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FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

SECRETARY OF STATE'S TALKS WITH GENSCHER: LITHUANIA.

SUMMARY

1. GENSCHER THINKS GORBACHEV WILL CONCEDE ALMOST ANYTHING TO LITHUANIA IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE FICTION THAT THEY REMAIN WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. BELIEVES THAT GORBACHEV HAS THOUGHT THROUGH HIS POSITION MORE THAN HE LETS ON IN PUBLIC.

DETAIL

2. THE SECRETARY OF STATE DISCUSSED THE INDEPENDENCE OF LITHUANIA WITH GENSCHER IN BONN TODAY. HE SAID WE WOULD, IN PUBLIC, WELCOME THE GREATER FREEDOM NOW COMING ABOUT, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON HOW THE LITHUANIANS WOULD EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS. WE WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WOULD NOT ACT ON OUR JUDICIAL POSITION BY SENDING EMBASSIES TO LITHUANIA.

3. GENSCHER AGREED WITH THIS APPROACH. THE LITHUANIAN PROBLEM WAS MORE COMPLICATED FOR GORBACHEV THAN THE GERMAN QUESTION. HE THOUGHT THAT GORBACHEV WOULD WANT TO GET INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LITHUANIANS AND WOULD OFFER THEM ANYTHING SHORT OF INDEPENDENCE TO KEEP THEM WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION, EVEN IF THAT WAS LARGELY A FICTION.

4. GENSCHER THOUGHT THAT GORBACHEV WAS IN TROUBLE BUT THAT HIS OWN THINKING ABOUT WHAT STEPS WERE NEEDED HAD GONE FURTHER THAN HE ACKNOWLEDGED IN PUBLIC.

GORBACHEV WAS WELL AWARE THAT THE PARTY WAS NO LONGER THE BINDING LINK IN THE SOVIET UNION. HE HAD LEARNED THE LESSONS OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN YUGOSLAVIA, IE THAT IF YOU HAD POWER CONCENTRATED AT THE TOP YOU COULD THEN AFFORD TO ALLOW GREATER FREEDOM TO INDIVIDUAL STATES. HE ALSO REALISED THAT HIS POLICY OF REFORM LOOKED VERY DIFFERENT IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT WAS A MISTAKE TO THINK THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS HOMOGENEOUS LIKE FRANCE OR THE UK. WHAT DID THE BALTS HAVE IN COMMON WITH THE AZERIS OR THE RUSSIANS AND THE ARMENIANS? GORBACHEV WAS READY TO ALLOW A LARGER DEGREE OF FREEDOM, OF WHICH LITHUANIA COULD BE THE FIRST EXAMPLE. AS THE WARSAW PACT CRUMBLLED, THINGS WOULD BE EASIER FOR HIM IF THE CSCE PROCESS WAS

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STRENGTHENED. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AGREED. WE SHOULD NOT LET THE CSCE BECOME A VEHICLE FOR RECREATING THE NOTION OF SYMMETRY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. WE SHOULD WORK OUT WHAT WE WANTED THE CSCE TO ACHIEVE. WE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO GIVE MILITARY GUARANTEES ON FRONTIERS BUT WE COULD USE CSCE FOR CONCILIATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, FREE ELECTIONS ETC. IT COULD ALSO HAVE A MORE INTENSE ROLE TO PLAY OVER BORDER QUESTIONS. GENSCHER AGREED.

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