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FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1404
OF 132302Z JUNE 90
INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, BONN

ADVANCE COPY

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 140 TO UKDEL NATO: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT
TO THE SOVIET UNION

1. WE HAVE GIVEN BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE NSC A COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S DISCUSSION WITH GORBACHEV AND OUTLINED THE MAIN POINTS TO HAVE ARISEN IN THE OTHER TALKS. I SPOKE TO EAGLEBURGER ON 13 JUNE, DRAWING ALSO ON MOSCOW TELNO. 1093.
2. EAGLEBURGER SAID THE AMERICANS AGREED GORBACHEV WAS CASTING ABOUT FOR ANSWERS ON GERMAN MEMBERSHIP OF NATO AND FUTURE EUROPEAN SECURITY. IN EAGLEBURGER'S VIEW HE HAD MADE A MESS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY FROM THE START, REACTING TACTICALLY TO IMMEDIATE ISSUES WITHOUT A GUIDING STRATEGIC VISION. THE SOVIET POSITION HAD HARDENED IN RECENT MONTHS. HE SUPPOSED THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY THAT GORBACHEV WAS TRYING TO MANIPULATE EVENTS BY SPREADING CONFUSION. HE WOULD FIND THE PRESIDENT IMMOVABLE ON BOTH NATO MEMBERSHIP AND SINGULARISATION. ~~AT~~ OHL HAD TAKEN THE VIEW DURING HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT ON 8 JUNE THAT THE MARCH OF EVENTS WOULD TAKE CARE OF THE SOVIET PROBLEM. CERTAINLY WE DID NOT WANT TO EMBARRASS THE RUSSLANS IF WE COULD AVOID IT. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND A CHAIN OF EVENTS HAD BEEN SET IN MOTION WHICH HAD ITS OWN LOGIC.
3. OUR INTERLOCUTORS AT THE NSC REMARKED THAT GORBACHEV'S STATEMENTS TO THE PRIME MINISTER SUGGESTED A MORE COHERENT AND ORGANISED APPROACH THAN HAD BEEN EVIDENT WITH BUSH, THOUGH THEY AGREED THAT THERE WAS STILL A DEGREE OF CONFUSION. EAGLEBURGER COMMENTED TO ME ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WAY GORBACHEV SPOKE IN PRIVATE AND IN PUBLIC. A SIMILAR POINT AROSE AT THE NSC FOLLOWING A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER GORBACHEV HAD SUGGESTED A LONG TRANSITIONAL PERIOD DURING WHICH QRR'S WOULD CONTINUE. WHEN TEBBIT SAID THAT THIS HAD BEEN NEITHER IMPLICIT NOR EXPLICIT IN THE GENERAL THRUST OF GORBACHEV'S REMARKS RICE (NSC) WONDERED WHAT KIND OF GAME GORBACHEV WAS PLAYING: HE SPOKE ONE WAY TO THE PRIME MINISTER YET ALLOWED SHEVARDNADZE TO CONTINUE TO CALL FOR A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. (NSC TEND TO TAKE A RATHER MORE SCEPTICAL VIEW OF GORBACHEV THAN STATE).

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4. THE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S STRONG PITCH TO GORBACHEV TO ACCEPT THAT RAPID GERMAN UNIFICATION WITHIN NATO IS A REALITY AND THAT THE ONLY ISSUE IS TO DISCUSS REASSURANCES NEEDED TO PRESERVE STABILITY AND GUARANTEE MUTUAL SECURITY. THEY BELIEVE MRS THATCHER TO BE PARTICULARLY WELL PLACED TO PUT THIS ESSENTIAL POINT OVER TO GORBACHEV.

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