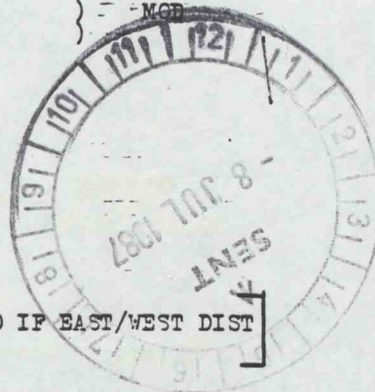


~~US/SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS/~~ EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONSPS  
PS/LAS CHALKER  
PS/LORD GLENARTHUR

MR POWELL No.10 DOWNING STREET

PS/MR MELLOR  
PS/EUS  
SIR J FRETWELL  
MR BOYDMR D NICHOLLS DUS(P)  
D. NUC (POL) SY  
DACU  
CDI~~MR BOYD~~  
MR PAUL BOYD  
MR EARL GILLMOREHD/DEFENCE DEPT  
HD/ACDD  
HD/SOVIET DEPT  
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RESIDENT CLERK

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MY TELNO 963: VON WEIZSAECKER'S VISIT: DAY 2

SUMMARY

1. VON WEIZSAECKER'S PROGRAMME FOR 7 JULY INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH GORBACHEV AND THE PATRIARCH OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. GENSCHER HAD TALKS WITH SHEVARDNADZE AND WITH GORBACHEV'S CHIEF IDEOLOGUE, YAKOVLEV. A BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CO-OPERATION WAS SIGNED. GORBACHEV WAS SHARP AND UNYIELDING ON GERMAN REUNIFICATION. THERE IS LITTLE SIGN OF A THAW IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. NO PUBLIC REFERENCE TO RUST.

DETAIL

2. GORBACHEV RECEIVED VON WEIZSAECKER ON 7 JULY WITH THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS AND AMBASSADORS PRESENT. THE TALKS CENTERED ON BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE SKETCHY "PRAVDA" ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING REPORTED ONLY GORBACHEV'S WORDS. VON WEIZSAECKER'S CONTRIBUTION WAS EITHER SUMMARISED OR OMITTED.

BILATERAL

3. GORBACHEV BEGAN BY NOTING THAT THE NEW CHAPTER IN SOVIET/FRG RELATIONS AGREED DURING GENSCHER'S VISIT LAST YEAR HAD YET TO BE OPENED. INDEED IT HAD NEARLY BEEN CLOSED IN THE MEANWHILE. GORBACHEV MADE IT CLEAR THAT ANY SUCH IMPROVEMENT WOULD BE CONTINGENT ON A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE BY THE GERMANS: "THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. WE ARE PREPARED FOR THIS, BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO GET RID OF COMPLEXES, OF POLITICAL MYTHS, OF VIEWING THE SOVIET UNION IN THE GUISE OF AN ENEMY."

4. GORBACHEV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CONSTRUCTION OF "OUR COMMON EUROPEAN HOME" HAD BEEN A FAILURE.



4. GORBACHEV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CONSTRUCTION OF "OUR COMMON EUROPEAN HOME" WOULD BE "UNTHINKABLE" WITHOUT THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FRG, AND EXPRESSED THE SOVIET UNION'S READINESS TO JOIN IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT: "THE SOVIET UNION IS INTERESTED IN THE FRG HAVING RELIABLE SECURITY. IT IS PREPARED TO FILL JOINTLY THE SECOND BASKET, THAT IS CONSOLIDATING THE MATERIAL BASIS OF EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT, EXPANDING AND UPGRADING ECONOMIC TIES. IT IS PREPARED FOR A BROAD EXCHANGE ON THE 'THIRD BASKET'. AND THIS CAN BE DONE, IF IT IS NOT USED IN FUTURE FOR INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS".

