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INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, BM BERLIN, EAST BERLIN

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, MODUK, THE HAGUE, OTTAWA, BRUSSELS

INFO IMMEDIATE LUXEMBOURG, ROME, LISBON, MADRID, COPENHAGEN

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MIPT: MEETING OF FOUR POWER WESTERN POLITICAL DIRECTORS: PROCEDURES

SUMMARY

1. AGREEMENT IN WESTERN FOUR ON PROCEDURES FOR TWO PLUS FOUR. SEITZ (US) AND KASTRUP (FRG) TO BRIEF NAC ON THURSDAY. FRENCH VERY RESERVED ABOUT REGULAR BRIEFING FOR NATO. FRANCO/AMERICAN DISAGREEMENT ON WESTERN COORDINATION.

DETAIL

2. THE FOUR WESTERN POLITICAL DIRECTORS REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING PROCEDURES FOR THE TWO PLUS FOUR:

(A) LOCATION: FIRST MEETING IN BONN AND SECOND MEETING IN EAST BERLIN. THEREAFTER ROTATION BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES. FRANCE HAD PRESSED FOR ROTATION BETWEEN ALL SIX CAPITALS BUT LET THIS DROP IN FACE OF GERMAN OBJECTIONS. THE RUSSIANS WILL NO DOUBT PUSH FOR THIS. THE GDR WILL APPARENTLY URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE TO MEETINGS IN GERMANY. THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO CONCEDE THAT EAST BERLIN WAS THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR.

(B) CHAIRMANSHIP: ROTATION AMONG THE SIX IN GERMAN ALPHABETICAL ORDER (FRG, GDR, FRANCE, USSR, US AND UK). CHAIR TO ROTATE SEPARATELY FOR OFFICIAL AND MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. THE NEXT CHAIRMAN HOLDS THE CHAIR BETWEEN MEETINGS.

(C) SEATING: IN GERMAN ALPHABETICAL ORDER (COUNTER CLOCKWISE AS AT CONGRESS OF VIENNA).

(D) INTERPRETATION INTO ALL FOUR LANGUAGES.

(E) MEETINGS TO BE CONFIDENTIAL.

(F) PRESS LINE: FIRST MEETING TO ISSUE A SHORT FACTUAL PRESS LINE CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS: IN ACCORDANCE WITH MINISTERIAL STATEMENT IN OTTAWA OFFICIAL LEVEL TALKS START TODAY: PARTICIPANTS HAD A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS AND AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE GENERAL TOPICS TO BE DEALT WITH IN THESE TALKS: AGREEMENT ON CONFIDENTIALITY OF TALKS: NEXT OFFICIAL LEVEL MEETING TO TAKE PLACE AFTER GDR ELECTIONS AND FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT: A MINISTERIAL MEETING THEREAFTER. NO PRECEDENT OR COMMITMENT TO AGREE PRESS LINES IN FUTURE.

(G) FREQUENCY: NO AGREEMENT ON DATE OF NEXT OFFICIAL LEVEL MEETING OR FIRST MINISTERIAL MEETING UNTIL NEW GDR GOVERNMENT. FRANCE PRESSED FOR A MINISTERIAL MEETING IN FIRST TWO WEEKS OF APRIL, BUT US RESISTED.

(H) CONVENING MEETINGS: AS FAR AS POSSIBLE EACH MEETING TO AGREE DATE OF NEXT MEETING. ANY PARTICIPANT FREE TO ASK CHAIRMAN FOR AN EXTRA MEETING BUT NEED CONSENSUS OF SIX TO HOLD A MEETING.

(I) SUB-GROUPS: TO BE DECIDED LATER. US NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO SUB-GROUPS OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR UNLESS FRANCE AGREES TO SUB-GROUPS OF THE WESTERN FOUR.

(J) SECRETARIAT/COSTS: HOSTS TO PROVIDE FACILITIES. NO NEED FOR A SECRETARIAT. KASTRUP SUGGESTS COSTS WILL BE SUBSTANTIAL BUT DOES NOT PROPOSE THEY SHOULD BE SHARED.

(K) REPRESENTATION: START OF THREE PER SIDE BUT CAN BE INCREASED IN FUTURE TO FOUR TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF EMBASSIES IN BONN OR EXPERTS. KASTRUP ANNOUNCED THAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN (KVITSINSKY) WOULD NOW BE ATTENDING WITH ADAMISHIN.

(L) AGENDA: EACH MEETING TO AGREE AGENDA FOR SUBSEQUENT MEETING BUT PARTICIPANTS FREE TO SUGGEST ADDITIONAL ITEMS FOR THE AGENDA BUT THESE CAN ONLY BE ADDED BY CONSENSUS. FRG ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THIS AND FEARS THAT GDR MAY TRY TO PUT PROPERTY RIGHTS AND OTHER INTERNAL ISSUES ON THE AGENDA.

