

UNCLASSIFIED

E29

CONCEPTS= POLITICAL CRISIS, HUMAN RIGHTS, REFUGEE

TAGS= PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC, (HONECKER, ERICH)

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0041558Z OCT 89
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1016
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USAFSB BERLIN GE
USDOC WASHDC
USDEL NST GENEVA
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE / IM/IPS/CR/IR /B Date: 11/25/97
☒ RELEASE ☒ DECLASSIFY
☐ EXCISE ☐ DECLASSIFY NO CHANGES
☐ DENY ☐ IMPACT

FOIA Exemptions _____
PA Exemptions _____

SECTION 01 OF 02 EMBBERLIN 08141

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV PINS PHUM, PREL GC
SUBJECT: THE GDR POLITICAL CRISIS: STILL DEEPENING
REF: EMBBERLIN 8123

1. ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC COMMENT SINCE RETURNING FROM HIS SICK BED, HONECKER ADMITTED NO CRISIS AND BLAMED THE GDR'S PROBLEMS ON THE DEVIL IN BONN. PRIME MINISTER STOPH PLEDGED CONTINUITY AT NEXT SPRING'S PARTY CONGRESS. THE GAP BETWEEN THE OLD LEADERS WHO ARE CIRCLING THEIR WAGONS AND POLITICAL REALITY CONTINUES TO GROW, HOWEVER, END SUMMARY.

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3. THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT HERE OF THE GDR'S SURPRISE DECISION OCTOBER 3 TO ALLOW THE FRG EMBASSY IN PRAGUE TO BE EMPTIED FOR THE SECOND TIME IN A HALF-WEEK OF EAST GERMANS SEEKING REFUGE IN THE WEST. THAT AND THE FACT THAT THE GDR REICHSBAHN TRAINS WHICH HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED TO BEGIN ARRIVING IN PRAGUE THE SAME EVENING HAD STILL NOT REACHED THE CZECH CAPITAL BY MIDDAY OCTOBER 4 STIRRED SPECULATION THAT THIS NEW CONCESSION MIGHT BE PROVOKING A SERIOUS FIGHT WITHIN THE POLITBURO.
4. THE LATEST INDICATION, BASED ON WESTERN PRESS REPORTS, IS THAT THE TRAINS WILL BEGIN TO TAKE THE REFUGEES OUT OF PRAGUE BY LATE AFTERNOON AND THAT THE DELAY WAS DUE NOT TO HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL OBSTRUCTION, BUT TO TROUBLE ON THE RAILS. ONE VERSION IS THAT SOME OF THE TRACKS WERE BLOCKED WITHIN THE GDR, PRESUMABLY BY ANGRY RAILROADERS OR AVERAGE CITIZENS, ANOTHER VERSION THAT THE SECURITY POLICE NEEDED ADDITIONAL TIME TO TAKE PRECAUTIONS TO PREVENT PERSONS FROM JUMPING ABOARD WHEN THE TRAINS PASSED BACK THROUGH THE GDR ON THEIR WAY TO THE WEST GERMAN BORDER.
5. NONE OF THESE REPORTS AND RUMORS ARE CONFIRMED; THE DELAY COULD BE CAUSED BY NOTHING MORE MYSTERIOUS THAN THE DIFFICULTY OF FREEING UP THE PERSONNEL AND ROLLING STOCK AT SHORT NOTICE ON A WEEKDAY. THEIR APPEARANCE IS SYMPTOMATIC, HOWEVER, OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF UNCERTAINTY THAT IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE AT LEAST THROUGH GORBACHEV'S VISIT FOR THE OCTOBER 6-7 FORTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS.
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- [REDACTED]

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6. NEVERTHELESS, THE RUMORS GAIN AT LEAST SOME PLAUSIBILITY FROM THE OBVIOUS AND TANGIBLE DISTRESS WHICH YESTERDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF CURBS ON TRAVEL TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS PRODUCED. AT AN OFFICIAL FOREIGN MINISTRY RECEPTION AFTER THE NEWS CAME OUT OCTOBER 3, FOR EXAMPLE, NORMALLY DISCIPLINED PARTY MEMBERS, BOTH DIPLOMATS AND LOCAL JOURNALISTS, WERE MORE OUTSPOKEN THAN WE HAVE EVER EXPERIENCED THEM. ONE CALLED THE DECISION "DANGEROUS," IMPLYING

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THAT IT COULD LEAD TO DEMONSTRATIONS. THE OTHERS,
OBVIOUSLY SHARING A CONSENSUS THAT THE PARODCHBNQ DIRECTLY,
HE USED HIS SPEECH, PERHAPS SYMBOLICALLY TO EX-

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FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
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[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 02 EMBBERLIN 08141

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PINS PHUM, PREL GC
SUBJECT: THE GDR POLITICAL CRISIS: STILL DEEPENING

UNDERGROUND FIGHTERS AND "ACTIVISTS OF THE GDR'S FIRST HOURS," -- PROBABLY THE ONLY GROUP IN THE COUNTRY WITH A HIGHER AVERAGE AGE THAN HIS POLITBURO -- TO REPEAT STANDARD THEMES ABOUT THE GDR'S RISE FROM THE RUINS OF THE WAR. THE MORE OTHERS PROPHESED DOOM, AND THE MORE THE WEST GERMANS TRIED TO DESTABILIZE THE GDR, HE SAID, THIS STATE WOULD REMAIN A BULWARK OF SOCIALISM, ANTI-FASCISM, ANTI REVANCHISM.

