOTE,
SHEVARDNADZE HAD IMPRESSION THAT FRG PARTISAN POLITICAL PROCESS WAS
IN SOME RESPECTS FORCING EVENTS AS THREE FRG PARTIES VIED TO
OUTDO EACH OTHER WITH ESCALATION OF PROMISES. GENSCHER IN HIS
PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS PLACED STRESS ON HAEMORRAGING CONDITIONS

...5



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE FIVE IFB0028 S E C R E T

12

10

IN GDR. EXODUS IS NOW AT 3200 A DAY; MOST BASIC PUBLIC SERVICES
ARE J^CE^AX^PØR^DIZED. GENSCHER WAS MAN DRIVEN AT OTT CONF BY
HISTORIC FEAT OF ACHIEVING UNIFICATION. HIS EXPLANATION
FOR URGENCY RANG TRUE, AS DID HIS SATISFACTION AS A GERMAN
STATESMAN, BUT HIS INSTINCTS AS PARTY POLITICIAN WERE NOT/NOT
WHOLLY OBSCURED, AND AS WOERNER CANDIDLY ACKNOWLEDGED IN PRIVATE
DINNER HOSTED BY ASSOC DEF MINISTER COLLINS, BOTH CDU AND FDP
HAVE TO WORK HARD TO COMPENSATE FOR OBVIOUS ADVANTAGE HELD
AMONG GDR VOTERS BY SDP.

10. POINT OF THESE INTERNAL FRG POLITICAL POINTS IS THAT WE
ARE TOLD GORBACHEV AND SCHEVARDNADZE ARE THEMSELVES GOING OUT
OF THEIR WAY TO UNDERSTAND THEM. THEY ARE REASONING LIKE
POLITICIANS NOW BECAUSE LIKE ALL THE OTHERS AT OTT CONF FROM
EASTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT FISCHER) THEY NOW HAVE TO. BUT THEY
EXPECT THEIR OWN DOMESTIC POLITICAL INTERESTS TO BE RESPECTED
BY POLITICAL PROCESS. SHEVARDNADZE PUT IT TO BAKER ON ISSUE
OF UNIFICATION QUOTE WE HAVE TO BE PARTICIPANTS, NOT/NOT
VICTIMS UNQUOTE.

11. THIS WAS CENTRAL IMPULSE FOR CREATING 2 PLUS 4 AND ITS
IMPORTANCE FOR USSR EXPLAINS WHY NATO ALLIES WERE PREPARED
TO TOLERATE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF CONSULTATIONS. BOTH HURD
AND BAKER SEEMED PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THAT A GAFFE HAD BEEN

...6



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE SIX IFB0028 S E C R E T

12|

10

COMMITTED OVER MANDATE FOR THE FOREIGN MINS OF FIVE
(GDR BECOMES ACADEMIC) TO DISCUSS QUOTE THE ISSUES OF
SECURITY OF THE RPT THE NEIGHBOURING STATES UNQUOTE.
THEY OFFERED IN NATO CAUCUS AT SSEA URGING TO ENSURE CLOSE
ONGOING CONSULTATION IN NATO BUT GENSCHER WAS INDIGNANT AND
UPTIGHT ABOUT THE ISSUE. THIS MAY ONLY MEAN THAT 2 PLUS 4
SOLUTION WAS STILL VERY FRAGILE. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT
USA-USSR FORMULA THAT QUOTE INTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION
ARE ENTIRELY UP TO GERMANS WHILE EXTERNAL ASPECTS NEED TO
BE DISCUSSED WITH OTHERS UNQUOTE IS GOING TO BE HARDER TO
AGREE UPON WITH BOTH USSR AND GERMAN PARTNERS IN PRACTICE
THAN IN THEORY. DUTCH FM (SUPPORTED MOST STRENUOUSLY BY
ITALIAN, BELGIAN, NORWEGIAN) ASKED, QUOTE IF IT IS A QUESTION
OF POLISH BORDERS ONLY WHY NOT/NOT SAY SO UNQUOTE. THERE WAS
NO/NO SATISFACTORY ANSWER, AND SINCE GENSCHER HAS MADE IT
VERY CLEAR FRG WILL CONFIRM CURRENT EASTWARD BORDERS
EXPEDITIOUSLY, THERE IS POTENTIAL FOR 2 PLUS 4 TO BE USED
FOR MUCH MORE. GENSCHER NEEDS IT TO FINALIZE UNIFICATION
ITSELF IN RAPIDLY CHANGING LANDSCAPE.
12. QUESTION IS WHETHER IT WILL ALSO BE USED TO PRE-NEGOTIATE
RELATIONSHIP OF UNIFIED GERMANY TO NATO AS THIS RELATES TO
ALL OF THE OTHER CENTRAL SECURITY QUESTIONS. THIS UNANSWERED

