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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9150

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: President's Lunch for Allied Representatives

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff
Thomas Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to U.N.
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President
and Press Secretary
Raymond Seitz, Assistant Secretary of State
for European Affairs
Robert Blackwill, Special Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
(Notetaker)

Manfred Woerner, Secretary General, NATO
Peter Wilenski, UN Ambassador, Australia
Mark Eyskens, Foreign Minister, Belgium
Joseph Clark, Secretary of State for External
Affairs, Canada
Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Foreign Minister,
Denmark
Roland Dumas, Foreign Minister, France
Han-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister, FRG
George Papoulias, Alternate Foreign Minister,
Greece
Gianni De Michelis, Foreign Minister, Italy
Taro Nakayama, Foreign Minister, Japan
Jacques Poos, Foreign Minister, Luxembourg
Hans van den Broek, Foreign Minister,
Netherlands
Thorvald Stoltenberg, Foreign Minister, Norway
Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Foreign Minister,
Portugal
Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Foreign Minister,
Spain
Mesut Yilmaz, Foreign Minister, Turkey
John Major, Foreign Secretary, United Kingdom
Choi Ho Joong, Foreign Minister, South Korea

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DATE, TIME September 25, 1989, 1:30 - 2:30 pm
AND PLACE: Conrad Room, Waldorf Astoria, New York City

The President: Let me welcome everybody here. We are delighted you are with us. I am new at this, but I understand this luncheon has become a custom. As I said in my speech, we are living in interesting times. I want to ask Secretary Baker to discuss his talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. My meeting with Shevardnadze went well, as did Secretary Baker's. We have problems, but we have the possibility of real progress. Who would have expected, a year ago at this luncheon, the changes we have seen in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? I have been criticized for my caution, but I think we have demonstrated that we can take the offensive and we can be out in front. We will be prepared to meet with Gorbachev half-way; we want to see him succeed. We handled Yeltsin carefully during his visit to Washington but if Gorbachev can see Teddy Kennedy, why can't I see Yeltsin? I made this point to Shevardnadze. I am optimistic that we can keep this process going in accord with Western interests.
(Ø)

Secretary Baker: I want to start by thanking everyone who helped NATO table its CFE initiative in Vienna last Thursday. We believe we are moving from competition to dialogue and even, in some instances, cooperation. This is true across the full range of a five part agenda: arms control; human rights; regional conflicts; bilateral issues; and transnational problems like drugs, the environment, and terrorism. We had a very productive ministerial meeting and the Soviets feel the same way. (Ø)

During the 4-1/2 hour flight to Wyoming, I had a good discussion with Shevardnadze about what is going on in the Soviet Union. They are quite preoccupied with their domestic problems, were candid about them, and clear on what they intend to do about them. Shevardnadze was confident and said the nationalities were the biggest problem, then economic restructuring, and third, the entrenched bureaucracy. They say Gorbachev's political position is solid. On nationalities, they decided at the Plenum to give the republics economic and political autonomy. But independence and separation are not on the agenda. (Ø)

We spent a good deal of time on arms control and made good progress. I hope we won't hear any more about dragging our feet. We agreed to hold a Summit in the late spring or early summer next year. The Soviets dropped their linkage between a START treaty and a Defense and Space agreement. They agreed to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar without preconditions. We broke a 15 year deadlock on two nuclear testing treaties. We signed an MOU to exchange data on chemical weapons and test verification methods. We dropped our request for a ban on mobile missiles in START, contingent on Congressional approval for our own mobile missile program. We also moved forward on how to verify limits on mobile missiles. We reached an umbrella agreement on the President's proposal for interim verification and stability measures. The Soviets responded positively to the President's Open Skies proposal

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changed their definition for coverage of aircraft in the CFE talks. We also had a two hour discussion with them about their economy, at their suggestion. (Ø)

Foreign Minister Van der Broek: Did the Soviets express worry about Western activities in Eastern Europe? (Ø)

Secretary Baker: They say it is up to the countries in Eastern Europe, but they do not want us aggressively fomenting change. They will allow changes as long as the East European states remain in the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. (Ø)

Foreign Minister Genscher: Did you agree to give the Soviets data about chemical weapons on German soil? (Ø)

Secretary Baker: We agreed to give aggregate numbers, but no details about chemical weapons on German soil. (Ø)

Foreign Minister Stoltenberg: How was the SLCM issue addressed? This is of interest to us. (Ø)

Secretary Baker: Treatment of SLCMs and ALCMs are the biggest remaining issues in START. The good news is that they want to handle SLCMs outside of START. The bad news is that they want to do it within the context of naval arms control. (Ø)

Foreign Minister Choi: Was there discussion of Asia and the situation around the Korean peninsula? (Ø)

Secretary Baker: We talked about nuclear proliferation and North Korea. The Soviets said they would push the North Koreans. (Ø)