9. WILLI STOPH WAS MORE EXPLICIT YET IN A SEPARATE
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PRE-40TH BIRTHDAY PARTY OCCASION, WHEN HE PLEDGED THAT "WE WILL BE CONSEQUENT IN CARRYING FORWARD OUR GOOD POLICY, WHICH IS DIRECTED AT THE WELLBEING OF THE PEOPLE AND THE ASSURANCE OF PEACE."

10. FROM THE OTHER DIRECTION, SIGNS OF POPULAR INITIATIVES CONTINUE TO MULTIPLY. FOR EXAMPLE, DOZENS OF POPULAR ARTISTS, MANY OF THEM FROM THE ROCK SCENE MOST ATTRACTIVE TO YOUNG PEOPLE, ARE CIRCULATING AN OPEN LETTER CALLING FOR MORE OPENNESS AND RECOGNITION OF NEUES FORUM AND CONCLUDING THAT, "WE WANT TO LIVE IN THIS LAND, AND IT MAKES US SICK TO HAVE TO WATCH WITHOUT MEANS OF ACTING AS ATTEMPTS AT A DEMOCRATIZATION, ATTEMPTS AT SOCIAL ANALYSIS ARE CRIMINALIZED OR IGNORED."

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11. COMMENT: A POWERFUL MIX OF CAUTION AND PRUDENCE STILL OVERLAYS THE ANGER AND FRUSTRATION. ONE CONTACT IN A SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE GAVE US AN EXAMPLE: HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES DRAFTED A BOLD, STRAIGHTFORWARD LETTER CALLING FOR REFORMS THAT WAS INTENDED TO BE SENT TO THEIR NATIONAL TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES; IT PRODUCED VIGOROUS DEBATE AT THE MEETING AND DREW OUT COMMENT SHARPLY CRITICAL OF CURRENT POLICIES EVEN FROM PREVIOUS ONE HUNDRED PERCENTERS, BUT IN THE END CONCERN FOR CONSEQUENCES AND DOUBT WHETHER THE MOMENT WAS RIPE CAUSED MOST TO HOLD BACK. EVEN OUR CONTACT SAID HE AND HIS WIFE WERE IN DEEP DISCUSSION ABOUT WHETHER HE SHOULD SIGN. ON OCTOBER 4, NEUES FORUM LEADERS PUT OUT APPEALS FOR ALL ITS SYMPATHIZERS TO REFRAIN FROM ANY PUBLIC ACTIONS THAT COULD PROVOKE THE AUTHORITIES DURING THE WEEKEND FESTIVITIES.

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12. THE SITUATION, IN SHORT, STILL SEEMS TO US TO BE BETTER CHARACTERIZED AS POLITICALLY PREGNANT, NOT PHYSICALLY EXPLOSIVE, BUT THE GAP BETWEEN POWER AND REALITY IS INCREASING DAILY.

BARKLEY . . .

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CONCEPTS= HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISIT, ENDORSEMENT, POLITICAL CRISIS, GOVERNMENT REFORM

TAGS= KPRP, PREL, PGOV, GC, UR, (GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL), (HONECKER, ERICH)

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

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MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CR/IR Date: 11/25/97
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☐ DENY IN PART

FOIA Exemptions: ☐ (b) (1), (b) (7) (C), (b) (7) (D)
PA Exemptions: ☐ (b) (1), (b) (7) (C), (b) (7) (D)

SECTION 01 OF 07 MOSCOW 28008

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR

SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

/ MINISTERING TO A SICK RELATIVE

- ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

2. GORBACHEV WILL VISIT THE GDR ON OCTOBER 6-7 TO
UNDERScore SOVIET SUPPORT FOR "SOCIALIST" GERMANY AND
TO ASSESS FIRSTHAND THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN
WHAT HAD BEEN THOUGHT TO BE ONE OF THE MOST
ECONOMICALLY HEALTHY AND POLITICALLY STABLE WARSAW
PACT MEMBERS. SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS
REFUSE TO USE THE TERM "CRISIS" TO DESCRIBE WHAT IS

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HAPPENING IN THE GDR, BUT THREE SOVIET POLITBURO MEMBERS WILL HAVE VISITED EAST BERLIN IN JUST THREE WEEKS' TIME. WE DO NOT BELIEVE GORBACHEV HAD ORIGINALLY PLANNED TO ATTEND THE GDR'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY, WHICH HIGHLIGHTS JUST HOW CONCERNED THE SOVIETS HAVE BECOME ABOUT EVENTS THERE. WHILE OFFICIALS REMAIN PUBLICLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE GDR'S FUTURE, MANY SOVIET ACADEMICS ARE PREDICTING LONG-TERM DISASTER.