...7



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
 Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

12|

10

PAGE SEVEN IFB0028 S E C R E T

(PROBABLY UNANSWERABLE) QUESTION HAD NON-PARTICIPATING NATO FOREIGN MINS WORRIED BUT FACT REMAINS THAT TACIT PURPOSE OF 2 PLUS 4 IS TO GIVE USSR ENTREE TO PROCESS WITH ALL OF THE PREOCCUPATIONS THEY BRING TO BEAR AND WAY THIS PLAYS OUT IS HARD TO PREDICT. FRENCH WOULD ARGUE (POINT MADE TO US BY POL DIRECTOR DUFOURQ) THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO NEGOTIATE WITH USSR ON ISSUE, SINCE THEY HAD NO/NO LEVERAGE. HOWEVER, USA PREOCCUPATIONS WITH USSR LEADERSHIP COMFORT LEVELS WOULD SUGGEST USING 2 PLUS 4 AS FORUM FOR ARGUING OUT AT LEAST RESPECTIVE POINTS OF VIEW ON STATIONED FOREIGN FORCES AND POSSIBLY MORE.

13. PRES BUSH SAID IN HIS PRESS CONF 11FEB QUOTE I SUSPECT THOUGH I CANNOT/NOT PROVE IT THAT SOME OF THE WTO COUNTRIES WANT US IN EUROPE: NOT/NOT AS A THREAT, BUT AS A STABILIZING FACTOR UNQUOTE. FROM WHAT WAS SAID PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY HERE IN LAST FEW DAYS, PRES BUSH'S SUSPICION IS PROBABLY RIGHT. SHEVARDNADZE SAID TO SSEA HE WOULD SEE USA AND CDN AND USSR TROOPS ALL OUT OF QUOTE EUROPE UNQUOTE BY 1995 AND BY YEAR 2000 ALL FORCES IN EUROPE ON A NATIONALLY STATIONED BASIS AND WITH A DEFENSIVE POSTURE. BUT HE ALSO SAID TO SSEA QUOTE WE ARE NOT/NOT AFRAID OF CDA BUT OF BUNDESWEHR UNQUOTE. HE MADE IT CLEAR IT WAS NOT/NOT WITH HIS FRIENDS GENSCHER



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
 Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE EIGHT IFB0028 S E C R E T

121

10

AND KOHL AT HELM THAT RUSSIANS HAD THIS FEAR BUT WITH VIEW
 TO DECADE OR SO HENCE. ALL OF THIS TO SUGGEST THAT PROCESS
 OF GERMAN UNIFICATION HAS DEEPEST POLITICAL AND SECURITY PRE-
EMOTIONAL MEMORIES OF WWII ARE POLITICAL REALITY.
 OCCUPATIONS FOR USSR, ~~AND~~ (THEY WILL SEEK SATISFACTION ON
 FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES, PROBABLY IN TWO PLUS FOUR GROUPING.
 14. THIS MAY WELL HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO IN TERMS OF
 ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONAL PREROGATIVES AND PROCESS AND IT WILL
 HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT AS A NATO MATTER. ~~SHEVARDNADZE COULD BE
 EXCUSED IF HE CONSIDERED THERE WERE LARGER ISSUES AT STAKE.~~
 15. NATO FRETTING ON THIS POINT IS IRONIC COUNTERPOINT TO MOST
 FREQUENTLY MADE OTT CONF JOKE. AS WTO DELS INADVERTENTLY AND
 REPEATEDLY WANDERED INTO NATO CAUCUS MTGS TO RETRIEVE
 BRIEFCASES, OR SHOPPERS DRUG MART PURCHASES, LEFT AT PREVIOUS
 SESSION, THEY RITUALISTICALLY INTONED WHEN THEY REALIZED WHERE
 THEY WERE, QUOTE WE ARE JOINING, BUT NOT/NOT QUITE YET UNQUOTE.
 16. IN PUBLIC DEBATE, WTO MEMBERS AT CONF WERE RELATIVELY
 RESTRAINED. PLENARY DEBATE WAS REMARKABLE IN THAT ALMOST ALL OF
 THE SPEECHES FROM WTO AND NATO USED SAME *SPEECH-* WRITERS LEXICON OF
 POLITICAL PHRASES ABOUT RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, OPENNESS, STABILITY,
 SECURITY, ETC AND FOR ONCE WORDS USED MEANT THE SAME TO ALL
 THE USERS. PRIVATELY, WTO DELS (EXCEPT FOR HAPLESS EAST
 GERMANS) ACKNOWLEDGED WTO WAS FINISHED. PUBLICLY THEY CONTINUED

