

ADVANCE COPY

RESTRICTED

FM BONN

TO DESKBY 151630Z FCO

TELNO 636

OF 151646Z JUNE 89

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, PARIS
INFO ROUTIEN NATO POSTS, EAST EUROPEAN POSTS

GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG : 12-15 JUNE

SUMMARY

1. THE AUSWARTIGES AMT VIEW OF THE VISIT (WHICH FINISHED LATE THIS AFTERNOON). I SHALL SEND MY ASSESSMENT TOMORROW.

DETAIL

2. KASTRUP (FRG POLITICAL DIRECTOR) BRIEFED NATO AMBASSADORS THIS AFTERNOON.

3. HE DESCRIBED THE VISIT AS AN EVENT OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, FOR EUROPE, AND FOR EAST/WEST RELATIONS AS A WHOLE. IT REPRESENTED A HIGH POINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINKS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE MOSCOW TREATY OF 1970, AND MEANT THAT A LINE COULD NOW BE DRAWN UNDER THE PAST.

4. GORBACHEV HAD MADE PLAIN THROUGHOUT THE VISIT HIS FULL ACCEPTANCE OF AND RESPECT FOR THE FRG'S VIEW OF THE PERMANENCE OF ITS WESTERN MOORINGS: IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION NOW SAW NO POINT IN TRYING TO PLAY ONE WESTERN COUNTRY OFF AGAINST OTHERS. HE HAD SHOWN PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY TO THE IMPORTANCE OF FRG/US RELATIONS: WHEN GENSCHER HAD SPOKEN OF HIS INTENTION TO GO TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK TO BRIEF THE AMERICANS, GORBACHEV IN REPLY HAD SAID VERY SERIOUSLY THAT HE HAD BEEN CONSCIOUS OF THE PRESENCE AT THE TABLE OF A THIRD INTERLOCUTOR, AND HAD DESCRIBED AS ILLUSORY AND INCONCEIVABLE ANY IDEA THAT PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN EUROPE WITHOUT THE US BEING INVOLVED.

5. BOTH SIDES HAD ALSO VIEWED THE VISIT QUITE CONSCIOUSLY AS PART OF THE WIDER POLITICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EC, AS WELL AS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

6. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATION OVER THE JOINT DECLARATION, WHICH WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANT DOCUMENT. ESPECIALLY NOTEWORTHY POINTS IN IT WERE THE

EMPHASIS ON THE OBJECTIVE OF OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND ON THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES AND STATES TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND THE REFERENCE TO THE HARMEL-LINKED CONCEPT OF A PEACEFUL EUROPEAN ORDER (WHEN PRESSED BY THE US AMBASSADOR KASTRUP WAS UNABLE HOWEVER TO DEMONSTRATE AT ALL CONVINCINGLY THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION REPRESENTED A MAJOR IMPROVEMENT ON THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT).

7. GORBACHEV HAD SHOWN A CLOSE PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE DETAILS OF THE ARMS CONTROL DEBATE. HE HAD BEEN DISMISSIVE OF THE NATO SUMMIT DECLARATION, DESCRIBING IT AS STILL TOO STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY COLD WAR IDEAS AND IN GENERAL QUOTE NOT A BIG BREAK-THROUGH UNQUOTE. BUT HE HAD BEEN POSITIVE ABOUT THE BUSH INITIATIVE, TELLING KOHL IN PRIVATE THAT MANY OF THE US PROPOSALS WERE ACCEPTABLE, THAT IT WAS NOW QUOTE REALISTIC UNQUOTE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA TO BE TAKEN FORWARD, AND THAT THE WARSAW PACT WOULD TABLE A CONSIDERED RESPONSE IN JULY. ALL THIS SHOWED (IN THE VIEW OF THE FRG) THAT THE LINE TAKEN BY THE NATO SUMMIT HAD BEEN RIGHT.

8. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS KASTRUP:

(A) IN EFFECT ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SIGN OF NEW SOVIET THINKING IN RELATION TO BERLIN. HE NOTED HOWEVER THAT WHILE THE FAMILIAR PROBLEMS REMAINED UNSOLVED THE RUSSIANS HAD AT LEAST SHOWN THEMSELVES WILLING IN THE RUN UP TO THE VISIT TO DISCUSS THE POINTS AT ISSUE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. GORBACHEV'S LINE ON THE BERLIN WALL AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE EARLIER IN THE DAY HAD BEEN IN A RELATIVELY LOW KEY (AS SOON AS THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAD NECESSITATED ITS CONSTRUCTION HAD BEEN RESOLVED, IT COULD GO). IN THE FRG VIEW THE LOGIC OF THE JOINT DECLARATION POINTED TO DEVELOPMENTS (EG EXCHANGES/OPENING UP FRONTIERS) WHICH WOULD MEAN THAT THE WALL WOULD INCREASINGLY BE BYPASSED:

(B) DENIED THAT THERE WAS ANY TRUTH IN THE RUMOUR THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW REPUBLIC FOR THE VOLGA GERMANS (REFERRED TO BY THE RUSSIANS AS SOVIET CITIZENS OF GERMAN NATIONALITY). THE FRG HAD SUGGESTED A REFERENCE IN THE JOINT PRESS COMMUNIQUE TO GERMAN WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS IMPROVING THE WELFARE OF THESE PEOPLE, BUT THAT HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN BY THE SOVIET TEAM. THE LATTER HAD SAID THAT THEIR OWN PROPOSALS IN THIS CONNECTION WERE NOT YET RIPE, AND THAT THEY WERE ANYWAY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRECEDENT THAT WOULD BE SET BY SUCH A PUBLIC STATEMENT FOR QUOTE OTHER CRITICAL CASES UNQUOTE:

(C) ON THE PERIODICITY OF FUTURE MEETINGS SAID THAT WHILE NO FIXED

RESTRICTED

015675
MDA 3034

INTERVAL BETWEEN FUTURE SUMMITS HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IT HAD BEEN
AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE MORE FREQUENT SUMMITS. SINCE EARLY 1988
THERE HAD BEEN BILATERAL AGREEMENT THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD
MEET AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.

MALLABY

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

5

ADVANCE 5

HD/WED
HD/EED
HD/SOVIET

PS/PM
RC

NNNN



PAGE 3
RESTRICTED