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FM MOSCOW 280623Z JUN 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 690 OF 29 JUN

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, BONN, PARIS,

INFO PRIORITY BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, WARSAW,
SOFIA

MY TEL NO 676 : **SUMMIT MEETING OF WARSAW PACT LEADERS**

1. **WARSAW PACT LEADERS HAVE NOW ARRIVED THOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.**
2. **THE ONLY REASONABLY FIRM EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO ME ON THE AGENDA HAS COME FROM THE ROMANIANS HERE WHO, AS REPORTED IN MY TUR, SAY THAT A RESPONSE TO NATO INF DEPLOYMENT WILL BE DISCUSSED. BUT IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF OTHER CURRENT WARSAW PACT PREOCCUPATIONS WERE NEITHER DISCUSSED NOR MENTIONED IN A COMMUNIQUE. AT THE VERY LEAST, THE ASSEMBLED COMMUNIST LEADERS WOULD NEED TO SAY SOMETHING 'PEACE-LOVING' TO BALANCE A TOUGH STATEMENT ON INF.**
3. **THE POPE'S VISIT WILL BE MUCH ON THE MINDS OF THOSE TAKING PART IN THE MEETING AND IT MAY BE NO COINCIDENCE THAT PRAVDA OF 24 JUNE CARRIED A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL, DRAWING ITS INSPIRATION FROM THE RECENT PARTY PLENUM, ON THE THEMES OF SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY AND THE NEED FOR CLOSE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN RULING PARTIES. BUT I AM SCEPTICAL OF THE AMERICAN VIEW (PARA 2 OF WASHINGTON TEL NO 1748) THAT THE MEETING MAY HAVE BEEN CALLED SPECIFICALLY TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION THERE. THIS WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO ADMITTING THAT THE POPE'S VISIT HAD PROVOKED A CRISIS WHICH JARUZELSKI WAS UNABLE TO HANDLE. I HAVE SEEN NOTHING IN THE REPORTS FROM MR MORGAN AND OTHERS TO SUGGEST THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE GROUNDS FOR SO THINKING. NOR ARE THERE INTIMATIONS OF CRISIS IN THE SOVIET PRESS, WHICH HAS SO FAR CONFINED ITSELF TO THREE EXIGUOUS REPORTS ON THE PAPAL VISIT. FURTHERMORE, PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA (26 JUNE) IN REPORTING THE TEXT OF A POLISH PROTEST TO THE US EMBASSY IN WARSAW ABOUT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CHICAGO SPEECH (PARA 6 OF WASHINGTON TUR), CARRIED REFERENCES TO THE PAPAL VISIT HAVING 'PROMOTED FURTHER PROGRESS ON ACHIEVING INTERNAL STABILISATION AND NATIONAL ACCORD' AND NOT HAVING 'BROUGHT ABOUT POLITICAL ADVENTURES WHICH WERE ENVISAGED BY THE AMERICAN SCENARIO'. IN AN IDEAL WORLD, THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE NOT WANTED THE POPE TO GO TO POLAND. BUT, BARRING THE UNFORESEEN, MY ASSESSMENT IS THAT THEY ARE TOLERABLY SATISFIED WITH THE WAY IN WHICH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HANDLED THE VISIT AND WILL HOPE THAT JARUZELSKI CAN EXTRACT POLITICAL CAPITAL FROM IT. IN THE MEDIUM TERMS IF NOT SUB SPECIE AETERNITATIS THE THREAT PRESENTED TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN PARTIES BY SOLIDARITY HAS THROUGHOUT BEEN GREATER THAN THAT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

CONFIDENTIAL

14

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4. THE PACT WILL ALSO BE CONCERNED BY THE WAY IN WHICH THE WEST HAVE
OUTFLANKED THEM VIA THE SPANISH INITIATIVE AT THE CSCE

CONFERENCE IN MADRID; AND TO BREATHE LIFE INTO THE STILL-BORN
PRAGUE DECLARATION, A MAIN ELEMENT IN THE EAST'S PEACE OFFENSIVE.