3. AT THE JULY WARSAW TREATY MEETING IN BUCHAREST, GORBACHEV EMPHASIZED THAT EACH PACT MEMBER HAS FREE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN INTERNAL PATH OF DEVELOPMENT, WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. THE GDR, THEREFORE, HAS CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE IN CHARTING ITS OWN COURSE. IN FOREIGN POLICY, HOWEVER, THE BOTTOM LINE REMAINS THAT THE EAST EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE MUST REMAIN INTACT. THE SOVIETS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GDR HAVE PLACED IN JEOPARDY ITS CONTINUED PACT PARTICIPATION, BUT TREMORS IN THE GDR CONTINUE TO PRODUCE NERVOUSNESS IN MOSCOW. IN FACT, GORBACHEV IS EXPECTED TO GIVE A SPEECH WHICH WILL EMPHASIZE THE VITAL ROLE THE GDR PLAYS IN EUROPEAN SECURITY. ON INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, THE SOVIETS BELIEVE GERMAN REUNIFICATION REMAINS AN ISSUE FOR THE MORE DISTANT FUTURE AND THAT THE FRG SHOULD AVOID TAKING ANY STEPS WHICH COULD FURTHER DESTABILIZE THE SITUATION IN THE GDR.

4. GORBACHEV IS EXPECTED TO AVOID ANY DETAILED PUBLIC COMMENTARY ON THE REFUGEE PROBLEM OR THE GDR'S LACK OF REFORMS. HE MAY PRIVATELY SUGGEST LIMITED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES, BUT RUMORS ABOUND

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HERE THAT TWO POLICY ANALYSES WERE CARRIED OUT WHICH CONCLUDED: 1) THAT IF THE GDR DOES NOT INTRODUCE SUBSTANTIAL REFORMS IT CANNOT AVOID BEING THROWN INTO TURMOIL, AND 2) THAT IF IF THE GDR IMPLEMENTS SUBSTANTIAL REFORMS, IT CANNOT AVOID BEING THROWN INTO TURMOIL. THE MESSAGE IS CLEARLY TO BRACE FOR TROUBLE. EVEN IF GORBACHEV WERE TO MAKE A GOOD CASE THAT REFORMS ARE THE REQUIRED MEDICINE, THERE ARE DOUBTS THAT THE SED LEADERSHIP IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THAT CURE.

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5. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO A NEW LEADERSHIP IS BEGINNING AND THAT GORBACHEV WILL MAKE THE ROUNDS WITH POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS TO HONECKER. THE EXPECTATION IS THAT HE WILL NOT UNEARTH A REFORMER AMONG THE PACHYDERMS ON THE SED'S BREZHNEVITE POLITBURO, BUT THAT HE MAY FIND A "CHERNENKO" OR EVEN AN "ANDROPOV."

6. MANY BELIEVE THAT THE GDR'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES HAVE ALREADY BEEN MARRED BY THIS WEEK'S DRAMATIC EVENTS. THE CONTINUING FLOOD OF REFUGEES, PARTICULARLY THE VIVID IMAGE OF "FREEDOM TRAINS" HEADED FOR THE WEST AS EAST GERMANS TRY TO JUMP ON BOARD, HAS RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT THE GDR IS CELEBRATING. FINALLY, EAST GERMAN DIPLOMATS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT HONECKER'S HEALTH, AS WELL AS WORRIES THAT PRO-REFORM DEMONSTRATIONS DURING GORBACHEV'S VISIT COULD GET OUT OF HAND.

END SUMMARY

7. WHEN GORBACHEV ARRIVES TODAY IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, HE WILL FACE A SERIOUSLY ILL

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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INFO AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN IMMEDIATE
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[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 07 MOSCOW 28008

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR
SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

RELATIVE WHOSE LONG-TERM PROSPECTS ARE NOT VERY GOOD. HE WILL SHOW COMPASSION AND OFFER EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, BUT IN REALITY THERE IS LITTLE THAT HE CAN DO. THE PROBLEM IS AN INTERNAL ONE AND THE AFFLICTED PARTY HAS YET TO COME TO TERMS WITH ITS OWN ILLNESS. FOR MANY WEEKS NOW THE GDR HAS SUFFERED A MASSIVE HEMORRHAGING OF ITS CITIZENS, WITH MORE THAN 30,000 EAST GERMANS FLEEING TO FREEDOM IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. SIMILARLY, CONFIDENCE IN THE GDR LEADERSHIP'S ABILITY TO TACKLE THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY HAS BEEN SHAKEN. FINALLY, THE POLITICAL AND THE PHYSICAL HEALTH OF THE TOP SED LEADERS HAVE COME INTO QUESTION.

