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KOHL'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION.

SUMMARY

1. GERMAN POLITICAL DIRECTOR DESCRIBES VISIT AS MAJOR TURNING POINT AND NEW CHAPTER IN RELATIONS. DATES FOR GORBACHEV'S RETURN VISIT NO FIXED BUT LATE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER 1989 SEEMS LIKELY. SOVIET INTEREST IN DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH EC. SOME CONCERN FROM GORBACHEV ABOUT FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION. JOINT HOPE THAT VIENNA CSCE MEETING SHOULD END NEXT MONTH AND THAT CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS SHOULD START AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. GERMANS CLEAR THAT SHEVARDNADZE SAID THAT ALL PERSONS REGARDED BY WEST AS POLITICAL DETAINEES IN USSR WOULD BE RELEASED THIS YEAR.

DETAIL.

2. THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR IN THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT BRIEFED NATO AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING ON THE BUSINESS PART OF KOHL'S VISIT. RICHTHOFEN HAD RETURNED WITH GENSCHER YESTERDAY. KOHL RETURNS TONIGHT. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW WOULD DO AN EC BRIEFING AND HE HIMSELF WOULD BRIEF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON 2 NOVEMBER. RICHTHOFEN DISTRIBUTED COPIES IN ENGLISH OF AN 'AGREED PRESENTATION', DRAWN UP WITH THE RUSSIANS, OF THE RESULTS OF KOHL'S VISIT. TEXT SENT BY FAX TO SOVIET DEPARTMENT.

3. RICHTHOFEN DESCRIBED KOHL'S VISIT AS A MAJOR TURNING POINT IN GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, A NEW CHAPTER IN WHICH MANY OF THE PAGES STILL NEEDED TO BE WRITTEN. THERE WAS GROWING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND GREATER PREPAREDNESS TO LOOK FOR DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION.

PROGRAMME

4. KOHL HAD SPENT 10 HOURS ALTOGETHER WITH GORBACHEV AND HAD SEPARATELY SEEN RYZHKOV. GENSCHER AND SHEVARDNADZE HAD HAD 2 AND A HALF HOURS OF TALKS AND A PRIVATE DINNER. GENSCHER HAD ALSO SEEN YAKOVLEV. SCHOLZ, THE FIRST FEDERAL GERMAN DEFENCE MINISTER TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION, HAD HAD FRIENDLY AND SUBSTANTIAL TALKS WITH

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YAZOV, ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THREE SOVIET ARMED SERVICES. YAZOV HAD AGREED THAT ASYMMETRIES IN FORCES IN EUROPE SHOULD BE ELIMINATED BY NEGOTIATIONS. THE GERMANS HOPED THAT YZAOV WOULD ACCOMPANY GORBACHEV ON HIS VISIT NEXT YEAR TO THE FRG. KOHL HAD ALSO SEEN SAKHAROV, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN THE SOVIET UNION INCLUDING 30 ABOUT TO EMIGRATE, AND THE PATRIARCH OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH. SOME 30 CONTRACTS HAD BEEN SIGNED BY GERMAN FIRMS. THE DM 1 BILLION CREDIT COORDINATED BY THE DEUTSCHE BANK HAD BEEN CEREMONIALLY APPROVED (IN LINE, RICHTHOFEN COMMENTED, WITH RECENT BANK CREDITS TO THE SOVIET UNION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND ITALY.)

KOHL-GORBACHEV TALKS

5. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT KOHL AND GORBACHEV HAD AGREED THAT PRERESTROIKA CREATED FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR GREATER EAST-WEST COOPERATION. GORBACHEV HAD EXPRESSED SATISFACTION ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EC AND CMEA AND THE SOVIET UNION. KOHL HAD REAFFIRMED THAT THE COMMUNITY AFTER 1992 WOULD REMAIN AN OPEN AND CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNER: ALL EC PARTNERS AGREED THAT THE SINGLE MARKET WOULD NOT INTRODUCE 'A NEW CURTAIN' ACROSS EUROPE. GORBACHEV HAD RAISED, IN CRITICAL TONE, THE GROWING COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. KOHL HAD CITED FRANCO-GERMAN RECONCILIATION AND COOPERATION AS A MODEL IN EUROPE, WHICH WAS DIRECTED AGAINST NO-ONE.

6. BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED THAT CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND ACHIEVE RESULTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN A STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.