5. ALL THE ABOVE ELEMENTS ARE OF COURSE RELEVANT TO KOHL'S VISIT
NEXT WEEK. WITH THIS IMPORTANT SUMMIT IMMINENT, I SUSPECT THAT
ANDROPOV'S OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO PRESENT A DISPLAY OF
UNITY INTENDED TO IMPRESS AS MUCH IN THE WEST AS WILLIAMSBURG HAS
CLEARLY DONE HERE.

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DESKBY FCO 231600Z JUNE

FROM MOSCOW 231515Z JUNE

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 676 OF 23 JUNE

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO , WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS , BUCHAREST

INFO PRIORITY BUDAPEST , EAST BERLIN, PRAGUE, WARSAW, SOFIA

AND BELGRADE

SUMMIT MEETING OF WARSAW PACT LEADERS.

1. ON THE MORNING OF 23 JUNE, NONE OF MY COMMUNITY COLLEAGUES HAD ANY SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM THE STORY FILED BY REUTERS THAT THERE WOULD BE A MEETING OF WARSAW PACT LEADERS IN MOSCOW NEXT WEEK. THE FRG AMBASSADOR HAD, HOWEVER, A SUSPICION THAT A MAJOR MEETING MIGHT BE IN THE OFFING FROM THE NON-COMMITTAL REPLY BY THE MFA WHEN , THE PREVIOUS DAY HE HAD ASKED IF THE REPORTED SUMMIT COULD BE A REASON FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN ARRANGING THE PROGRAMME FOR CHANCELLOR KOHL DUE HERE ON 4 JULY.
2. THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY HAS SINCE TOLD A MEMBER OF MY STAFF IN CONFIDENCE THAT THEY DO EXPECT A MEETING OF THE WARSAW PACT PARTY LEADERS TO TAKE PLACE IN MOSCOW ON 28 JUNE. THE ROMANIANS HAD BEEN INVITED AND SEE NO REASON NOT TO ATTEND. OUR INFORMANT ADDED THAT THE MEETING WOULD NOT FORMALLY CONSTITUTE A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT , SINCE IT HAS BEEN ARRANGED THROUGH CENTRAL COMMITTEES. (THEY POINT TO A SIMILAR MEETING IN MOSCOW IN DECEMBER 1980). THE MAIN ITEM ON THE AGENDA WOULD BE CRUISE AND PERSHING DEPLOYMENT AND THE WARSAW PACT RESPONSE. THE ROMANIANS ARE NOT EXPECTING ANY MOVES AT THE MEETING ON A DRAFT NON-AGRESSION TREATY BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT.
4. WE WERE TOLD THAT ROMANIA WOULD NOT ACCEPT MISSILES ON HER TERRITORY NOR PROPOSE SUCH DEPLOYMENT ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE . '' UNTIL NOW '' THE ROMANIAN POSITION WAS THAT ALL MISSILES SHOULDE BE REMOVED FROM EUROPE SEMICOLON BUT ANY PROPOSAL HAD TO BE CONSIDERED '' NO MATTER WHAT THEIR ORIGIN''.

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5. THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY DENIED THAT IT WAS THE SOURCE OF THE AGENCY STORY OF 22 JUNE. MORRISON OF REUTERS HAD TOLD US THAT HE HAD HEARD IT FROM "SEVERAL" EAST EUROPEANS. A LOCAL YUGOSLAV CORRESPONDENT HAD PREVIOUSLY PICKED UP RUMOURS OF AN IMPENDING HIGH-LEVEL MEETING WHICH HE INTERPRETED AS MEANING A CMEA SUMMIT AND I UNDERSTAND THAT A REPORT TO THIS EFFECT APPEARED IN POLITIKA ON 21 JUNE. THE YUGOSLAV CORRESPONDENT NOW ACCEPTS THAT A SUMMIT OF WARSAW PACT PARTY LEADERS IS MORE LIKELY.

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