

CONFIDENTIAL

027556
MDHIAN 5739

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 3044
OF 230100Z NOVEMBER 89
INFO IMMEDIATE BONN, PARIS, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKDEL VIENNA,
INFO IMMEDIATE MODUK

GENSCHER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

SIC

SUMMARY

1. WELL JUDGED PERFORMANCE BY GENSCHER. PRESENTS PRESIDENT WITH PIECE OF BERLIN WALL. PROVIDES REASSURANCE ABOUT FRG ATTITUDES. BUT ARGUES FOR ACCELERATED E C MOMENTUM, NEW DYNAMISM IN ARMS CONTROL AND NEW ROLES FOR NATO TO PROVIDE BROAD EAST-WEST RECONCILIATION WITHIN WHICH GERMAN UNITY CAN ALSO BE ACHIEVED.

DETAIL

2. GENSCHER PAID ONE OF HIS CHARACTERISTIC ONE-DAY VISITS TO WASHINGTON ON 21 NOVEMBER. HIS MAIN CALLS WERE ON BAKER (WITH WHOM HE LUNCHEDED), SCOWCROFT AND THE PRESIDENT. THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VISIT, GIVEN DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST EUROPE AND COMING JUST BEFORE MALTA, WAS WELL SIGNALLED BY THE PRESS IN ADVANCE, WHO BILLED IT AS AN EXERCISE IN REASSURANCE ABOUT BONN'S INTENTIONS AND AN EFFORT TO INFLUENCE THE ADMINISTRATION ON THE LINE TO TAKE WITH GORBACHEV. BY ALL ACCOUNTS GENSCHER SCORED THE SUCCESS HE WAS SEEKING, EXEMPLIFIED IN PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS OF HIM PRESENTING THE PRESIDENT WITH A FOOT-LONG CHUNK OF THE BERLIN WALL - THE LATEST IN THE SERIES OF THANK YOUS FROM THE GERMANS FOR AMERICAN SUPPORT.

3. THE ATMOSPHERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN VERY GOOD THROUGHOUT, CLOUDED ONLY FAINTLY BY A REBUKE FROM BUSH ABOUT STATEMENTS MADE BY GENSCHER'S SHERPAS ON SNF MODERNISATION (TEBBIT'S TELELETTER TO LEVER OF 22 NOVEMBER, NOT TO ALL). GENSCHER HIMSELF, HOWEVER, GAVE A BALANCED AND RESPONSIBLE PERFORMANCE ON SNF, AS WELL AS ON THE GERMAN QUESTION AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY. IN HIS MEETINGS, AS WELL AS IN PUBLIC, HE STRESSED FIVE POINTS:

(A) GERMAN UNITY COULD COME ABOUT ONLY AFTER DEMOCRACY AND FREE ELECTIONS WERE ESTABLISHED IN THE GDR, AND THAT MEANWHILE THERE WAS QUOTE ONE NATION WAITING TO COME TOGETHER

UNQUOTE THROUGH SELF-DETERMINATION.

(B) THIS COULD TAKE PLACE ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A BROADER DRAWING TOGETHER OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE - HENCE THE IMPORTANCE OF ACCELERATED EUROPEAN UNITY.

(C) IT MUST ALSO BE ON THE BASIS OF WESTERN VALUES, UNDERLINING THE CONTINUING VITAL ROLE OF NATO AND THE COMMUNITY.

(D) THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF ALTERING THE POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES OF THE TWO GERMANIES.

(E) CONTINUING US PRESENCE IN EUROPE WOULD BE ESSENTIAL, IRRESPECTIVE OF WARSAW PACT DEVELOPMENTS.

4. WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE THIRTY-MINUTE CALL ON THE PRESIDENT BY BLACKWILL (NSC). GENSCHER HAD SAID THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR A BLUEPRINT TO MANAGE DEVELOPMENTS. THE WEST WAS WINNING, THOUGH IT SHOULD NOT CROW. THE NEXT STAGE WAS FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE IN THE GDR SO THAT THE GERMANS COULD EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN SELF-DETERMINATION. THE FRG'S TIES TO THE WEST THROUGH NATO AND THE COMMUNITY WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER AND WERE PREREQUISITES FOR CLOSER TIES BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES. THERE WAS NO NEED FOR CONCERN ABOUT EVENTS IN EAST EUROPE: IT WAS THRILLING THAT WE WERE AT LAST SEEING WHAT WE HAD BEEN AIMING AT FOR 40 YEARS.