7. KOHL HAD SAID THAT THE DIVISION OF GERMANY SHOULD BE OVERCOME BY PEACEFUL MEANS. COHESION OF THE GERMAN NATION WAS PART OF THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL REALITY IN EUROPE. THE WORST CONSEQUENCES OF DIVISION SHOULD BE REMOVED. GORBACHEV HAD UNDERSTOOD THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF THIS AND HAD SEEMED REALISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE, IN THAT HE ACCEPTED THAT THE MORE EUROPE GREW TOGETHER, THE MORE THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY GERMAN DIVISION COULD BE OVERCOME. KOHL WELCOMED INCREASED GERMAN EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR AND CALLED FOR BETTER CONDITIONS FOR GERMANS STAYING THERE.

8. IN A PLENARY MEETING OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS, GORBACHEV HAD GIVEN A STRONG AND DETERMINED IM PRESSION, KEEPING HIS TEAM FIRMLY UNDER CONTROL. GORBACHEV HAD SAID THAT THE IDEA OF THE EUROPEAN HOME WAS RECEIVING INCREASINGLY POSITIVE REACTIONS. IT DID NOT MEAN TEARING DOWN ALL THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE TWO HALVES OF EUROPE, BUT

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BUILDING ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS. RICHTHOFEN COMMENTED THAT THERE MIGHT HAVE BEEN A HINT HERE THAT THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONS INCLUDED THE TWO ALLIANCES.

9. I WASKED WHETHER THE GERMANS HAD SAID ANYTHING TO THE RUSSIANS ABOUT THE QUESTION OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON SNF. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT KOHL, IN HIS SPEECH AT THE KREMLIN DINNER, HAD SPOKEN OF NEGOTIATIONS, IN LINE WITH THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE ALLIANCE AT REYKJAVIK, AND HAD CALLED ON THE RUSSIANS TO ELIMINATE THEIR SUPERIORITY IN THIS FIELD OF WEAPONS AS IN OTHERS.

10. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT NO DATES HAD BEEN FIXED FOR GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1989. BUT KOHL HAD SAID THAT HE HOPED IT WOULD BE IN A TIME OF GOOD WEATHER. (TODAY'S GERMAN PRESS SPECULATES ABOUT MAY OR JUNE).

KOHL'S OTHER MEETINGS.

11. RYZHKOV TOLD KOHL THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD DECIDED ON MAXIMUM INTEGRATIOON INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY. THE USSR COULD ACHIEVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ALONE BUT INTEGRATION WOULD ACCELERATE IT.

12. SAKHAROV HAD SUGGESTED TO KOHL THE IDEA OF A DEMILITARISED CORRIDOR, FREE OF ALL TYPES OF FORCES AND WEAPONS, IN THE MIDDLE OF EUROPE. SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER HAD SAID THAT, OF 800 PERSONS IN POLITICAL DETENTION LAST YEAR IN THE SOVIET UNION, ALL HAD BEEN RELEASED EXCEPT 100. THE LATTER FIGURE INCLUDED 15 PEOPLE IN PSYCHOLOGICAL HOSPITALS, DOWN FROM 200 A YEAR AGO.

GENSCHER'S TALKS WITH SHEVARDNADZE.

13. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD DISCUSSED THE JOINT POLITICAL DOCUMENT WHICH THE TWO SIDES HAD AGREED TO ISSUE WHEN GORBACHEV VISITS THE FRG. ITS TITLE HAD YET TO BE AGREED. SHEVARDNADZE HAD GIVEN GENSCHER LAST MONTH IN NEW YORK SOME ELEMENTS FOR THIS. SOME OF THIS MATERIAL WAS ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG. BUT THE GERMANS HAD ADDITIONAL IDEAS WHICH THEY WOULD SOON PRESENT TO THE RUSSIANS. SHEVARDNADZE WOULD VISIT BONN EARLY IN 1989 TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF THIS DOCUMENT.

14. SHEVARDNADZE HAD EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE CSCE MEETING IN VIENNA WOULD END IN MID-NOVEMBER. HE HAD MADE THE CASE FOR A HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW AFTER THOSE IN PARIS AND COPENHAGEN. GENSCHER HAD SAID THAT THE THREE CONFERENCES MUST FOLLOW THE SAME RULES. THERE WERE ALSO OTHER PRE-CONDITIONS, WHICH HE HOPED THE