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DRAMATIC EVENTS DEMAND HIGHEST-LEVEL ATTENTION

8. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GDR CAUGHT THE SOVIETS LARGELY UNAWARE. THE GDR HAD BEEN REGARDED AS A REASONABLE ECONOMIC SUCCESS AND A BEDROCK OF STABILITY IN THE WARSAW PACT. WHILE THE SOVIETS WERE PREOCCUPIED WITH UNPRECEDENTED DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, THEY THOUGHT THEY COULD COUNT ON THE GDR TO REMAIN LARGELY TROUBLE-FREE. TO THEIR DISMAY, THIS SUMMER'S EVENTS PROVED OTHERWISE.

9. ALTHOUGH WORKING-LEVEL PARTY VISITS TO EAST BERLIN APPEAR TO HAVE REMAINED STEADY THIS PAST YEAR, TOP PARTY OFFICIALS WERE LARGELY ABSENT. THIS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY AS THE REFUGEE CRISIS TOOK OFF AND HONECKER'S FRAILTY BECAME APPARENT TO ALL. IN THE SPACE OF A LITTLE MORE THAN THREE WEEKS, THREE SOVIET POLITBURO MEMBERS WILL HAVE VISITED EAST BERLIN: YEGOR LIGACHEV, VADIM MEDVEDEV AND MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

10. LIGACHEV ARRIVED IN THE GDR ON SEPTEMBER 12, OFFICIALLY FOR A FOUR-DAY AGRICULTURAL VISIT. WE WERE TOLD THAT PLANS FOR SUCH A VISIT WERE ACTUALLY IN THE WORKS, BUT THAT A DATE WAS QUICKLY AGREED UPON BY BOTH PARTIES WHEN THE NEED BECAME APPARENT. WHILE LIGACHEV DID VISIT AGRICULTURAL SITES, IT WAS OBVIOUS

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THAT THE TRIP WAS PRINCIPALLY USED TO DEMONSTRATE STRONG SOVIET-GDR TIES. HE CONDEMNED "CERTAIN CIRCLES" IN THE FRG FOR ENTICING EAST GERMANS TO LEAVE THE GDR ILLEGALLY AND DECLARED THAT THE GDR WAS A TRUE FRIEND AND ALLY OF THE USSR. IN ADDITION,

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LIGACHEV BROUGHT WITH HIM A MAJOR GIFT FOR SED LEADER HONECKER -- A COMMITMENT THAT GORBACHEV WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE GDR'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY. THE GERMAN PRESS AGENCY ADN REPORTED THAT THIS WAS RECEIVED "WITH THANKS AND JOY."

11. VADIM MEDVEDEV FOLLOWED ON SEPTEMBER 21-22 TO PARTICIPATE IN A CONFERENCE OF CHIEF IDEOLOGUES, WHICH HAD ACTUALLY BEEN SCHEDULED FOR THIS TIME. THE VISIT DID NOT RECEIVE A GREAT DEAL OF PUBLIC ATTENTION, BUT IT PROVIDED A SECOND OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOVIETS TO GET A FIRST-HAND VIEW FROM THE TOP OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE GDR. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS SENT LIGACHEV, THE CONSERVATIVE FIRST, IT WILL BE GORBACHEV, THE REFORMER, WHO WILL HAVE THE LAST WORD.

12. THE SOVIETS HAVE STATED THAT IT IS NOT UNUSUAL THAT GORBACHEV WOULD ATTEND THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE GDR AND THAT THE TRIP SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS RELATED TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS THERE. VIKTOR KOZLIKIN, HEAD OF THE GDR SECTION AT THE MFA SOCIALIST COUNTRY ADMINISTRATION WOULD NOT SAY THAT THE VISIT HAD BEEN PLANNED FAR IN ADVANCE BUT STRESSED TO POLOFF THAT SUCH A VISIT WAS NORMAL. HE DID ADMIT THAT IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS IT CAME AT A PARTICULARLY FORTUITOUS TIME.

NO PRIOR PLANS FOR VISITS TO EASTERN EUROPE

13. NEVERTHELESS, CONTACTS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY MADE CLEAR TO US IN MID-SUMMER THAT, AS REGARDS GORBACHEV'S TRAVEL PLANS, 1989 WAS SLATED TO BE A DAZZLING POLITICAL BLITZ OF WESTERN EUROPE TO LAY THE

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE
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SECTION 03 OF 07 MOSCOW 28008

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR
SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

FOUNDATION FOR THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOME. SINCE MARCH, GORBACHEV HAS VISITED THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND IRELAND; DATES HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANNOUNCED FOR VISITS TO FINLAND AND ITALY. TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, THERE WERE NO PLANS IN THE WORKS FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ANY EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN FACT, THE SOVIETS WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO STRESS THAT THE JULY 7 STOP IN BUCHAREST WAS NOT AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ROMANIA, BUT ATTENDANCE AT A WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

