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INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, BM BERLIN

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SIC ECA

MODUK FOR J POWER, GS SEC

MEETING OF FOUR WESTERN POLITICAL DIRECTORS, PARIS, 13 MARCH

#### SUMMARY

1. FRANCE PRESSES FOR EARLY MEETING OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR WITH THE POLES IN WARSAW. FRG INSISTS MEETING MUST BE ON GERMAN SOIL, BUT FLEXIBLE ABOUT INVOLVING POLES. AGREEMENT THAT TWO PLUS FOUR AGENDA SHOULD INCLUDE BORDERS AND PEACE SETTLEMENT, POL-MIL ISSUES, BERLIN AND THE ENDING OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. UK AND US PRESS FRG FOR EARLY DISCUSSION OF POL-MIL ISSUES IN FOUR, PRIOR TO ANY FIRM DECISIONS BY THE FRG GOVERNMENT. FRENCH PREPARED TO AGREE NOT TO RAISE DIRECT ELECTIONS IN BERLIN IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR.

#### DETAIL

2. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE UK, US, FRANCE AND THE FRG MET IN PARIS ON 13 MARCH TO DISCUSS THE APPROACH TO THE TWO PLUS FOUR MEETING IN BONN ON 14 MARCH. THE FRENCH WERE IN THE CHAIR. SEE MIFT FOR DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURES.

#### POLAND

3. DUFOURCQ (FRANCE) SAID THEY FAVOURED AN EARLY MEETING OF THE SIX IN WARSAW TO HEAR POLISH VIEWS. WESTON SAID WE HAD RECEIVED A SIMILAR DEMARCHE FROM THE POLES. WE NEEDED TO FIND A WAY OF INVOLVING THE POLES WHEN THE SUBJECT OF THEIR BORDER WAS DISCUSSED. KASTRUP (FRG) SAID THEY WERE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO A MEETING IN WARSAW. ANY MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE ON GERMAN SOIL. THEY ACKNOWLEDGED HOWEVER THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE POLES TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE BORDER ISSUES. AS LONG AS THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN GERMANY THEY WOULD BE FLEXIBLE. DUFOURCQ SAID GENSCHER AND DUMAS WOULD DISCUSS THIS QUESTION FURTHER IN PARIS ON 13 MARCH.



4. WESTON ASKED WHETHER IT WAS POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER INVOLVING THE POLES IN DISCUSSION OF BORDERS (BUT NOT THE REST OF THE MEETING) AS EARLY AS THE SECOND MEETING OF THE OFFICIAL LEVEL TWO PLUS FOUR, ON AN AD HOC BASIS. DUFOURCQ AGREED THAT WE NEEDED TO RESPOND TO THE POLES SOON. WE SHOULD NOT HOWEVER INVOLVE THEM IN THE FORMAL MEETINGS OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR. KASTRUP SAID HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT BUT, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, COULD ENVISAGE SUCH A MEETING WITH THE POLES. IT WAS AGREED THAT IF THE SOVIET UNION RAISED THE ISSUE WE WOULD SAY THAT THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR.

#### SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR

5. DUFOURCQ SAID THE TWO PLUS FOUR NEEDED TO DEAL WITH FOUR TYPES OF ISSUE:

- (A) BORDERS AND PEACE SETTLEMENT.
- (B) POL-MIL ISSUES.
- (C) BERLIN.
- (D) ENDING OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

[US  
back  
Germany] WE SHOULD FOLLOW THIS SEQUENCE IN DISCUSSION. KASTRUP SAID HE COULD ACCEPT THIS AGENDA BUT HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT BORDERS SHOULD BE SETTLED BEFORE DISCUSSION COULD EVEN BEGIN ON OTHER ISSUES. ZOELICK (US) SAID THE ISSUES WERE INTER RELATED. SOME WOULD REQUIRE DETAILED WORK. WE SHOULD APPROACH THEM ALL IN PARALLEL. WESTON AGREED THAT THE ISSUE OF BORDERS NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED EARLY ON. BUT ONCE THE PROCEDURES WERE AGREED AMONG THE TWO PLUS FOUR AND POLAND THE PRACTICAL NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE FOR THE TWO GERMANIES AND POLAND, WITH THE RESULT BEING ENDORSED AS APPROPRIATE AT THE END OF THE DAY. DUFOURCQ AGREED THAT WE SHOULD TAKE BORDERS AS FAR AS WE COULD, BUT THIS SHOULD NOT HOLD UP OTHER WORK.

