

SECRET
UK EYES ALFA
FM WASHINGTON
TO DESKBY 101800Z FCO
TEL NO 355
101700Z FEBRUARY 90
INFO DESKBY 101800Z BONN, UKDEL NATO, PARIS, MODUK, MOSCOW

10
mt

MODUK FOR DUS(P)

FCO PLEASE PASS DESKBY 101800Z NO. 10.

TELECON WOOD/RESIDENT CLERK: GERMAN QUESTION: BAKER'S REMARKS IN MOSCOW.

1. BAKER'S REMARKS AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS MIDNIGHT PRESS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, THAT QUOTE WE FAVOUR A CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN, OR ASSOCIATION WITH, NATO UNQUOTE, WAS CLEARLY AN INJUDICIOUS INITIAL PHRASE, WHICH HE AND THE ADMINISTRATION GENERALLY ARE NOW SEEKING TO CLARIFY, THROUGH NUMEROUS ASSURANCES, DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT AMERICAN POLICY ON GERMANY HAS NOT CHANGED.
2. FOLLOWING OUR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION LAST NIGHT, BOTH BLACKWILL AND ZELIKOW (NSC) TELEPHONED US THIS MORNING (10 FEB) WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS. THEY SAID THAT BAKER HAD IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT TO CORRECT THE IMPRESSION CAUSED BY HIS REMARK. HE HAD SAID FOUR TIMES SUBSEQUENTLY TO REPORTERS THAT HE WAS NOT INTENDING TO SIGNIFY ANY SHIFT IN THE US POSITION REGARDING GERMAN UNIFICATION AND NATO. THE AIM WAS FOR GERMANY TO REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, AND QUOTE YOU WILL HAVE THE GDR AS PART OF THAT MEMBERSHIP UNQUOTE. THE REFERENCE TO AN ASSOCIATION HAD BEEN MEANT ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GUARANTEES THAT MIGHT BE NEEDED QUOTE REGARDING THE EXTENSION EASTWARD OF NATO FORCES UNQUOTE.
3. NEVERTHELESS THE ADMINISTRATION REALISE THAT SOME DAMAGE WAS DONE. (THE FRONT PAGE HEADLINES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF 10 FEB ARE - BAKER HINTS SHIFT ON GERMANY, NEW LINK FOR NATO, US SAYS IT MIGHT ACCEPT A LOOSER ASSOCIATION). BLACKWILL TOLD THE MINISTER THAT HE, SCOWCROFT AND BAKER HAD HELD SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS IN THE PAST FEW HOURS ON THIS AND BAKER WOULD BE SEEKING FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES DURING THE DAY TO PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT.
4. BLACKWILL WAS ALSO AT PAINS TO PROVIDE A CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF AN ELABORATE FIX BEING DONE WITH THE GERMANS OR RUSSIANS BEHIND OUR BACKS. QUOTE GERMANY MUST REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, PERIOD. WOOD REPLIED THAT WE WERE VERY RELIEVED TO HEAR THIS SINCE ANY WEAKENING OF THE AMERICAN POSITION WOULD CAUSE US GRAVE DIFFICULTY. WE ALSO KNOW FROM NSC STAFF THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE NSC AND THE GERMANS, ON THE EVE OF KOHL AND GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, INCLUDING A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KOHL, IN WHICH BUSH SPOKE IN FULLY ORTHODOX TERMS.
5. WE WOULD EXPECT FURTHER ADMONITIONS TO COME FROM THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL OVER THE WEEKEND. WOERNER WILL HAVE FIVE HOURS AT CAMP DAVID WITH THE PRESIDENT, SCOWCROFT, EAGLEBURGER AND BLACKWILL ON 10/11 FEB, BEFORE FLYING TO OTTAWA. TEBBIT (COUNSELLOR POL-MIL) HAD A PRIVATE WORD WITH WOERNER AT HIS HOTEL IN WASHINGTON, JUST AFTER BAKER'S STATEMENT APPEARED. WOERNER SAID THAT HE HAD WORKED VERY HARD ON KOHL, GENSCHER AND THE COALITION LEADERSHIP GENERALLY IN ORDER TO SECURE THEIR CURRENT POSITION. IT WAS VITAL THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERMINED THROUGH AMERICAN LOOSE-TALKING (OF WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN ONE OR TWO OTHER EXAMPLES FROM JUNIOR OFFICIALS DURING THE WEEK). IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE BEING OFFERED A CHOICE BETWEEN FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP AND SOMETHING LESS THAN THAT, IT WOULD BE ALL TOO EASY FOR THEM TO GO FOR THE SOFT OPTION.
6. WOERNER SAID THAT HE WOULD SIMILARLY BE SEEKING TO EXERT A STEADYING INFLUENCE ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE WAY FORWARD, URGING CAUTION ABOUT THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF CSCE OR US/EC FORA AND EMPHASISING THE NEED INSTEAD TO DECIDE HOW BEST TO PRESERVE THE ALLIANCE'S MILITARY ROLE, WHILE DEVELOPING MORE ON THE POLITICAL SIDE.