14. SEVERAL SOVIET INSTITUTNIKS AND EAST EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS HAVE ARGUED THAT GORBACHEV HAD AVOIDED VISITING A SOCIALIST COUNTRY THIS YEAR, BECAUSE IT CONFIDENTIAL

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COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AS A SIGNAL REGARDING "THE CORRECT APPROACH TO REFORM." THIS CONCERN, THEY THOUGHT, HAD PUT A DAMPER ON HIS TRAVELING ANYWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE EVOLVING CRISIS IN EAST GERMANY, HOWEVER, DEMANDED A CHANGE IN PLANS.

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KEY FOREIGN POLICY GOAL: WARSAW PACT STABILITY

15. THE KEY SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS FOR EASTERN EUROPE SOUND A BIT LIKE A REALTOR'S REFRAIN: STABILITY, STABILITY, STABILITY. IN JULY, AT THE BUCHAREST POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, GORBACHEV EMPHASIZED THAT EACH WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION MEMBER WAS FREE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN INTERNAL PATH OF DEVELOPMENT, WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE (THE DRAMATIC CHANGES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN POLAND AND HUNGARY HAVE BORNE THIS OUT). THE SOVIETS BELIEVE THAT SUBSTANTIAL REFORMS CAN BE INTRODUCED INTERNALLY WITHOUT UNDERMINING WARSAW PACT STABILITY, BUT THE BOTTOM LINE REMAINS THAT THE EAST EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE MUST REMAIN INTACT.

16. THE SOVIETS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GDR RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY ALLIANCE, BUT THEY HAVE STRESSED THE VITAL ROLE THE GDR PLAYS IN THE WARSAW PACT. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE EAST GERMANS OVER THE ISSUES OF FURTHER POLITICIZATION OF THE WARSAW PACT AND POSSIBLE STRUCTURAL REFORM (DETAILS TO BE REPORTED SEPTEL).

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THE SOVIET VIEW OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS

17. THE SOVIETS EXPECT THE FRG TO AVOID TAKING ANY STEPS WHICH COULD FURTHER DESTABILIZE THE SITUATION IN THE GDR. THIS POSITION HAS BEEN CONVEYED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY TO THE FRG. SHEVARDNADZE'S SEPTEMBER 26 STATEMENT AT THE U.N. ON "THE FORCES OF REVANCHISM" WHICH WERE SEEKING TO REVISE AND DESTROY THE POST-WAR REALITIES IN EUROPE WAS DIRECTED AT THE WEST GERMANS. IN ADDITION, SHEVARDNADZE MILDLY CHASTIZED FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER DURING A PRIVATE MEETING IN NEW YORK. GENSCHER'S RESPONSE WAS THAT THE PROBLEM WAS GDR INFLEXIBILITY, NOT PROVOCATIONS FROM THE FRG. THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY BELIEVES THAT BOTH GERMAN STATES SEEK STABILITY -- ABOVE ALL ELSE -- IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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18. OUR CONTACTS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAVE STRESSED THAT THEY WERE PLEASED WITH THE FAVORABLE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAD DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR AND THEY HOPE THAT THINGS WILL RETURN TO "BUSINESS AS USUAL," ONCE THE CURRENT CRISIS IS PAST. SEVERAL SOVIET ACADEMICS HAVE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT BECAUSE OF THE INCREASED ATTENTION BEING PAID TO THE ISSUE OF REUNIFICATION, A CHILLY SPELL IS IN STORE FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. VOLKSKAMMER PRESIDENT SINDERMAN'S SEPTEMBER 15TH CANCELLATION OF THE VISIT OF SPD PARLIAMENTARIANS IS REGARDED AS EVIDENCE OF THIS SITUATION.

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR
SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

19. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KARPOV RECENTLY STATED THAT HE SAW NO REASON WHY GERMAN REUNIFICATION COULD NOT EVENTUALLY COME ABOUT THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOME (SIMILAR STATEMENTS WERE RECENTLY MADE BY CHIEF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT VALENTIN FALIN IN AUSTRIA). THE KEY WORD HERE, WE NOTE, IS "EVENTUALLY." THE MFA SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS BELIEVE THIS IS NOT THE APPROPRIATE TIME TO DEBATE REUNIFICATION. KOZLIKIN STRESSED THAT AMERICA'S EUROPEAN PARTNERS WERE ALSO NOT IN FAVOR OF
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REUNIFICATION AND IMPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE SOMEWHAT TROUBLED BY CONTINUED U.S. SUPPORT FOR REUNIFICATION.