#### POL-MIL ISSUES

6. WESTON SAID POL-MIL ISSUES WERE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE AND WE SHOULD ADDRESS THESE QUICKLY IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR. WE NEEDED TO AGREE A COMMON WESTERN LINE ON THE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS SURROUNDING THE PARTICIPATION OF A UNITED GERMANY IN NATO BEFORE THE RUSSIANS ATTEMPTED TO DIVIDE US IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR. HE ASKED WHETHER THE GERMANS HAD YET REACHED ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WE HAD POSED AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING. KASTRUP SAID THE CABINET COMMITTEE ON THIS SUBJECT



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WAS MEETING IN BONN TODAY (13 MARCH). THEY HAD NOT YET REACHED ANY DECISIONS. WESTON HOPED THE FRG GOVERNMENT WOULD DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WITH THE ALLIES BEFORE MAKING ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS OR COMING TO ANY IRREVOCABLE CONCLUSIONS. THEY WERE MATTERS FOR JOINT DISCUSSION AND JOINT DECISION. ZOELICK AGREED THESE WERE MATTERS FOR JOINT DECISION. THEY HAD LONG TERM IMPLICATIONS FOR GERMAN AND ALLIANCE SECURITY. HE HOPED THE FRG COULD BRIEF ALLIES ON THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE CABINET SUB COMMITTEE. IF THE GERMANS DID NOT BELIEVE THAT DISCUSSION IN THE FOUR WAS THE APPROPRIATE COURSE THEY SHOULD LET US KNOW.

#### ARTICLE 23

7. DUFOURCQ SAID ADAMISHIN WAS LIKELY TO RAISE ARTICLE 23 AT THE TWO PLUS FOUR MEETING. ARTICLE 7 OF THE SOVIET/GDR TREATY OF 1964 REQUIRED UNIFICATION TO TAKE PLACE ON THE BASIS OF TWO STATES. FRANCE HAD APPROVED SAARLAND'S ACCESSION TO THE FRG UNDER ARTICLE 23. A POSSIBLE ARGUMENT MIGHT BE MADE FOR THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWING THIS PRECEDENT AS THE GDR WAS FORMERLY THE SOVIET OCCUPATION ZONE. KASTRUP SAID THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO DISREGARD THESE LEGALISTIC ARGUMENTS. ZOELICK SAID WE SHOULD SAY THIS WAS AN INTERNAL LEGAL MATTER. KASTRUP PROMISED TO CIRCULATE A PAPER GIVING PRELIMINARY LEGAL ADVICE ON THE STATE SUCCESSION ISSUE.

#### DIRECT ELECTIONS

8. KASTRUP ASKED IF FRANCE INSISTED ON RAISING THE ISSUE OF DIRECT ELECTIONS IN BERLIN IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR. DUFOURCQ SAID THAT IF THE SOVIET UNION RAISED THE QUESTION WE COULD NOT REFUSE TO DISCUSS IT. WESTON SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO RESPOND IN WRITING TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHE AND THEN ALLOW A FEW DAYS TO PASS. SOVIET SILENCE COULD BE INTERPRETED AS CONSENT. KASTRUP SAID THE ISSUE WAS BECOMING URGENT. DUFOURCQ AGREED TO CONSIDER THIS APPROACH.

#### PEACE SETTLEMENT

9. ZOELICK UNDERTOOK TO CIRCULATE THE PROMISED PAPER ON THE FORM OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT SHORTLY. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PRESS FOR A PEACE TREATY. WE SHOULD CONSIDER HOW TO RESPOND. DUFOURCQ SAID FRANCE WANTED A RATIFIABLE INTERNATIONAL ACT. KASTRUP SAID THE FRG OPPOSED A PEACE TREATY.

10. FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO PS AND PS/NO 10.

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