

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN AUSTRIA

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2032  
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC

~~SECRET~~ SECTO 23026

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: MY DAY IN VIENNA,  
NOVEMBER 6

1. ~~(S)~~ ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
SUBJECT: MY DAY IN VIENNA, NOVEMBER 6

MY SECOND SESSION WITH SHEVARNADZE ENDED  
INCONCLUSIVELY TODAY AFTER THE SOVIETS PROVED  
UNWILLING IN AN OVERNIGHT EXPERTS SESSION TO  
CLARIFY THE ISSUES YOU DISCUSSED WITH GORBACHEV.  
THE SOVIET TEAM, HEADED BY DEPUTY MINISTER  
BESSMERTNYKH, TRIED INSTEAD TO PIN DOWN PAUL NITZE  
AND OUR GROUP ON INTERPRETING THE ABM TREATY.  
AVOIDING OUR EFFORTS TO DEFINE AREAS OF AGREEMENT  
AND DISAGREEMENT ON THE FULL RANGE OF NUCLEAR ARMS  
CONTROL QUESTIONS THE SOVIETS SOUGHT TO COMMIT US

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS #97-013/2 #119  
By hjt, NARA, Date 11/16/00

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TO FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSIONS ON THE NARROW QUESTION OF ABM TREATY INTERPRETATION, RESISTING OUR COUNTERPROPOSAL FOR A BROADER EXPERT-LEVEL EXCHANGE AFTER THE GENEVA TALKS RECESS NEXT WEEK. SHEYARDNADZE THIS MORNING PROVED EQUALLY INFLEXIBLE ON THIS POINT, AND WE PARTED COMPANY WITHOUT ANY AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURAL NEXT STEPS. AS TO WHEN WE MIGHT NEXT MEET, WE LEFT ON THE TABLE OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN EXPERTS' MEETING BETWEEN GENEVA ROUNDS.

OUR OWN THOROUGH PREPARATIONS AND THE PRESENCE OF OUR EXTENSIVE EXPERTS CONTINGENT PUT ME IN A STRONG POSITION AFTER THE MEETING TO CONTRAST OUR SERIOUS AND FORWARD-LOOKING APPROACH WITH SHEYARDNADZE'S MORE CAUTIOUS, NARROWLY FOCUSED BRIEF. THE SOVIETS WILL AGAIN TRY TO BLAME OUR DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE SDI FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS HERE, BUT THEIR PERFORMANCE MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE THAT CASE. WE WILL NEED TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS WITH MOSCOW CAREFULLY ON MY RETURN.

IN MY BRIEFING OF THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS ON THESE DISCUSSIONS, I EMPHASIZED THAT WE CAME PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE SUBSTANTIVELY AND IN DETAIL BUT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE STUCK ON A SINGLE NOTE -- THEIR NOTION OF ABM TREATY RESTRICTIONS ON SDI RESEARCH. I EXPLAINED THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO BE AS PATIENT AS NECESSARY ~~IN WHAT ALL KNEW WOULD BE A~~ DIFFICULT PROCESS. THEY SEEMED COMFORTABLE WITH THIS APPROACH AND AGREED WITH THE BRITISH ASSESSMENT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CURRENTLY IN A PUBLIC RELATIONS STAGE. I ALSO HAD A BRIEF, SYMBOLIC SESSION WITH MY COLLEAGUES IN MBFR TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR THOSE NEGOTIATIONS, AND APPROVE A STATEMENT STRESSING THE NEED FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE EASTERN RESPONSE TO NATO'S INITIATIVE OF LAST DECEMBER.

// -- patient  
-- difficult  
process

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ON TERRORISM, IT APPEARS FROM OUR TALKS HERE THAT THE EC COUNTRIES WILL ALL AGREE TO ANNOUNCE A LIMITED LIST OF MEASURES AGAINST SYRIA ON MONDAY. THE KEY CHANGE IS THE POSITION OF THE ██████████ WHOSE FOREIGN MINISTER TOLD ME HIS GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE BRITISH COURT FINDING THAT SYRIA HAD BEEN INVOLVED AND WAS PREPARED TO SAY SO. I ALSO MET WITH ██████████ FOREIGN MINISTER TO EMPHASIZE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS UNIQUELY PLACED TO TAKE A LEAD ROLE ON SYRIAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.

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I ALSO MET WITH TWO VICTIMS OF SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, SUSAN GRAHAM, WHOSE PARENTS YOU RECENTLY MET IN SPOKANE, AND ILENA FRIDMAN, WHOSE SISTER, IDA NUDEL, HAS BEEN DENIED AN EXIT PERMIT BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES. THEY BOTH SHOWED REMARKABLE COURAGE. I TOLD THEM NOT TO GIVE UP AND ASSURED THEM YOU WOULDN'T.

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USING A SET OF INTER-AGENCY INSTRUCTIONS, ROZ RIDGWAY MET POLISH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JAN KINAST HERE TODAY TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD POLAND IN THE WAKE OF THE SEPTEMBER GENERAL RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. ROZ EMPHASIZED THAT FUTURE PROGRESS ON BILATERAL RELATIONS, INCLUDING A POSSIBLE LIFTING OF THE REMAINING SANCTIONS EARLY NEXT YEAR, DEPENDS UPON MAINTENANCE OF THE CURRENT AMNESTY, THE FURTHERANCE OF GENUINE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE OVERALL

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HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN POLAND. SHE DESCRIBED SOME SMALL STEPS WE'RE PREPARED TO TAKE NOW. KINAST WENT THROUGH A PREDICTABLE STATEMENT ON INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT ENDED UP WELCOMING THIS FIRST STEP. AND OUR GUESS IS THAT AFTER GRUMELING THEY LL ACCEPT OUR APPROACH.

BT

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