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SOVIET UNION WOULD MEET: THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL DETAINEES AND PROVISIONS ABOUT RADIO JAMMING, EMIGRATION, FREE TRAVEL AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION. SHEVARDNADZE HAD SAID THAT IN THE SOVIET VIEW THERE WERE NO POLITICAL DETAINEES IN THE USSR BUT THAT ALL THE PERSONS REGARDED AS SUCH BY THE WEST WOULD BE RELEASED IN 1988. ON THE OTHER CONDITIONS MENTIONED BY GENSCHER, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD ADHERE TO WHAT WAS SAID IN THE DOCUMENT TO BE AGREED IN VIENNA. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD AGREED THAT THE REMAINING QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE MANDATE FOR CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS COULD BE SOLVED. SHEVARDNADZE HAD MENTIONED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A SUMMIT MEETING OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, TO GIVE A BOOST TO ARMS CONTROL ESPECIALLY CST. HE HAD ALSO PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRE TO ELIMINATE THE DANGER OF WAR AND SURPRISE ATTACK. GENSCHER HAD SAID THAT IN PRINCIPLE THE FRG, LIKE FRANCE, WOULD FAVOUR A SUMMIT WITH US AND CANADIAN PARTICIPATION BUT THAT THE FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS CONVENTIONAL STABILITY. A SUMMIT WOULD NEED CAREFUL PREPARATION. GENSCHER HAD ASKED FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE IDEA OF A NEW CENTRE TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF WAR. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD AGREED TO SUPPORT A CONFERENCE IN PARIS IN EARLY 1989 CONCERNED WITH THE 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL.

15. SEE MIFT.

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MIPT : KOHL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW : INITIAL COMMENT

SUMMARY

1. PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF VISIT HERE LIKELY TO BE THAT KOHL MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION BUT THAT THERE ARE LIMITS TO WHAT IS POSSIBLE IN EAST-WEST AND GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. APPARENTLY NO GERMAN CONCESSIONS OR MAJOR SOVIET PLOYS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. RUSSIANS IN POSITION TO USE QUESTION OF DATES FOR GORBACHEV'S RETURN VISIT IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE FRG'S POSITIONS ON EAST-WEST MATTERS EG SNF.

DETAIL

2. I SHALL SEND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE VISIT'S IMPLICATIONS WHEN WE HAVE ALL THE RELEVANT INFORMATION. THIS TELEGRAM OFFERS INITIAL COMMENTS.

3. KOHL CAME BACK WITH 5 NEW BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND A CULTURAL PROGRAMME AS WELL AS DECISIONS TO MOVE FORWARD ON A NUMBER OF OTHER BILATERAL MATTERS. HE IS SEEN HERE AS ALSO HAVING ACHIEVED SOME PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. IN LINE WITH HIS COMMITMENT TO KEEPING THE GERMAN QUESTION OPEN, HE TOOK THE RISK OF REFERRING IN FORTHRIGHT TERMS TO IT AND TO BERLIN IN PUBLIC AND IN HIS TALKS WITH GORBACHEV.

5. THE IMPRESSION CREATED HERE BY THESE ASPECTS, TAKEN TOGETHER, IS LIKELY TO BE THAT THE CHANCELLOR HAS MANAGED TO MAKE IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS BUT THAT THERE ARE STILL LIMITS TO WHAT IS POSSIBLE IN EAST-WEST AND GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. IF THAT IMPRESSION SINKS IN HERE, THERE COULD BE A CHECK TO PUBLIC EUPHORIA ABOUT GORBACHEV.

6. ON THE INFORMATION SO FAR, I SEE NO SIGN THAT KOHL AND GENSCHER CONCEDED NEW POINTS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. NOR THAT GORBACHEV

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PULLED ANY SURPRISES OR PLOYS, SUCH AS PROPOSING A THIRD ZERO ON SNF.

7. THE 'AGREED PRESENTATION' OF THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT, DRAWN UP BY THE GERMANS AND THE RUSSIANS, SHOWS THAT THERE IS STILL MUCH UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. THAT WILL TAKE UP PART OF THE TIME WHEN GORBACHEV MAKES HIS RETURN VISIT. BUT THE RISK MUST PERSIST THAT MULTILATERAL MATTERS WILL TAKE UP MORE TIME ON THAT OCCASION AND THE 'JOINT POLITICAL DOCUMENT' TO BE ISSUED THEN, EVEN IF IT ALSO COVERS BILATERAL MATTERS, MAY BE USED BY THE RUSSIANS IN AN ATTEMPT TO COMMIT THE GERMANS TO NEW POSITIONS. THE RUSSIANS ARE ALSO IN A POSITION TO DELAY SETTING FIRM DATES FOR GORBACHEV'S RETURN VISIT, IN AN ATTEMPT TO SECURE LEVERAGE OVER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO EAST/WEST AND SECURITY QUESTIONS (ESPECIALLY SNF MODERNISATION) IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1989.

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PAGE 2
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