...9



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
 Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE NINE IFB0028 S E C R E T

121

10

TO REFER TO VALUE OF ALLIANCES FOR ACCELERATING FORCE
 REDUCTIONS AND ARMS CONTROL. TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY CAN
 INDULGE IN LONG-TERM THINKING, THEY SEE ~~THE~~ **ARMS REDUCTION** (ACTIVITY SHIFTING
 TOWARD AN ALLIANCE-FREE FORUM, A NEW CSCE, BUT AS DIENSTBIER
 PUT IT PRIVATELY, HE AND OTHERS CAN HARDLY STRATEGIZE PAST
 THE END OF EACH WEEK. SHEVARDNADZE SPOKE ELOQUENTLY TO SSEA
 ABOUT THE SERIOUS DISCONNECT IN TIMING IN EE AND THE USSR
 BETWEEN POLITICAL REFORM AND ECONOMIC REFORM. THE ECONOMIC
 REFORM TASK IS MUCH MORE ENORMOUS AND DIFFICULT THAN WESTERNERS
 THINK, HE SAID. LAWS HAVE TO BE RE-WRITTEN, DEBATED, APPROVED
 ON SUCH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AS THE NATURE OF PROPERTY. EVEN
 MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THE ESTABLISHED COMMAND ECONOMY NETWORK
 BOTH BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE COMECON COUNTRIES AND WITHIN THE
 USSR ITSELF, WHICH IS A LOT EASIER TO WISH AWAY THAN TO ACTUALLY
 REPLACE. THE REAL PROBLEM HERE IS FRUSTRATED EXPECTATIONS,
~~ANOTHER~~ **A** BASIC INGREDIENT OF THE DANGEROUS INSTABILITY WHICH SO
 TROUBLED THE USSR INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY. THESE REALIZATIONS
 NO/NO DOUBT TEMPERED THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE OTHER FOREIGN MINS FROM
 (EXCEPT FOR POLES AND CZECH UNDERCUTTING OF KARPOV DURING NEGS ON OPEN SKIES COMMUNIQUE)
 EASTERN EUROPE WHO DID NOT/TAKE ISSUE WITH THE USSR (EXCEPT
 PERHAPS FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA), BEARING IN MIND ~~ALSO~~ PERHAPS THAT IT
 WAS GORBACHEV AND PERESTROIKA WHICH HAD HELPED PUT THEM HERE.
 17. HOWEVER, ALL ACCEPTED THAT OTT CONF REPRESENTED A NEW

...10



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

PAGE TEN IFB0028 S E C R E T

12|

10

DEPARTURE IN ATTITUDE AND DIRECTION. THE QUESTION IS WHERE
IT WILL LEAD.

18. GIVEN THAT STABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY ARE THE GOALS, AND
THAT EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES ARE IN FLUX OR IN CASE
OF WTO VIRTUALLY DEFUNCT, TENDENCY IS TO THINK AHEAD TO AN
ENVELOPING SECURITY FRAMEWORK WHICH SEEMS TO BE A MORE MUSCULAR
AND MORE EFFECTIVE CSCE.

19. ALL DELS HERE WERE IN FAVOUR OF A CSCE SUMMIT BEFORE END OF
1990 - VIRTUALLY ALL ANTICIPATED SIGNATURE OF CFE AGREEMENT
TO BE A PROMINENT ACHIEVEMENT OF SUMMIT. BUT THERE WAS A RANGE OF
VIEWS AS TO SUBSTANTIVE PREPARATION OF SUMMIT, SUBSTANCE TO BE
EXPECTED FROM SUMMIT, AND THUS FROM RENEWED CSCE ITSELF.