#### THE GERMAN QUESTION

5. GORBACHEV WAS EVEN MORE UNCOMPROMISING ON THE "GERMAN QUESTION". HE WELCOMED VON WEIZSAECKER'S STATEMENT THAT THE FRG BASED ITS POLICY TOWARDS EASTERN EUROPE ON THE TREATY OF MOSCOW (AND ON OTHER TREATIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES) BUT THEN WENT ON TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE FRG LEADERSHIP'S COMMITMENT AND GOOD FAITH: "WHEN WE HEAR IT SAID AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT THE 'GERMAN QUESTION' REMAINS OPEN, THAT NOT EVERYTHING IS CLEAR ABOUT 'THE EASTERN LANDS', AND THAT YALTA AND POTSDAM ARE NOT VALID, THIS GIVES RISE TO DOUBT AS TO WHETHER THE FRG LEADERSHIP INTENDS TO ADHERE TO THAT TREATY".

6. WHEN VON WEIZSAECKER RAISED THE GERMAN QUESTION, GORBACHEV RESPONDED SHARPLY AND CATEGORICALLY. HE SAID HE HAD NO INTENTION OF THEORIZING ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT IT WAS THE POLITICAL ASPECT WHICH WAS NOW IMPORTANT: "THERE ARE TWO GERMAN STATES WITH DIFFERING SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS. THEY HAVE THEIR OWN VALUES. BOTH OF THEM LEARNT LESSONS FROM HISTORY AND EACH CAN MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPEAN AND WORLD AFFAIRS. AND WHAT WILL BE IN ONE HUNDRED YEARS WILL BE DECIDED BY HISTORY. NO OTHER APPROACH IS ACCEPTABLE. IF SOMEONE TOOK ANOTHER ROAD, THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE VERY SERIOUS. THERE SHOULD BE ABSOLUTE CLARITY IN THIS... TODAY THE TWO GERMAN STATES ARE A REALITY. ONE MUST PROCEED FROM THIS."

7. VON WEIZSAECKER'S VISIT TO THE DANILOVSKY MONASTERY AND HIS CALL ON PATRIARCH PIMEN, THE HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS.

#### SHEVARDNADZE/GENSCHER

8. GENSCHER'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE WAS DESCRIBED AS AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON A BROAD RANGE OF URGENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND BILATERAL RELATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE "IN A SPIRIT OF STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS (PRYAMOTA) AND DESIRE TO BRING THE VIEWS OF THE SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER". A STATEMENT BY MFA SPOKESMAN PYADYSHEV REVEALED THAT THE TALKS FOCUSED ON THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE. PYADYSHEV MENTIONED THE PERSHING IAS AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE NEW OBSTACLES THE WEST WAS EXPECTING IN ORDER TO HAMPER THE ATTAINMENT OF ARMS AGREEMENTS.

9. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS SIGNED A PROTOCOL PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND THE THREE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL AGREEMENTS ALREADY CONCLUDED ON NUCLEAR ENERGY, AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH, AND HEALTH AND MEDICINE.

10. GENSCHER WAS ALSO RECEIVED ON 7 JULY BY A N YAKOVLEV, GORBACHEV'S PRINCIPAL IDEOLOGUE. THE "PRAVDA" ACCOUNT REPORTS THAT TOPICAL QUESTIONS OF SOVIET-WEST GERMAN COOPERATION, OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW THINKING IN THE CONTEXT OF REALITIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AND THE NEED TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE WERE DISCUSSED IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CANDID ATMOSPHERE.

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COMMENT

11. PRESS COVERAGE OF THE VISIT TO DATE HAS BEEN BOTH CURSORY AND LACKING IN WARMTH. IF THE MEETINGS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, THIS HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN REFLECTED IN THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS. INDEED GORBACHEV'S FORTHRIGHTNESS ON THE GERMAN QUESTION WAS BARELY CIVIL. THE SOVIET THEME IS THAT IF THE FRG WISHES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IT MUST ACT ACCORDINGLY.

12. A COMMUNITY BRIEFING BY VON RICHTHOFEN (POLITICAL DIRECTOR) IS PROMISED FOR TOMORROW, 9 JULY. THIS MAY PROVIDE MATERIAL FOR FURTHER COMMENT.

CARTLEDGE

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