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GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO FRG 12-15 JUNE

SUMMARY

1. BRIEFING BY TELTSCHIK. VISIT PRESENTED AS CATCHING UP WITH MAJOR WESTERN PARTNERS' LEVEL OF RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION. JOINT DECLARATION WILL BE POLITICAL CENTREPIECE.

DETAIL

2. KOHL'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISER TELTSCHIK BRIEFED MY US AND FRENCH COLLEAGUES AND ME TODAY. HE SAID KOHL HAD ASKED THAT WE BE BRIEFED ON THE JOINT DECLARATION. TELTSCHIK ASKED US TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY UNTIL IT IS PUBLISHED ON 12 JUNE.

JOINT DECLARATION

3. TELTSCHIK READ FROM THE AGREED TEXT, WHICH COMPRISES SIX SIDES OF TYPESCRIPT. HE SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD AGREED TO WORK ON THE BASIS OF THE FRG COUNTER-DRAFT OF JANUARY 1989: 80 PER CENT OF THE AGREED LANGUAGE WAS OF GERMAN ORIGIN. THERE ARE FOUR SECTIONS:-

(A) GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN PEOPLES AND STATES.

THIS UNDERLINES TENETS OF 'NEW THINKING': THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE NEED TO PREVENT WARS AND SETTLE CONFLICTS: THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO FREE SELF-DETERMINATION. THE LAST POINT, TO GERMAN PLEASURE, HAD BEEN ACCEPTED WITHOUT DISCUSSION. THIS WOULD BE THE FIRST SOVIET BILATERAL DOCUMENT ACCEPTING THE RIGHT. THERE ARE ALSO REFERENCES IN THIS SECTION TO THE ENVIRONMENT AND TERRORISM.

(B) EUROPE

THE THEME IS WORKING TOGETHER TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. A COMPROMISE FORMULA REFERS TO A EUROPEAN PEACE ORDER OR A COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE IN WHICH THERE IS A PLACE FOR THE US AND CANADA. THERE IS A REFERENCE TO THE NEED TO FULFIL ALL PARTS OF THE CSCE

HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID AND VIENNA DOCUMENTS. 'BUILDING BLOCKS' FOR THE FUTURE EUROPE ARE:

(I) THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION: THE RIGHT OF EACH PEOPLE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM: RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

(II) ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. PRINCIPLES - CORRESPONDING TO AGREED NATO POSITIONS - ARE ENUMERATED.

(III) THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS, INCLUDING REGULAR HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS. REFERENCES TO REALISATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTACTS: ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION: AND TO NATIONAL MINORITIES BEING PART OF EUROPE'S CULTURAL WEALTH. (TELTSCHIK COMMENTED THAT THE LAST POINT WOULD HELP HIM IN NEGOTIATION WITH THE POLES OVER THE GERMAN MINORITY.)

(C) SECURITY

SECURITY MUST NOT BE ENSURED AT THE COST OF OTHERS' SECURITY. CAUSES OF TENSION MUST BE REMOVED. EFFORTS TO SEEK MILITARY SUPERIORITY ARE CONDEMNED. THE CATALOGUE OF ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES INCLUDE:

- START AND A US-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON SPACE WEAPONS
- A STABLE AND SECURE BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES
- ABOLITION OF CW
- RESTRICTIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING
- CSBMS

THERE IS NO (NO) REFERENCE TO SNF.

(IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION, TELTSCHIK SAID THAT DECLARATION DID NOT MENTION NATO'S POLICY OF MAINTAINING AN ADEQUATE MIXTURE OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES. KOHL WOULD SET OUT NATO POLICY IN HIS SPEECH. THE RUSSIANS HAD WANTED THE DECLARATION TO SAY MORE ON ARMS CONTROL.)

(D) BILATERAL COOPERATION

BOTH SIDES PLEDGE TO DEVELOP THEIR RELATIONS, WHICH ARE OF 'CENTRAL SIGNIFICANCE' FOR EUROPE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS, ON THE BASIS OF

THE MOSCOW TREATY. RELATIONS SHOULD BE PUT ON A LONG-TERM STABLE FOOTING. A COMPROMISE SENTENCE, ACCEPTED BY SHEVARDNAZDE, REFERS TO THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN (WEST) IN BILATERAL COOPERATION IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. THERE ARE NO (NO) SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS OR THE BERLIN WALL.

AGREEMENTS.

4. TELTSCHIK CONFIRMED THAT 11 BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WILL BE SIGNED. THESE WERE 'NOT SPECTACULAR'. THE SOVIET UNION HAD SHOWN SOME FLEXIBILITY OVER BERLIN, EG BY INCLUDING BERLIN INVESTORS IN THE INVESTMENT PROMOTION AND PROTECTION AGREEMENT. THE TWO SHIPPING AGREEMENTS, HOWEVER, HAD NOT BEEN AGREED, BECAUSE OF THE BERLIN PROBLEM. THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE FRG PROPOSAL TO RECORD THEIR POSITION IN A SIDE-LETTER, AS THEY HAD IN AGREEMENTS WITH HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. BUT TELTSCHIK DID NOT RULE OUT AGREEMENT AT THE LAST MINUTE: THERE HAD BEEN HINTS THAT GORBACHEV WANTED THE SHIPPING AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED. TELTSCHIK ADDED THAT THERE WAS ALSO NO AGREEMENT ON SPACE COOPERATION. THE SOVIET UNION HAD DEMANDED DM 24 MILLION AS THE GERMAN CONTRIBUTION TO JOINT UNDERTAKINGS: THE GERMANS HAD OFFERED DM 10 MILLION MAXIMUM.

GENERAL

5. TELTSCHIK SAID THERE WERE NO (NO) INDICATIONS THAT GORBACHEV WOULD PRODUCE AN ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE. IT WOULD NOT BE SERIOUS IF HE DID: THE RIGHT ADDRESSEES WERE THE USA OR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. GORBACHEV MIGHT GIVE A REACTION TO BUSH'S CFE INITIATIVE. (THOUGH GERASIMOV IN A PRESS BRIEFING HERE TODAY SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS NEEDED MORE TIME ON THIS). SOVIET OFFICIALS THROUGH SEMI-PRIVATE REMARKS HAD EXCITED SPECULATION ABOUT A POSSIBLE SOVIET MOVE ON THE GERMAN QUESTION. BUT TELTSCHIK WAS CONVINCED THAT NOTHING WOULD HAPPEN ON THIS FRONT. SHEVARDNAZDE WAS VISITING EAST BERLIN IN ADVANCE TO BRIEF THE GDR LEADERSHIP.

6. TELTSCHIK DESCRIBED KOHL'S AIM AS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE FRG'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WERE NOW AS NORMAL AS THOSE OF THE US, UK AND FRANCE. GORBACHEV HAD AT FIRST TRIED TO ISOLATE THE FRG, PRESSING FOR CONCESSIONS IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY POLICY. BUT THIS HAD CHANGED WITH KOHL'S REELECTION IN 1987. TELTSCHIK SAID THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DID NOT EXPECT MAJOR RESULTS FROM THE VISIT EXCEPT THE DECLARATION. NO COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS WOULD BE SIGNED. GERMAN COMPANIES HAD FULL ORDER BOOKS, WITH FRG GROWTH NOW OF 4.2 PER CENT THEY HAD NO NEED TO SEEK FURTHER ORDERS FROM SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN CUSTOMERS WHO COULD NOT PAY.

COMMENT.

7. I AM INCLINED TO ACCEPT TELTSCHIK'S LINE THAT THE GERMANS DO NOT EXPECT MAJOR RESULTS BEYOND THE DECLARATION, WHICH THEY WILL NO DOUBT PLAY UP - DESPITE ITS REFERENCE TO A COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE - AS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE FOR WESTERN PRINCIPLES. KOHL HAS SAID IN A PRESS INTERVIEW THAT HE INTENDS TO RAISE THE BERLIN WALL AND THE GERMAN QUESTION. AS WITH HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW LAST YEAR, THAT MAY ADD A REALISTIC NOTE TO THE PREVAILING OPTIMISM. KOHL SEEMS TO BE AIMING TO MAKE GORBACHEVS VISIT A BIG SUCCESS RATHER THAN A SENSATION.

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