



file MJ2DTF

ke: PC

10 DOWNING STREET

SUBJECT cc Mauer

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 June 1989

Dear Shepley,

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO GERMANY

Chancellor Kohl telephoned the Prime Minister this morning about President Gorbachev's visit to Germany.

Chancellor Kohl said that he would summarise his personal impressions. Gorbachev was in tremendous form and very confident, much more so than when they had met in Moscow last October. His election as President had given him much more standing and this was reflected in his manner and in the authority with which he spoke. Gorbachev had been very open about the Soviet Union's economic difficulties and the failure so far to surmount them. He had expressed fears about a bad harvest this year, particularly in the Ukraine. But he seemed determined to see through his reforms.

Kohl continued that Gorbachev had laid much emphasis on the inquiry being conducted into the Stalin period. A report would be produced in about a year's time, together with supporting documents. It would hide nothing and all the crimes of that time would be laid bare. Gorbachev had also talked about Eastern Europe. It was clear that of all the Warsaw Pact leaders, Jaruzelski was closest to him, with the Hungarians next. Gorbachev had spoken sharply about Romania and shown a lot of distance in his comments about East Germany.

Chancellor Kohl said that Gorbachev had accepted the basic direction taken by the NATO Summit but wanted very rapid negotiations (Kohl did not specify whether on conventional forces or SNF, but presumably both). Kohl had replied that this was up to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev had promised to bring forward the necessary proposals soon. The Warsaw Pact would be meeting shortly. Kohl said that he had told Gorbachev that it would be pointless to try to drive a wedge between members of NATO. The Brussels Summit had shown NATO's unity. Gorbachev had denied this was his intention. He accepted that negotiations on arms control must take place between Alliances. Kohl said that he had also warned Gorbachev that he must not build any hopes on the prospect of a neutral West Germany. The friendly welcome which he had received from the German people reflected their relief at the

DK

ending of the tensions and confrontation of the Cold War and their welcome for future co-operation. Gorbachev himself had talked quite a bit about the War and his youthful memories of it.

Kohl said that Gorbachev had shown a very strong interest in the Middle East, underlining that the Soviet Union wanted to make a positive contribution to a settlement there. He had shown anxiety about Iran and fundamentalism, which he claimed was infecting the population of the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union. Kohl had been struck by the seriousness with which Gorbachev viewed this issue.

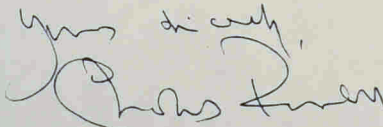
On the subject of China, Gorbachev had made it obvious that his sympathies lay with Zhao Ziyang. He had talked of his fear that Zhao Ziyang might be put on trial.

Gorbachev had also expressed the wish to develop good relations between the Soviet Union and the European Community.

Summing up, Chancellor Kohl said that he had told Gorbachev that there were good prospects for improved co-operation between the Soviet Union and Germany if what he had said was followed up by action. But Germany would look at the reality and be under no illusions.

The Prime Minister complimented Chancellor Kohl on a very successful visit which she hoped would help his political position. She very much agreed that one must look at reality not just hopes. She was glad that NATO agreements had been upheld. She asked whether Chancellor Kohl had pressed President Gorbachev on why he had not publicly condemned the Chinese Government's actions in shooting its own people. Chancellor Kohl said that, at his press conference today, President Gorbachev had made remarks which could be interpreted as distancing himself from these events. The Prime Minister recalled that President Gorbachev had sent Shevardnadze to see the Ayatollah Khomeini at the time when the rest of us were showing maximum restraint in relations with Iran. This indicated how careful one had to be in matching Soviet rhetoric and actions. The Prime Minister concluded by thanking the Chancellor for his thoughtfulness in telephone her straightaway. She was most appreciative.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allan (HM Treasury), Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).



Charles Powell

Stephen Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.