20. AS YOU KNOW, USSR POSITION HAS BEEN IN FAVOUR OF QUOTE
INSTITUTIONALIZING UNQUOTE THE CSCE PROCESS, WHICH SEEMS TO
MEAN GIVING IT ONGOING SECRETARIAT AND MEMBER STATE PRESENCE
AND FUNCTIONS TO PROPEL NEGOTIATION, CONSULTATION, AND PROGRAMS
IN POLITICAL SECURITY, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND ENVIRONMENTAL
AREAS. SHEVARDNADZE TOLD SSEA THEY SAW THE SUMMIT IDENTIFYING
THE CSCE AS THE SUCCESSOR AGENCY FOR THE CFE I PROCESS AND AS
THE LOCALE AS WELL FOR CONSOLIDATING THE FINAL POST WW II
SETTLEMENT PROCESS. THE SUMMIT SHLD SET A MANDATE TO ENABLE THE
CSCE TO ENCOURAGE AND EVENTUALLY TO CODIFY THE CONVERSION OF
STATES TO DEFENSIVE MILITARY POSTURES, AS WELL AS TO ENGAGE

...11



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
 Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

12|

10

PAGE ELEVEN IFB0028 S E C R E T

IN THE OTHER CRITICAL ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL
 ADJUSTMENT ACTIVITIES.

21. DEEPER SOVIET INTERESTS WERE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED.

SHEVARDNADZE SPOKE WITH REFERENCE TO GERMAN UNIFICATION OF
 THE IMPORTANCE FOR STABILITY OF USA AND CDN PRESENCE IN THE
 CSCE. HE WISHES TO QUOTE ACCELERATE THE PROCESS OF ENGLOBING
 STRUCTURES IN THE CSCE UNQUOTE. USA OFFICIALS TOLD US THAT IN
 THEIR VIEW USSR IS ^{ALSO} LOOKING TO STABLE PLURALISTIC FRAMEWORK OF
 CSCE AS SORT OF COUNTER TO FEDERAL INSTABILITY WITHIN USSR
 ITSELF. USA CONSIDERS THIS A SERIOUS CONCERN AND WILL PROBABLY

UPGRADE THEIR OWN CREATIVE ATTENTION TO CSCE POTENTIAL IN
 (US OFFICIALS PRIVATELY ACCEPT INEVITABILITY OF AN
 CONSEQUENCE.) INSTITUTIONALIZED CSCE.

22. ~~FRG VIEWS SEEM SIMILAR TO THOSE OF USSR.~~ ^{ALSO} GENSCHER SPOKE OF
 CSCE AS LOCALE FOR NEXT PHASE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS
 NEGOTIATIONS AND AS QUOTE PERMANENT STAGE UNQUOTE FOR
 DISARMAMENT PROCESS. ON UNIFICATION, FRG IS GOING TO REPORT
 TO CSCE SUMMIT ON DETAILS, BUT DOES NOT/NOT INTEND ANY DISCUSSION
 OR NEGOTIATION THERE, WHICH, OF COURSE, REMAINS TO BE SEEN RE
 EXTERNAL ASPECTS.

23. FRENCH TOO SEE CSCE AS USEFUL TO ENGLOBE CHANGING SECURITY
 SITUATION BUT OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH DUFOURQ DO NOT/NOT REVEAL
 MUCH IN WAY OF FRENCH THINKING REGARDING ANY SUBSTANTIVE