(M) DECISIONS: BY CONSENSUS, BUT NOT ALL SUBJECTS ON AGENDA FOR DECISION, AS DISTINCT FROM DISCUSSION, BY TWO PLUS FOUR (SOME FOR DECISION BY NATO, EC, THE GERMANS ETC).

3. THE FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS AGREED THAT THE TWO PLUS FOUR MEETING SHOULD NOT GO INTO SUBSTANTIAL ISSUES ON 14 MARCH. ADAMISHIN WOULD PROBABLY MAKE AN INTERVENTION EARLY ON CALLING FOR UNIFICATION TO PROCEED STEP BY STEP AND REJECTING MEMBERSHIP OF NATO FOR A UNIFIED GERMANY. KASTRUP WOULD RESPOND FIRMLY, STATING THE FRG'S POSITION. OTHERS WOULD SUPPORT.

4. WESTON PROPOSED THAT WE SHOULD ASK ADAMISHIN FOR AN EXPLANATION OF SHEVARDNADZE'S OPAQUE MESSAGE ON EMERGENCY MEETINGS OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR. AGREEMENT THAT AMBASSADORS WOULD ATTEND IF SUMMONED BUT REJECTION OF ULTIMATA. IF ADAMISHIN WAS UNABLE TO CLARIFY THE MESSAGE WE SHOULD REPLY TO SHEVARDNADZE ON THE LINES OF THE AMERICAN DRAFT.

#### BRIEFING NATO

5. ZOELICK AND DUFOURCQ DISAGREED SHARPLY ON BRIEFING NATO ALLIES. DUFOURCQ SAID THERE WAS NO NEED TO COORDINATE AN ALLIANCE POSITION BEFORE EACH TWO PLUS FOUR MEETING OR TO DEBRIEF AFTER EACH MEETING. THEY WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT AT PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES' INFORMAL LUNCHES. BUT BRIEFING THE NAC WOULD DRIVE A COACH AND HORSES THROUGH CONFIDENTIALITY. WOERNER HAD TALKED TO THE PRESS OF ''SYNCHRONIZATION''. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. ZOELICK SAID THERE HAD BEEN A STRONG REACTION FROM ALLIES EXCLUDED FROM THE TWO PLUS FOUR MECHANISM. WE HAD TO DEBRIEF ALLIES, PARTICULARLY AFTER THE FIRST MEETING. KASTRUP AND WESTON SUPPORTED THE NEED TO BE FLEXIBLE AND GENEROUS IN BRIEFING. DUFOURCQ SAID THERE WAS NOW A PROPOSAL FOR A SPECIAL MINISTERIAL NAC TO DISCUSS UNIFICATION. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. DUMAS WOULD NOT ATTEND. ZOELICK SAID THAT ANDREOTTI HAD PROPOSED THE MEETING TO ALLOW BAKER TO DEBRIEF ALLIES ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SHEVARDNADZE. KASTRUP AND SEITZ SAID THEY WOULD GO TO BRUSSELS TO DEBRIEF THE NAC ON THURSDAY. WESTON SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO TAKE HIS TURN AT THIS ON A FUTURE OCCASION. DUFOURCQ SAID HE WOULD REPORT TO DUMAS.

#### WESTERN COORDINATION

6. DUFOURCQ SAID FRANCE WOULD NOT AGREE TO ESTABLISHING SUB-GROUPS OF THE WESTERN FOUR. WE SHOULD NOT CREATE PERMANENT MACHINERY AT FOUR TO PREPARE FOR EVERY MEETING OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR. THEY FAVOURED CONTINUING WITH THE EXISTING PATTERN OF MEETINGS OF THE FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS. ZOELICK SAID THE MACHINERY WAS ALREADY IN PLACE IN THE FORM OF THE BONN GROUP. WE SHOULD AVOID GIVING THE RUSSIANS OPPORTUNITIES TO DIVIDE THE WEST. WESTON AND KASTRUP SUPPORTED ZOELICK ON THE NEED FOR WESTERN COORDINATION. DUFOURCQ SAID WE SHOULD NOT CONFRONT THE SOVIET UNION WITH A WESTERN BLOC.

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ZOELLICK SAID MINISTERS SHOULD DISCUSS THIS ISSUE.

7. DUFOURCQ SAID DUMAS WOULD NOT BE GOING TO NAMIBIA AND A MEETING OF THE FOUR MINISTERS WOULD NOT THEREFORE BE POSSIBLE. NOR COULD HE AGREE TO A MINISTERIAL FOUR IN THE MARGINS OF THE APRIL NAC SINCE DUMAS WOULD NOT BE ATTENDING THAT EITHER. WESTON ASKED FOR REPLIES TO YOUR INVITATION TO A MEETING AT CHEVENING ON 6 JUNE. KASTRUP ACCEPTED FOR GENSCHER. DUFOURCQ SAID DUMAS COULD NOT ARRIVE BEFORE 1330 BECAUSE OF A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' MEETING THAT MORNING. ZOELLICK PROMISED (AGAIN) TO GET A REPLY FROM BAKER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

8. THE FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL MEET AGAIN IN WASHINGTON ON 10 APRIL.

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

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