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PRIME MINISTER

TELEPHONE CALL TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

I think the essential points you should make to Chancellor Kohl are:

- you welcome the fact that he is going to Moscow and you are sure he will firmly represent the views which you both hold and indeed are shared by NATO as a whole. It is very important not to give the message to public opinion that the Soviet Union is all of a sudden no longer a threat. Of course we welcome what Gorbachev is doing. But we always have to remember that his aim is to make the Soviet system work better, not to introduce democracy as we understand it. The fact is that the military threat has not so far changed. You hope that he will also take Gorbachev to task on his vision of the European Common Home. We are the ones who have been opening up frontiers all these years and it is up to Gorbachev to take all the steps which would make the Soviet Union and East Europe a desirable tenant in the European Common Home;

- you hope that Kohl will proceed with particular caution on the subject of a human rights conference in Moscow. It is very important that we attach firm conditions to agreement to this. We shall let down all those brave people in the Soviet Union who have fought for proper human rights if they think we have been hood-winked into a conference. We need to work out with the United States a clear set of criteria;

- you are still attached to the idea of sending a joint emissary to President Botha once his local elections are out of the way. Has Kohl yet had a chance to speak to Leutwiler and consider the text of our draft speaking note of points which might be made to Botha?

- you have not yet seen the full text of his speech on Europe or of the statement put out in Brussels. You were glad to see his emphasis on the need for Europe to be open to the

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rest of the world as well as insistence that there should be no suppression of national identity through centralised regulation.

C.D.P.

(C. D. POWELL)

20 Octoebr 1988

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CCP
CBUT



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 October 1988

Prime Minister

Some notes for your
telephone conversation with
Chancellor Kohl. He will
want to talk
mainly
about
his visit
to Moscow.

Dear Charles

Anglo/German Relations

Thank you for your letter of 17 October about the
Prime Minister's telephone call with Chancellor Kohl. I
attach short briefing notes as requested.

Yours ever

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Ken should
be aware
of his
speech in
Bonn - in
folder
CDP
19/x

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EAST/WEST

- Glad you are going to Moscow. Good that we are all pursuing active dialogue with USSR. Our own relations better than ever before. Ensure clear Western message gets across. United Alliance positions.
- After 70 years of oppression and stagnation, Gorbachev a major change. Right that we should respond. In everybody's interest that USSR should become more open and liberal society.
- We want Gorbachev to succeed. But process will take many years, and obviously limits to how much we can "help". Difficult to fathom, let alone influence, internal politics of Kremlin.
- Should encourage Russians to learn by example of our success. Economic links must be designed to draw USSR into real world. Potential role for EC: but any agreement with Soviet Union should be based on mutual advantage. Must not be over ambitious.
- Need to concentrate on practical cooperation (eg UK offering management training). But must not help to perpetuate present inefficient system (eg by offering excessive credits which allow essential reforms to be postponed). Your ideas?
- We should challenge Gorbachev on Common Home. This is our ideal, our positive vision. For 40 years we in Western Europe have been opening our frontiers and tackling our problems together. We would like Eastern Europe to move in the same direction. If he is serious, Gorbachev can remove many of the barriers to a real Common Home: conventional imbalance, travel restrictions, radio jamming, political prisoners. West is keen to respond and cooperate.

/Acid

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- Acid test of Gorbachev's approach will be Soviet willingness to negotiate seriously on conventional reductions in Europe. We need clear accurate figures from them. Followed by major cuts to remove current threatening imbalance.
- Important also to continue to press Russians to get involved in detailed issues of CW negotiations in Geneva and to show more openness. Would greatly enhance possibility of our achieving goal of comprehensive effectively verifiable global ban on CW.
- Vital we get right message across to Western public opinion - difficult though this is. Gorbachev wants to make Soviet system work better, not to introduce democracy as we understand it. Military threat so far unchanged: massive forward deployments in Eastern Europe.
- Failure to win PR battle will make position of Western governments increasingly difficult - particularly over defence policy/expenditure.

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CSCE

- Understand FRG ready to attend Moscow Humanitarian Conference with minimal - if any - pre-conditions. I remain highly dubious - prime concern is the interests and views of those campaigning for human rights in the Soviet Union. Am examining various aspects of what we want to achieve from the Vienna CSCE Conference and will keep in contact.

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COCOM (if raised)

COCOM guidelines as important as ever. High technology exports not appropriate area for "trade-offs". Wrong to let Russians develop military strength at Western expense.

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SOUTH AFRICA (if time allows)

- We had a good talk on 9 July. Understand you have not yet seen draft speaking note for Leutweiler we sent you on 6 October. Look forward to hearing your views on a joint approach to President Botha.

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