20. DASHICHEV OF THE BOGOMOLOV INSTITUTE HAS ARGUED SIMILARLY THAT GERMAN REUNIFICATION SHOULD NOT BE ON THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL AGENDA. HIS POSITION IS THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION IS EMBEDDED IN THE OVERALL EUROPEAN SITUATION AND THAT AT SOME FUTURE POINT, WHEN THE DIVISION OF EUROPE INTO TWO BLOCS IS DISAPPEARING, THE GERMAN STATES COULD EVOLVE AND COME TOGETHER VERY CLOSELY IN TERMS OF THEIR POLITICS AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

GORBACHEV'S EAST BERLIN AGENDA

21. GORBACHEV'S AGENDA IS EXPECTED TO HAVE A DISTINCT PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SIDE. PUBLICLY, HE WILL USE THE VISIT TO EMPHASIZE SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE GDR AS A LOYAL ALLY AND FRIEND. HE IS EXPECTED TO GIVE A SPEECH WHICH WILL STRESS THE VALUABLE ROLE THAT THE GDR HAS PLAYED IN THE EAST BLOC, WHILE AVOIDING ANY DETAILED COMMENTARY ON THE CONTINUING REFUGEE PROBLEM

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OR THE GDR'S RELUCTANCE TO ADOPT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.

22. IN PRIVATE, GORBACHEV WILL ASSESS FIRSTHAND THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN WHAT WAS THOUGHT TO BE THE MOST ECONOMICALLY HEALTHY AND POLITICALLY STABLE WARSAW PACT MEMBER. HE MAY PRIVATELY SUGGEST THAT THE GDR ADOPT REFORMS, BUT RUMORS AROUND HERE THAT

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THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT MADE UP THEIR OWN MINDS ABOUT WHAT THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION WOULD BE FOR EAST GERMANY. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO A NEW LEADERSHIP IS BEGINNING AND THAT GORBACHEV WILL MAKE THE ROUNDS WITH POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS TO HONECKER.

DAMNED IF THEY DO, DAMNED IF THEY DON'T

23. THERE ARE RUMORS IN MOSCOW THAT TWO POLICY ANALYSES WERE COMMISSIONED TO CONSIDER THE IMPACT OF IMPLEMENTING REFORMS IN THE GDR, AND THAT THE TWO ANALYSES RETURNED VERY CONFLICTING RESULTS. ONE SUPPOSEDLY CONCLUDED THAT IF THE EAST GERMANS IMPLEMENTED REFORMS, THEY WOULD BEGIN ERODING THE STATE'S RAISON D'ETRE, THEREBY INVITING TURMOIL. IN CONTRAST, THE OTHER ARGUED THAT IF THE EAST GERMANS DID NOT IMPLEMENT REFORMS, THEY WOULD SIMILARLY FAN DISSENT, BECAUSE OF INCREASING DEMANDS FROM YOUNG PEOPLE FOR A GREATER LIBERALIZATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM. WHILE WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT SUCH ANALYSES ACTUALLY WERE PRODUCED, THE REPORTED RESULTS BASICALLY TRACK WITH THE MIXED OPINIONS PUT FORTH BY INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTNIKS.

24. SOVIET ACADEMICS HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF STATEMENTS BY EAST GERMANS, SUCH AS CHIEF OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OTTO RHEINHOLD, WHO HAVE ARGUED THAT IF THE GDR PURSUES WESTERN-LIKE REFORMS IT WOULD CALL INTO QUESTION THE REASONS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF A "SOCIALIST" GERMANY. YURIY DAVYDOV, THE CHIEF OF THE "EUROPEAN CENTER" AT THE INSTITUTE OF THE USA AND CANADA, STRESSED TO POLOFF THAT THE GDR IS NOT A

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR
SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

NATURAL STATE, BUT AN IDEOLOGICAL STATE.
ACCORDINGLY, HE ARGUED THAT IF THE GDR EVER GRASPED
GLASNOST, PERESTROYKA AND DEMOCRATIZATION IT WOULD
DISAPPEAR, AS IT WOULD NO LONGER BE SUFFICIENTLY
DISTINCT FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. NEVERTHELESS, HE
BELIEVED THAT MANY IN THE GDR UNDERSTOOD THE NEED FOR
SOME DEMOCRATIZATION AND THAT THIS WOULD LIKELY COME
WITH A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS.

25. IN CONTRAST, SERGEY KARAGANOV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF
THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTE HAS STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE
GDR TO UNDERTAKE GREATER REFORMS TO DIFFUSE
DISCONTENT AMONG THE POPULACE, PARTICULARLY POLITICAL
REFORM. THIS VIEW IS ALSO HELD BY SOME CENTRAL
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COMMITTEE STAFFERS. VYACHESLAV DASHICHEV OF THE
BOGOMOLOV INSTITUTE HAS AT TIMES ARGUED BOTH SIDES OF
THIS FENCE, BASICALLY ASSUMING THAT SOME REFORMS MUST
BE IMPLEMENTED BUT AT A GRADUAL RATE AND IN A

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CAREFULLY CONTROLLED ENVIRONMENT. THIS IS THE MOST COMMON POSITION HEARD IN MOSCOW.