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

12

10

PAGE TWELVE IFB0028 S E C R E T

ONGOING ROLE FOR CSCE ITSELF APART FROM PREPARING 1992 FU MTG.
OTHER DELS INCLUDING CDA DO NOT/NOT WISH TO DISRUPT OR REPLACE
1992 MTG BUT BELIEVE EVENTS REQUIRE CONCRETE STRENGTHENING OF
CSCE BEFORE THEN. FRENCH VIEWS ARE PROBABLY UNEXPRESSED PENDING
EC DISCUSSION AND SETTLEMENT OF PARIS-VIENNA VENUE CONTEST
(PARIS WILL WIN; ~~OTHER~~ DELS CANNOT/NOT SWALLOW EVEN PROXIMITY OF
WALDHEIM TO SUMMIT OF THIS CHARACTER). SURPRISINGLY, HURD
FORESAW QUITE CONSIDERABLE SECURITY ROLE FOR NEW CSCE INCLUDING
NOTION OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM WHICH INTERESTED SSEA.
24. THESE DIVERGENT VIEWS ON CSCE NEED URGENT RECONCILIATION,
AT LEAST TO POINT WHERE A PREPARATORY PROCESS FOR SUMMIT CAN BE
IDENTIFIED. THERE WERE VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR AN OFFICIALS PREPCOM,
USE OF VIENNA CSBM FORUM, MINISTERIAL MTGS EITHER ON THE MARGIN
OF BUDAPEST OPEN SKIES FINALE, OR COPENHAGEN HUMAN DIMENSION CONF
OR A SPECIAL PREPCOM AT SEPARATE MINISTERIAL MTG. SSEA IN
CHAIR AT BOTH IMPROMPTU NATO CAUCUS AND CLOSED SESSION OF 23
13FEB WAS NOT/NOT ABLE TO DRAW OUT A VERY OPEN DISCUSSION OF
POSITIONS WE KNOW EXISTED.
25. TENDENCY NOW WILL BE FOR SERIOUS OFFICIAL DISCUSSION TO
PROCEED ON ALL THESE ISSUES IN VARIOUS VENUES, BILATERAL,
2 PLUS 4, AND EC 12 AND ONLY THEN IN NATO, THOUGH SUMMIT

...13



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
 Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

12

10

PAGE THIRTEEN IFB0028 S E C R E T

SEVEN SHERPA MTGS MAY PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY.

26. FOR THESE REASONS, STEPS BY POSTS TO DIALOGUE AT MOST SENIOR LEVELS OF HOST GOVTS WILL BE IMPORTANT. THERE IS ~~SOME~~ ^{CONSIDERABLE} CREDIT AVAILABLE FROM OPEN SKIES CONF HOST FUNCTIONS AND ~~INDIEED~~ ^{SSEA} LEADERSHIP TO DRAW UPON. YOU WILL HAVE READ PM AND SSEA STATEMENTS TO OPEN SKIES PLENARY. AS GENERAL SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE, WE WOULD ADD THAT A REINFORCED AND MORE EFFECTIVE CSCE PROCESS IS VERY MUCH A CDN OBJECTIVE. SSEA FOUND IN DISCUSSION WITH SHEVARDNADZE THERE IS MUCH CDA AND USSR SHARED ON THIS ISSUE AND ON PROPOSALS FOR AN ACTIVE PREPARATORY PROCESS. WE SHALL PROVIDE MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON CSCE AND ON OTHER ISSUES SHORTLY.

27. THIS TEL IS TO TRY IN HASTE TO RETURN SOME VERY TENTATIVE ANALYSIS TO THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE SO THOUGHTFULLY CONTRIBUTED IN RECENT MONTHS TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THESE TRULY MOMENTOUS ISSUES, AND SPECIFICALLY TO PREPARATION OF THIS VERY IMPORTANT MTG OF 23 MINS WHICH HAS, WE THINK IT FAIR TO SAY, WORKED OUT VERY WELL. ACCURATE AND SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE VARIOUS NEEDS AND POSITIONS AT PLAY IN THE UNFOLDING OF THESE EVENTS WILL NOW BE NEEDED MORE THAN EVER IF CDN OPPORTUNITIES AND INTERESTS ARE TO BE APTLY ASSESSED AND ADVANCED. WE COUNT ON YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS AND WE SHALL DO OUR BEST TO ENSURE YOU ARE WELL POSITIONED IN REGARD TO THINKING HERE. MORE DETAILED

...14



Align first character of word "PAGE" under this arrow
Alignez le premier caractère du mot "PAGE" sous cette flèche

▼ PAGE FOURTEEN IFB0028 S E C R E T

12

10

AND FACTUAL REPORTS OF SPECIFIC MTGS AND SESSIONS ARE,
OF COURSE, GOING OUT TO THOSE CONCERNED IN USUAL WAY.

MARCHAND