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FM BMG BERLIN

TO DESKBY 130800Z FCO

TELNO 84

OF 121730Z NOVEMBER 1989

AND TO DESKBY 130700Z BONN

AND TO DESKBY 130600Z MOSCOW

INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS, UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, EAST BERLIN

FROM AMBASSADOR

MOSCOW TELNO 1884: GORBACHEV'S MESSAGE ABOUT GDR

SUMMARY

1. SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN REASONABLY CONFIDENT. GRATEFUL FOR ACTION TAKEN BY ALLIES. SUGGESTIONS FOR MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV.

DETAIL

2. I AGREE WITH SIR R BRAITHWAITE THAT, WITH THE GDR IN CRISIS, WE HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN REASSURING THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT WESTERN INTENTIONS SO THAT REFORM IN THE GDR SHOULD BE ABLE TO PROCEED WITH AS LITTLE EAST-WEST TENSION AS POSSIBLE.

3. THE MOOD OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN YESTERDAY, AFTER THEY HAD MADE CONTACT WITH THE ALLIES IN LINE WITH GORBACHEV'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER, IS SHOWN BY BMG BERLIN TELNO 192 TO HAVE BEEN REASONABLY POSITIVE. THE RUSSIANS WERE GRATEFUL FOR MEASURES WE HAD TAKEN TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE, THE ONLY POTENTIALLY UGLY ONE THAT HAS SO FAR ARISEN.

4. AT MY PROMPTING THE US AMBASSADOR, NEXT IN LINE AMONG THE ALLIES TO SEE KOCHEMASOV, HAS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS BEEN ASKING FOR A MEETING WITH THE LATTER. IT TOOK PLACE TODAY. AT A MEETING LAST EVENING OF THE THREE WESTERN AMBASSADORS, I SUGGESTED TO WALTERS THAT HE SHOULD DESCRIBE TO KOCHEMASOV THE ORDERLINESS AND RESPONSIBILITY OF PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR IN WEST BERLIN AND THE SOBRIETY OF THE PUBLIC LINE OF FRG AND WEST BERLIN POLITICIANS (NOTABLY THEIR AVOIDANCE OF THE THEME OF REUNIFICATION), AND THAT HE SHOULD SAY THAT FURTHER REFORM AND ELECTIONS IN THE GDR WERE THE ONLY WAY OF REGAINING STABILITY AND THAT THE WEST HAD NO INTENTION OF INTERVENING IN ANY WAY IN THE GDR OR OF HARMING SOVIET INTERESTS. I AGREED WITH WALTERS' INTENTION TO PRESS KOCHEMASOV ON WHEN THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE READY FOR PREPARATORY TALKS ON THE WESTERN ALLIES' BERLIN INITIATIVE OF DECEMBER 1987. IF WE COULD GET SUCH TALKS GOING, THEY COULD POSSIBLY PROVIDE A

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CONVENIENT AND UNCONTROVERSIAL WAY OF DISCUSSING WIDER BERLIN AND GERMAN MATTERS AS NECESSARY AMONG THE FOUR POWERS.

5. THE WALTERS/KOCHEMASOV MEETING WAS FRIENDLY. FULL DESCRIPTION IN IFT. KOCHEMASOV SHOWED HIMSELF CONCERNED, BUT FAIRLY CONFIDENT. THE US IMPRESSION WAS THAT SOVIET NERVES WERE NOT FRAZZLED. KOCHEMASOV GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE THOUGHT THINGS HAD GONE BETTER IN THE PAST 36 HOURS. HE AGREED WITH WALTERS THAT THE RISKY PERIOD FOLLOWING THE OPENING OF THE FRONTIERS SHOULD BE OVER IN ANOTHER DAY OR TWO. HE WAS SATISFIED WITH COOPERATION AMONG THE ALLIES. ALL THROUGH THE MEETING KOCHEMASOV SPOKE OF TWO DEMOCRATIC GERMANIES CONTINUING TO EXIST AND OF THE IMPORTANCE OF STABILITY AND THE ALLIES' RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORKING FOR IT. HE SAID THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING WITH THE ALLIES' BERLIN INITIATIVE.

6. I VISITED THE WALL ON 11 AND 12 NOVEMBER. THERE ARE ENORMOUS CROWDS ON THE WESTERN SIDE, MANY OF THEM EAST GERMANS. THE ATMOSPHERE IS HAPPY AND RELAXED AND IMPRESSIVELY SOBER. BUT THERE MUST BE SOME RISK OF INCIDENTS. THE GOVERNING MAYOR HAS APPEALED TO THE PUBLIC TO BE RESPONSIBLE AND RESTRAINED. THE ALLIES WILL SUGGEST TO MOMPER THAT HE REPEATS THAT APPEAL. PARTICULAR ATTENTION IS BEING PAID BY THE POLICE TO THE SOVIET WAR MEMORIAL IN WEST BERLIN.

RECOMMENDATION

7. THE RUSSIANS IN BERLIN SEEM REASONABLY STEADY. BUT A REASSURING MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV IS STILL DESIRABLE. I SUGGEST THAT IT SHOULD:

- STRESS THAT REFORM IN THE GDR IS THE ONLY BASIS FOR STABILITY:
- DESCRIBE THE SOBER AND RESPONSIBLE LINE OF LEADERS IN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN - THEIR STRESS ON GRADUALISM AND THEIR AVOIDANCE OF THE THEME OF REUNIFICATION:
- REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, QUOTING ITS PROVISION THAT WE WILL QUOTE STRIVE TO PROMOTE THE ELIMINATION OF TENSION AND THE PREVENTION OF COMPLICATIONS UNQUOTE
- SAY THAT BRITISH OFFICIALS IN BERLIN ARE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE SOVIET EMBASSY, THAT THIS HAS BEEN USEFUL, THAT WE WANT IT TO CONTINUE AND THAT I SHOULD BE GLAD TO MEET KOCHEMASOV AT ANY TIME:
- ASSURE GORBACHEV THAT THE WEST HAS NO INTENTION OF INTERVENING IN ANY WAY IN THE GDR OR OF HARMING LEGITIMATE SOVIET INTERESTS:

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AND
- INVITE GORBACHEV TO STAY IN REGULAR CONTACT:

- MENTION THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH BUSH AND YOURS WITH GENSCHER ON 15 NOVEMBER.

8. I HAVE OMITTED FROM PARA 7 MENTION OF FOUR POWER CONTACTS ABOUT BERLIN AND GERMANY. WE MAY WELL NEED AN INITIATIVE OF THIS KIND SOON, BUT WE SHOULD DISCOVER FIRST THE VIEWS OF THE FRG AS WELL AS THE US AND FRANCE. TO LAUNCH THIS IDEA IMMEDIATELY WOULD LOOK TO THE FRG LIKE AN EXPRESSION OF GREAT ALLIED CONCERN ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF THE GERMANS AND AN ATTEMPT TO TAKE MATTERS INTO ALLIED HANDS. THAT WOULD INTENSIFY EMOTION AND CAUSE RESENTMENT DETRIMENTAL TO ALLIED INFLUENCE ON GERMAN BEHAVIOUR. KOHL AND GENSCHER HAVE FLATLY REJECTED SUGGESTIONS OF A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE BY A COUPLE OF WEST GERMAN POLITICIANS. IT IS BETTER FOR NOW TO PURSUE CONTACT WITH THE RUSSIANS IN LESS NEWSWORTHY WAYS.

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