STOPPING THE GREAT EXODUS OF YOUNG EAST GERMANS

26. THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE THIS SUMMER'S "VOTING WITH THEIR FEET" BY MORE THAN 30,000 EAST GERMAN CITIZENS. THIS IS A PARTICULARLY HARD-HITTING PHENOMENON IN MOSCOW, AS THE ABUNDANCE OF CONSUMER GOODS IN THE GDR AND THE RELATIVE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY -- FAR BEYOND THAT OF THE USSR -- MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE PROBLEM IS PRINCIPALLY POLITICAL AND NOT ECONOMIC. FURTHERMORE, THE EAST GERMAN REFUGEES HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY YOUNG WORKERS WHO SPENT THEIR ENTIRE LIVES UNDER THE SOCIALIST STATE.

27. MOST OF OUR CONTACTS BELIEVED THAT IF THIS INCREDIBLE HEMORRHAGING OF EAST GERMAN CITIZENS WAS NOT SOON STOPPED, IT WOULD DO IRREPARABLE HARM TO THE GDR. DAVYDOV SAID THAT THE SIMPLIST SOLUTION TO STOP GDR CITIZENS FROM ABANDONING THEIR HOMELAND WOULD BE TO IMMEDIATELY REMOVE RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR ABILITY TO TRAVEL FREELY. HE ADMITTED THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OFFERED FOR SOME AN IRRESISTABLE ATTRACTION, BUT FELT CERTAIN THAT MOST EAST GERMANS REGARD THE GDR AS HOME AND WOULD EVENTUALLY RETURN.

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28. CONTACTS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAVE WARNED THAT THE SOLUTION CANNOT BE TO PRECLUDE TRAVEL TO OTHER EAST EUROPEAN STATES. THE OCTOBER 2ND DECISION TO STOP TRAVEL BY EAST GERMANS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA SET A BAD PRECEDENT HERE. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONCERN THAT SUCH MOVES COULD BEGIN TO SERIOUSLY TEAR THE FABRIC WHICH BINDS THE EAST EUROPEAN STATES TOGETHER.

THE SED'S "BREZHNEVITE" POLITBURO

29. GORBACHEV IS NOT EXPECTED TO FIND A COUNTERPART REFORMER WHEN HE EXAMINES THE FIELD OF POTENTIAL HONECKER SUCCESSORS. ACADEMIC AND DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT AT BEST HE MAY UNEARTH AN

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"ANDROPOV" OR A "CHERNENKO" ON THE SED POLITBURO. THE PHYSICAL FRAILTY OF THE LEADERSHIP -- EGON KRENZ AND GUENTER MITTAG, AMONG OTHERS -- IS REMINISCENT HERE OF THE BREZHNEV ERA. PARTY LEADERS LIKE SEVENTY-SEVEN YEAR-OLD KURT HAGER, BORN THE SAME YEAR AS HONECKER, ARE NOT EXPECTED TO PRODUCE ANY BOLD NEW IDEAS. DAVYDOV STRESSED THAT THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION IN THE GDR WAS BECOMING PARTICULARLY ACUTE AS THERE SEEMED TO BE A DESIRE AMONG POTENTIAL HONECKER REPLACEMENTS TO BE "HOLIER THAN THE POPE."

30. WHETHER THE LEADERSHIP TRANSITION BEGINS SHORTLY, OR ONLY AFTER NEXT MAY'S PARTY CONGRESS, ACADEMICS HERE HAVE ARGUED THAT SOME BOLDER THINKERS WILL HAVE TO MOVE UP IF THE SED IS TO EFFECTIVELY DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS IT NOW FACES (AS ALWAYS, OUR FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACTS ARE SILENT ON QUESTIONS OF LEADERSHIP CHANGE). DAVYDOV THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN HINTS OF REFORM COMING OUT OF THE SED'S SOCIAL

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SCIENCE RESEARCH ACADEMY, BUT ACADEMY CHIEF OTTO
REINHOLD IS STILL REGARDED AS ORTHODOX AND ATTACKS
AGAINST WOULD-BE REFORMERS (SUCH AS HAMS MODROW IN

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DRESDEN) HAVE NOT GONE UNNOTICED IN MOSCOW. SOME DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS HAVE ARGUED THAT DURING HIS VISIT, GORBACHEV MAY SEEK TO NIP IN THE BUD ANY CONSIDERATION OF A PURGING OF YOUNGER REFORM-MINDED INTELLECTUALS AT THE FORTHCOMING SED CONGRESS.