5. THE PRESIDENT HAD RAISED SNF. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT GENSCHER HAD JUST TOLD THE PRESS THAT THERE WAS NATO AGREEMENT THAT THIS WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN 1992 AND THAT IT WAS PREMATURE TO SPECULATE. HE HAD BEEN GLAD TO HEAR THAT, BECAUSE PRESS STORIES ABOUT STATEMENTS MADE BY GERMAN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAD CAUSED QUOTE HEARTBURN HERE UNQUOTE. GENSCHER HAD NOT RESPONDED.

6. THE GERMAN DESK IN STATE DEPARTMENT HAS TOLD US THAT PREPARATIONS FOR MALTA HAD BEEN THE CENTRE-PIECE OF BAKER'S OWN DISCUSSION WITH GENSCHER. ASKED WHAT MESSAGE THE AMERICANS MIGHT USEFULLY CONVEY TO GORBACHEV, GENSCHER HAD SAID THAT FROM A GERMAN PERSPECTIVE IT SHOULD BE TO REASSURE THE RUSSIANS THAT WHILE QUOTE GERMAN UNITY/SELF DETERMINATION UNQUOTE WOULD REMAIN AN FRG GOAL IT WOULD BE PURSUED SOBERLY AND RESPONSIBLY. NO THREAT TO RUSSIAN SECURITY WAS INTENDED OR WOULD EMERGE. NEITHER WOULD THE WEST SEEK TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION.

7. IN ADDITION TO REPEATING THE CALL FOR ACCELERATED EUROPEAN UNITY AND THE NEED FOR CONTINUING US INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPE, GENSCHER RAISED ARMS CONTROL. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS A NEED FOR A NEW DYNAMISM IN THIS AREA AS AN ESSENTIAL CONCOMITANT TO ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE. WESTERN FLEXIBILITY ON CFE WOULD

CONFIDENTIAL

027556
MDHIAN 5739

ENABLE THE RUSSIANS TO MAKE CONVENTIONAL CUTS AND PLOUGH RESOURCES SAVED INTO PERESTROIKA.

8. STATE DEPARTMENT ALSO SAY THAT GENSCHER APPEARED TO BE PRESSING FOR A CHANGE IN NATO'S FOCUS. WHEN BAKER HAD POINTED OUT CONTINUING STRONG US PARTICIPATION IN NATO AS EVIDENCE OF LONG-TERM COMMITMENT, GENSCHER ARGUED THAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD HAVE AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE. BAKER HAD QUERIED THE LATTER POINT, REFERRING TO OTHER ORGANISATIONS AS BEING MORE APPROPRIATE FOR COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC POLICIES. GENSCHER HAD NOT PRESSED FURTHER BUT HAD REITERATED THE FORMULA THAT NATO'S MISSION SHOULD BE MODIFIED TO REFLECT CHANGING REALITIES IN EUROPE.

9. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR'S BRIEFING FOR EC COLLEAGUES THIS AFTERNOON ADDED THREE GLOSSES TO THE ABOVE:

(A) IN SPEAKING OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATO, GENSCHER REFERRED TO THE NEED FOR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO EUROPEAN STABILITY. POLITICAL CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE HAD GOT AHEAD OF THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS WHICH THEREFORE NEEDED TO CATCH UP.

(B) GENSCHER STRESSED THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN ENCOURAGING THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE, A PROCESS WHICH WAS DEPENDENT ON MAINTAINING MOMENTUM WITHIN THE COMMUNITY, INCLUDING AT THE STRASBOURG MEETING. THE GDR, LIKE THE STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE WANTED TO BE A PARTNER OF THE COMMUNITY, NOT MERELY AN OBSERVER. THE EAST GERMANS RECOGNISED THEIR FUTURE LAY IN GETTING CLOSER TO EUROPE AS A WHOLE, NOT THE FRG ALONE. GENSCHER THOUGHT THE COMMUNITY MEETING ON SATURDAY, 18 NOVEMBER IN PARIS HAD BEEN VERY USEFUL. HELPING EAST GERMANY WOULD NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF HUNGARY AND POLAND. THE QUESTION OF A EUROPEAN BANK WAS GERMANE. HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO CALL IT A COOPERATIVE BANK THAN A DEVELOPMENT BANK. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO INCLUDE NON-COMMUNITY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. (HE APPEARED TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THE BANK WOULD GO AHEAD IN SOME FORM OR OTHER).

(C) THE AMERICANS SAID THAT IF GORBACHEV PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS ON ARMS CONTROL OR DISARMAMENT AT MALTA, THEY WOULD TAKE NOTE AND REFER TO THEIR WISH TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THEIR ALLIANCE PARTNERS.

ACLAND

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

431

MAIN

431

PAGE 3

FCO/WHITEHALL (PALACE)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN