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FOUR POWER MEETING IN BERLIN : THE WAY AHEAD

SUMMARY

1. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S MEETING OF THE FOUR AMBASSADORS IN BERLIN. WE SHOULD GO BACK TO THE RUSSIANS SOON WITH OUR OWN IDEAS ON HOW TO TAKE MATTERS FORWARD. WE SHOULD ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A WORKING GROUP TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AND MAKE OUR AGREEMENT TO MEETINGS OF AMBASSADORS CONDITIONAL ON PROGRESS IN THAT GROUP. OUR AGENDA SHOULD BE EXPLICITLY OPEN-ENDED AND SHOULD INCLUDE MATTERS OF INTEREST TO BERLINERS AND THE ALLIES.

DETAIL

2. YESTERDAY'S FOUR POWER MEETING HAS CREATED EXPECTATIONS THAT THE ALLIES WILL NOW BE ABLE TO SECURE PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS FOR BERLIN. THE RUSSIANS HAVE PLACED THEMSELVES, UNUSUALLY, IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEURS. WE SHOULD CAPITALISE ON THAT AND MAKE CLEAR TO THEM THAT THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE REFLECTED IN AGREEMENTS WHICH ALLOW BERLIN TO SHARE FULLY IN THE BENEFITS OF RELAXED TENSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

3. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THERE WOULD BE A RISK IN ACCEDING TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR REGULAR MEETINGS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL. PEOPLE WILL EXPECT RESULTS WHEN THE AMBASSADORS MEET. OUR AIM SHOULD THEREFORE BE TO PREPARE THE GROUND AT A LOWER LEVEL, BUT ALLOW THE RUSSIANS, AS A QUID PRO QUO FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS, THE SYMBOLISM OF MEETINGS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL FROM TIME TO TIME. IN OTHER WORDS WE SHOULD MAINTAIN THE POSITION WHICH WORKED WELL YESTERDAY THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES ACCEPT THE QUADRIPARTITE FRAMEWORK OSTENSIBLY AS A CHANNEL FOR DOING BUSINESS ON THE BERLIN INITIATIVE WHILE ACCEPTING THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL WANT TO USE IT AS A FORUM FOR EXPRESSING THEIR WIDER CONCERNS.

4. THE PRECISE MECHANISM WHICH WE SHOULD ADOPT WILL DEPEND ON WHAT AGENDA WE MAY BE PREPARED TO PURSUE WITH THE RUSSIANS, AND HOW MUCH DETAILED WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE IN VARIOUS AREAS. A SENSIBLE PATTERN WOULD SEEM TO BE CREATE A STEERING GROUP AT THE LEVEL OF MINISTERS IN

BERLIN, WITH OTHER AD HOC GROUPS REPORTING TO IT AS NECESSARY. ANY PROPSALS PUT TO THE RUSSIANS THROUGH THAT MECHANISM WOULD OF COURSE HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN CONSULTATION WITH THE GERMANS IN BONN.

5. THE CORE OF OUR AGENDA WILL REMAIN THE ISSUES SET OUT IN THE ALLIED INITIATIVE. BUT THE ALLIES MADE CLEAR YESTERDAY TO THE RUSSIANS THAT OTHER MATTERS COULD BE ADDED. WE SHOULD MAINTAIN THAT POSITION. WE SHALL ALSO NEED TO BE MORE SPECIFIC NOW ABOUT THE ARRANGEMENTS WE PROPOSE UNDER THE VARIOUS HEADINGS OF THAT INITIATIVE. UNDER THE HEADING OF AIR SERVICES FOR EXAMPLE I FEEL WE MUST SWALLOW HARD AND BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS LUFTHANSA FLIGHTS TO AND FROM BERLIN. IF WE ARE TO MEET THE SOVIET CONTENTION THAT MANY OF THE OTHER POINTS ON THE INITIATIVE HAVE BEEN OVERTAKEN BY LIFE ITSELF, WE SHOULD ALSO, WITH THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES AND THE SENAT, WORK UP SPECIFIC PROPOSALS CONCERNING SPORTING MEETINGS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

6. WE SHOULD ALSO PUT TO THE RUSSIANS QUESTIONS ABOUT OTHER CHANGES OF BENEFIT TO BERLINERS WHICH HAVE ARISEN RECENTLY, OR MAY ARISE IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND MONTHS. ONE OBVIOUS EXAMPLE IS THE QUESTION OF DIRECT ELECTION BY BERLINERS OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE BUNDESTAG (ON WHICH I HAVE WRITTEN YOU A LETTER IN TO-DAY'S BAG FOLLOWING A USEFUL DISCUSSION WITH PROFESSOR SCHOLZ) MOMPER CALLED FOR ALLIED SUPPORT ON THIS QUESTION IN HIS SPEECH AT TODAY'S GOLDEN BOOK CEREMONY FOR SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER (TEXT BY FAX). IF THE IDEA HAS TO RECEIVE A NEGATIVE RESPONSE, IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER FOR IT TO COME FROM THE RUSSIANS THAN FROM THE WESTERN ALLIES. (THE SAME, OF COURSE, APPLIES TO LUFTHANSA FLIGHTS.) WE MAY EVEN COME UNDER PRESSURE TO PUT TO THE RUSSIANS AT A LATER STAGE QUESTIONS ABOUT BERLINERS' ACCESS TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT.

7. WE ALSO NEED TO THINK HOWEVER OF WHAT THE ALLIES CAN GAIN FROM THIS PROCESS. SO FAR, WE HAVE NOT BENEFITED FROM THE CHANGES WHICH ALLOW GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BERLIN. WHILE WE SHOULD NEED TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO OUR OWN RULES FOR CONTROLLING ACCESS FOR REASONS OF PERSONAL SECURITY, IT WOULD SEEM TIMELY TO SEEK AN EXPANSION OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ALLIED ACCESS TO EAST BERLIN OTHER THAN THROUGH CHECKPOINT CHARLIE OR FRIEDRICHSTRASSE. WE MIGHT ALSO SEEK A RELAXATION OF SOVIET CONTROLS ON ALLIED TRANSIT ACCESS BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG. THERE TOO, WE MIGHT THINK OF EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES OF OPENING UP NEW ACCESS ROUTES.

8. THE ABOVE IDEAS ARE ILLUSTRATIVE. OUR PROPOSALS NEED TO BE

WORKED OUT IN DETAIL, TOGETHER WITH THE GERMANS. OTHER IDEAS MAY OCCUR TO US. BUT I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY THE RUSSIANS HAVE GIVEN US OF ENGAGING THEM IN A PROCESS WHICH WILL CONFIRM TO BERLINERS THE RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIES IN THIS TIME OF CHANGE.

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