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OF 070046Z SEPTEMBER 90  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO, BONN, PARIS, ROME, MOSCOW  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL VIENNA, MODUK, ACTOR

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BUSH/GORBACHEV MEETING: HELSINKI, 9 SEPTEMBER: CFE  
SUMMARY

1. RECENT EXCHANGES BETWEEN WOOLSEY AND GRINEVSKY IN VIENNA HAVE HARDENED ATTITUDES HERE. US CFE PRIORITIES IN HELSINKI LIKELY TO BE MANPOWER AND AIRCRAFT, WITH FIRM US LINE EXPECTED. BUT SCOWCROFT DOWNBEAT ON PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS.

DETAIL

2. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (OUR TELNO 2100), THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN WOOLSEY AND GRINEVSKY IN VIENNA AT THE END OF AUGUST HAD GIVEN RISE TO SOME CONCERN IN WASHINGTON THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE ERECTING NEW OBSTACLES AT THE ELEVENTH HOUR OF THE CFE NEGOTIATION. IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THOSE EXCHANGES, IT WAS AGREED THAT BARTHOLOMEW AND KARPOV WOULD MEET IN MOSCOW FROM 8-10 SEPTEMBER FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE KEY OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS IN THE START AND CFE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH GORBACHEV HAS LED TO A CHANGE OF PLAN, AND BARTHOLOMEW, TOGETHER WITH WOLFOWITZ (OSD), WILL NOW BE ACCOMPANYING THE PRESIDENT (PLUS SCOWCROFT AND BAKER) ON HIS TRIP TO HELSINKI.

3. THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING IS UNLIKELY TO LEAD TO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON CFE (OR START). SCOWCROFT TOLD ME ON 6 SEPTEMBER THAT THERE HAD BEEN INSUFFICIENT PROGRESS ON ANY OF THE KEY ISSUES AT CFE SINCE THE JUNE SUMMIT FOR THERE TO BE ANY REAL PROSPECT OF A BREAKTHROUGH IN HELSINKI. HIS EXPECTATION WAS THAT THE END RESULT WOULD BE A MUTUAL AGREEMENT TO EXHORT THEIR RESPECTIVE BUREAUCRACIES TO DO BETTER.

4. THAT SAID, WE UNDERSTAND FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR CONTACTS IN THE NSC, STATE AND OSD THAT THE PRESIDENT IS BEING BRIEFED ON A NUMBER OF CFE ISSUES. THESE INCLUDE, IN ORDER OF PRIORITY:

1) AIRCRAFT: THE ADMINISTRATION HAS JUST CONCLUDED YET ANOTHER INTERNAL REVIEW OF ITS POLICY ON AIRCRAFT AT CFE. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME AMERICANS (MAINLY IN VIENNA) WHO HAVE BEEN DISINCLINED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON AIRCRAFT (UKDEL

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VIENNA TELNO 255 REFERS), THE WASHINGTON REVIEW APPARENTLY CONCLUDED THAT THE US BOTTOM LINE SHOULD BE QUOTE COVERAGE IN SOME FORM UNQUOTE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE US WILL BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY REALISTIC MIX OF CEILINGS AND NO-INCREASE COMMITMENTS WHICH ENSURED COMPLETE COVERAGE OF SOVIET AIR ASSETS IN THE ATTU ZONE. USAF ARE PUSHING FOR THE CEILINGS TO BE MUCH LOWER THAN THOSE RECENTLY PUT FORWARD BY GRINEVSKY. BUT COVERAGE, RATHER THAN THE NUMBERS GAME, IS BECOMING THE WATCHWORD HERE:

- II) MANPOWER: AS WE REPORTED PREVIOUSLY, GRINEVSKY'S PROPOSAL TO WOOLSEY OF A CEILING OF 80,000 ON US TROOPS IN THE ATTU ZONE CAME AS A RUDE SHOCK TO THE AMERICANS, GIVEN THE APPARENT AGREEMENT IN IRKUTSK TO DROP THE OTTAWA PERSONNEL CEILINGS. THIS LATEST SOVIET PROPOSAL, CLEARLY BUILDING ON US PRESS SPECULATION AS TO THE EVENTUAL SIZE OF A US PRESENCE IN EUROPE POST-GERMAN UNIFICATION, WILL BE GIVEN SHORT SHRIFT BY THE PRESIDENT IN HELSINKI:
- III) SUFFICIENCY: THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE PREVIOUSLY SHOWN SIGNS OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON SUFFICIENCY THAN WE (OR THE FRENCH) WOULD WISH. WE KNOW THAT WOOLSEY HAS INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ENCOURAGE HIM TO SEEK VARIATIONS OF THE ACV, ARTILLERY AND TANK PERCENTAGES AROUND A MEAN OF 33 PER CENT, WITH ACVS AROUND 35 PER CENT AND TANKS NEARER 30 PER CENT. BUT HE ALSO HAS DISCRETION TO GO TO 35 PER CENT ACROSS THE BOARD. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT HELSINKI IS UNLIKELY TO SEE FLEXIBILITY FROM THE PRESIDENT ON SUFFICIENCY: THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS PREPARED TO GIVE THE CURRENT INTERNAL WARSAW PACT DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE MORE TIME TO MATURE:
- IV ZONES/VERIFICATION/DESTRUCTION: THE PRESIDENT IS BEING BRIEFED ON THESE ISSUES, BUT THE CHANCES OF IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION ARE THOUGHT LIMITED. ON ZONES HE IS BEING TOLD TO HANG TOUGH, AS HE IS ON THE LATEST SOVIET APPROACH ON QUOTE OBJECTS UNQUOTE OF VERIFICATION. ON DESTRUCTION WE UNDERSTAND HE IS BEING BRIEFED TO QUERY THE LATEST SOVIET PROPOSALS (WHICH BY SOME PENTAGON COUNTS, WOULD ONLY RESULT IN THE DESTRUCTION OF 4000 SOVIET MBTS UNDER A CFE AGREEMENT).

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