CONCERNS ABOUT ATMOSPHERICS

31. CONTACTS AT THE EAST GERMAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW
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STRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT HONECKER'S HEALTH AND EXHIBITED SOME ANXIETY ABOUT GORBACHEV'S UPCOMING VISIT. WHILE THEY SAW THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT AS PROVIDING A NEEDED BOOST TO THE REGIME, THEY WERE CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT POSSIBLE GORBACHEV STATEMENTS ON THE NEED FOR REFORMS, AS WELL AS THE POTENTIAL THAT HIS VISIT COULD SPARK PRO-REFORM DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

32. WE NOTE THAT PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATION ON OCTOBER 2 IN LEIPZIG CALLED FOR INTERNAL REFORM AND AT ONE POINT BEGAN CHANTING "GORBY--GORBY." WHEN A GROUP OF EAST GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE GATHERED BY THE BERLIN WALL DURING A DAVID BOWIE CONCERT AT THE REICHSTAG, AND ALSO CHANTED "GORBY--GORBY," THEY WERE PROMPTLY DISPERSED BY THE POLICE. OUR CONTACTS THOUGHT THIS COULD BE A CONSIDERABLY MORE DIFFICULT SITUATION TO HANDLE WERE SUCH A DEMONSTRATION TO TAKE PLACE IN FRONT OF GORBACHEV HIMSELF, WITH PARTICIPANTS CALLING FOR PERESTROYKA AND GLASNOST. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS PRESUMED THE SECURITY FORCES WILL DO THEIR BEST TO MAKE CERTAIN THIS DOES NOT HAPPEN.

IT'S HARD TO PEDDLE SOVIET REFORMS IN EAST GERMANY

33. COMMENT: HONECKER AND HIS ASSOCIATES MAY WELL BE RELUCTANT TO TAKE GORBACHEV'S ADVICE SHOULD HE DECIDE TO OFFER IT. THE SOVIET ECONOMY IS IN DISASTROUS SHAPE, PUBLIC UNREST HAS BECOME ENDEMIC THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND PESSIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE IS RISING. ALTHOUGH GORBACHEV FIRMLY BELIEVES IN HIS
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VISION OF PERESTROYKA, GLASNOST AND DEMOCRATIZATION, HE CANNOT YET HOLD UP THE SOVIET EXAMPLE AS A SUCCESS.

34. OTTO REINHOLD NOTED LAST MONTH THAT AN ATTEMPT TO USE GLASNOST AND DEMOCRATIZATION ALONE TO PROMOTE THE GDR ECONOMY WOULD FAIL, JUST AS IT HAD IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN A SIMILAR FASHION, HE STRESSED THAT THE ECONOMIC REFORMS ENVISIONED IN HUNGARY AND POLAND WOULD ELIMINATE SOCIALISM AND WOULD HAVE NO PLACE IN THE GDR. UNTIL ONE OF THE REFORMER STATES CATCHES UP WITH THE GDR'S LIVING STANDARD, IT WILL REMAIN HARD TO CONVINCE THE EAST GERMANS THAT THEY SHOULD MOVE TOWARD A MORE SIGNIFICANT MARKET ORIENTATION. DAVYDOV TOO NOTED THAT IF NOTHING ELSE, THE EAST GERMANS HAD SHOWN THAT THEY COULD MAKE A COMMAND ECONOMY WORK.

35. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT GORBACHEV DOES NOT WANT TO CALL THE SHOTS IN THE GDR. HE HAS ENOUGH TROUBLE OF HIS OWN TO HANDLE AT HOME. INSTEAD, HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SED PUT ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER AND IF THIS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY RETRENCHMENT AND A RETURN TO THE "BUNKER MENTALITY" THAN SO BE IT. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS THINK THE LONG-TERM PATH FOR THE GDR LIES IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. GORBACHEV'S PRINCIPAL AIM IN HIS EUROPEAN POLICY HAS BEEN TO PROMOTE A COMMON EUROPEAN HOME -- NOT TO MAINTAIN, RESTORE OR CONSTRUCT NEW BARRIERS.

NEEDED: COURAGE, VISION AND NOVELTY

36. DASHICHEV STRESSED THAT HE SEES NO ONE IN THE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KPRP, GC, UR
SUBJECT: THE GORBACHEV-HONECKER SUMMIT:

CURRENT SED LEADERSHIP AS HAVING THE VISION OR THE
WILL TO LOOK AHEAD. IN HIS ADDRESS THIS WEEK TO THE
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER
SHEVARDNADZE EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR "COURAGE" IN
TODAY'S POLITICS. HE ARGUED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO
BE A REALIST WHO SEES LIFE AS IT IS, BUT STRESSED THE
NEED FOR VISION, IDEALISM AND "A KEEN SENSE OF
NOVELTY," TO LOOK AHEAD TO THE FUTURE RATHER THAN
TURNING BACK TO THE PAST. THIS MAY WELL BE THE GIST
OF GORBACHEV'S MESSAGE TO HONECKER AND THE EAST
GERMANS. END COMMENT.

37. LENINGRAD MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. JOYCE

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