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DUBLIN (FOR POLITICAL DIRECTOR)

GERMAN UNIFICATION: TWO PLUS FOUR MINISTERIAL MEETING, EAST BERLIN 22 JUNE

SUMMARY

1. TIME NOT YET RIPE FOR MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH. NEW AND UNACCEPTABLE SOVIET PAPER TABLED ON FINAL SETTLEMENT, PROBABLY WITH DOMESTIC SOVIET FACTORS PRINCIPALLY IN MIND. BUT SHEVARDNADZE CAREFUL TO TALK LANGUAGE OF COMPROMISE BOTH AT MINSTERIAL LUNCH AND TO PRESS. OFFICIAL TEXTS ON BORDERS AND INTERIM OUTLINE OF FINAL SETTLEMENT AGREED BY MINISTERS. MINISTERS DIRECTED OFFICIALS TO DRAW UP AN AGREED LIST OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED WITH RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO APPROPRIATE FORA. THIS MAY PROVIDE A DEVICE FOR SEPARATING POLITICAL/MILITARY ISSUES FROM THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. LONDON NATO SUMMIT AND CSCE MINISTERIAL IN MARGINS OF UNGA ARE IMPORTANT BENCHMARKS FOR RUSSIANS OF WIDER POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE.

DETAIL

2. THE SECOND MEETING OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS TOOK PLACE IN EAST BERLIN ON 22 JUNE. MECKEL WAS IN THE CHAIR.

3. WITHOUT ANY SOVIET PREWARNING AT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING ON 20 JUNE, SHEVARDNADZE TABLED A LENGTHY PAPER ON ELEMENTS FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT WHICH EXPANDED UPON AND FLESHED OUT PREVIOUS SOVIET IDEAS. INCORPORATING UNACCEPTABLE POL-MIL ASPECTS AND MORE REFINED PROPOSALS FOR A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BETWEEN UNIFICATION AND TERMINATION OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRRS). AN EARLIER PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THIS AT THE CHECKPOINT CHARLIE CEREMONY AND THE SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC RELEASE OF SHEVARDNADZE'S EXPLANATORY STATEMENT RISKED GIVING THE RUSSIANS THE HIGH GROUND AND PARTICULARLY ANNOYED BAKER (QUOTE SO MUCH FOR GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY UNQUOTE) AND GENSCHER.

4. IT BECAME CLEAR OVER LUNCH AND IN OTHER CONTACTS WITH SHEVARDNADZE THAT THE DRAFT WAS INTENDED TO A GREAT EXTENT FOR DOMESTIC SOVIET PURPOSES AND WAS NOT IMMUTABLE. SOME PLAIN SPEAKING OVER LUNCH ELICITED AGREEMENT ON A PROCEDURAL DEVICE DESIGNED TO UNBLOCK PROGRESS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL, WHEREBY CONTENTIOUS POINTS WOULD BE LISTED TOGETHER WITH ALTERNATIVE FORA FOR DEALING WITH THEM IF NOT APPROPRIATE IN TWO PLUS FOUR FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS AT THE PARIS MEETING ON 17 JULY. THE AMERICANS EMPHASISED (STEPPING BACK SOMEWHAT FROM EARLIER POSITIONS) THAT IT COULD NOT BE ASSUMED THAT CONTENTIOUS ISSUES CURRENTLY ON THE TABLE WOULD NECESSARILY FIND ANY REFLECTION IN ANY DOCUMENT CONTAINING A FINAL SETTLEMENT, LET ALONE FORM PART OF THE SETTLEMENT ITSELF. THE WEST RESPONDED TO SHEVARDNADZE'S PROPOSAL THAT OFFICIALS SHOULD MEET IN CONTINUOUS

SESSION [redacted] SUGGESTING THAT NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND HAVE MORE INSTRUCTIONS AND THUS ALLOW MORE RAPID PROGRESS.

5. ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSITIONAL PERIODS, THE WESTERN EMPHASIS ON SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-SINGULARISATION OF GERMANY WAS MET BY A SOVIET ASSERTION THAT THE TWO PLUS FOUR SHOULD LAY DOWN A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH GERMANY WOULD FIT. THUS THEY REPEATEDLY DECLINED TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT THE LIFTING OF ORRS SHOULD COINCIDE WITH UNIFICATION. INSTEAD IT WAS REITERATED THAT THE FORM OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT (STILL, OF COURSE, UNDECIDED) SHOULD BE AGREED UPON IN TIME FOR A CSCE SUMMIT (WHICH THE FRENCH ANNOUNCED THEY WOULD REARRANGE FOR NOVEMBER).

6. THE HANDLING OF THE BORDER ISSUE AND MINIMALIST LANGUAGE ON ELEMENTS OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT (WHICH HAD CAUSED SUCH DIFFICULTY BECAUSE OF SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE ON 20 JUNE) WERE RESOLVED WITH MUCH HELP FROM BAKER SUPPLEMENTING MACKEL'S WEAK CHAIRMANSHIP. THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT APPEARING TO HAVE DISPOSED OF THE BORDER ISSUE BEFORE DISCUSSION WITH THE POLES WAS CLEARLY NOTED. THE AGREED LANGUAGE WILL BE SENT TO THE POLES BY THE EAST GERMANS (AS HOSTS) AS A POSSIBLE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION WITH THEM ON 4 JULY AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. THE UNANIMOUS WELCOME TO THE 2 GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTIONS AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT FOR THEM MAY FACILITATE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE.

7. THUS A LITTLE MORE PROGRESS WAS MADE THAN SEEMED LIKELY AT THE OUTSET. THE MINISTERIAL MEETING ON 17 JULY WILL DEAL WITH THE POLISH ASPECT OF BORDERS AND SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER DETAILED POINTS OF DIFFERENCE ON POL-MIL AND OTHER ISSUES. BUT THE TIME MAY STILL NOT THEN BE RIPE FOR RESOLUTION OF THE KEY PROBLEMS. THE NEXT MINISTERIAL BEYOND THAT (IN MOSCOW IN SEPTEMBER) MAY POSSIBLY FIND THE RUSSIANS MORE PREPARED FOR MOVES ON THEIR HOME GROUND. BY THEN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE MAY BE CLEARER ONCE PAST THE PSU PARTY CONGRESS AND THE NATO SUMMIT, AND WITH CSCE SUMMIT AND GERMAN UNITY DEADLINES LOOMING.

8. DESPITE THE SOVIET TACTICS, THE ATMOSPHERE ON 22 JUNE WAS FRIENDLY AND WORKMANLIKE. AS WAS NOTED AT THE SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE. WORKING LUNCHES ARE PROVING, FOR THIS REASON, TO BE A USEFUL INSTRUMENT.

9. MY 3 IFTS REPORT:

A) DISCUSSION OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT
B) HANDLING OF THE BORDER ISSUE
C) THE SOVIET TEXT.

HURD

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(R JOHNSON)
BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN (WIDE)