ACLAND

9(a-b)

?

ORWBAN 3988

SECRET

DD 101800Z FCOLN BONNN BRNAT PARIS MODSH MOSCO

FM WASH: TO FCOLN.

101700Z FEB

GRS 600

SECRET

UK EYES

FM WASHINGTON

TO DESKBY 101800Z FCO

TELECON

OF 101700Z FEBRUARY 90

DESKBY 101800Z BONN, UKDEL NATO, PARIS, MODUK, MOSCOW

MODUK FOR DUS(P)

FCO PLEASE PASS DESKBY 101800Z NO. 10.

TELECON WOOD/RESIDENT CLERK: GERMAN QUESTION: BAKER'S REMARKS
IN MOSCOW.

1. BAKER'S REMARKS AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS MIDNIGHT PRESS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, THAT QUOTE WE FAVOUR A CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN, OR ASSOCIATION WITH, NATO UNQUOTE, WAS CLEARLY AN INJUDICIOUS INITIAL PHRASE, WHICH HE AND THE ADMINISTRATION GENERALLY ARE NOW SEEKING TO CLARIFY, THROUGH NUMEROUS ASSURANCES, DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT AMERICAN POLICY ON GERMANY HAS NOT CHANGED.
2. FOLLOWING OUR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION LAST NIGHT, BOTH BLACKWILL AND ZELIKOW (NSC) TELEPHONED US THIS MORNING (10 FEB) WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS. THEY SAID THAT BAKER HAD IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT TO CORRECT THE IMPRESSION CAUSED BY HIS REMARK. HE HAD SAID FOUR TIMES SUBSEQUENTLY TO REPORTERS THAT HE WAS NOT INTENDING TO SIGNIFY ANY SHIFT IN THE US POSITION REGARDING GERMAN UNIFICATION AND NATO. THE AIM WAS FOR GERMANY TO REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, AND QUOTE YOU WILL HAVE THE GDR AS PART OF THAT MEMBERSHIP UNQUOTE. THE REFERENCE TO AN ASSOCIATION HAD BEEN MEANT ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GUARANTEES THAT MIGHT BE NEEDED QUOTE REGARDING THE EXTENSION EASTWARD OF NATO FORCES UNQUOTE.
3. NEVERTHELESS THE ADMINISTRATION REALISE THAT SOME DAMAGE WAS DONE. (THE FRONT PAGE HEADLINES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF 10 FEB ARE - BAKER HINTS SHIFT ON GERMANY, NEW LINK FOR NATO, US SAYS IT MIGHT ACCEPT A LOOSER ASSOCIATION). BLACKWILL TOLD THE MINISTER THAT HE, SCOWCROFT AND BAKER HAD HELD SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS IN THE PAST FEW HOURS ON THIS AND BAKER WOULD BE SEEKING FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES DURING THE DAY TO PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

4. BLACKWILL WAS ALSO AT PAINS TO PROVIDE A CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE
THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF AN ELABORATE FIX BEING DONE WITH
THE GERMANS OR RUSSIANS BEHIND OUR BACKS. QUOTE GERMANY MUST
REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, PERIOD. WOOD REPLIED THAT WE WERE VERY
RELIEVED TO HEAR THIS SINCE ANY WEAKENING OF THE AMERICAN POSITION
WOULD CAUSE US GRAVE DIFFICULTY. WE ALSO KNOW FROM NSC STAFF THAT
THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE NSC AND THE
GERMANS, ON THE EVE OF KOHL AND GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW,
INCLUDING A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KOHL, IN WHICH
BUSH SPOKE IN FULLY ORTHODOX TERMS.

5. WE WOULD EXPECT FURTHER ADMONITIONS TO COME FROM THE NATO
SECRETARY GENERAL OVER THE WEEKEND. WOERNER WILL HAVE FIVE HOURS
AT CAMP DAVID WITH THE PRESIDENT, SCOWCROFT, EAGLEPURGER AND
BLACKWILL ON 10/11 FEB, BEFORE FLYING TO OTTAWA. TEBBIT (COUNSELLOR
POL-MIL) HAD A PRIVATE WORD WITH WOERNER AT HIS HOTEL IN WASHINGTON,
JUST AFTER BAKER'S STATEMENT APPEARED. WOERNER SAID THAT HE HAD
WORKED VERY HARD ON KOHL, GENSCHER AND THE COALITION LEADERSHIP
GENERALLY IN ORDER TO SECURE THEIR CURRENT POSITION. IT WAS VITAL
THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERMINED THROUGH AMERICAN LOOSE-TALKING
(OF WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN ONE OR TWO OTHER EXAMPLES
FROM JUNIOR OFFICIALS DURING THE WEEK). IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE
GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE BEING OFFERED A CHOICE BETWEEN
FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP AND SOMETHING LESS THAN THAT, IT WOULD BE ALL
TOO EASY FOR THEM TO GO FOR THE SOFT OPTION. *Some loyalty to the Alliance*

6. WOERNER SAID THAT HE WOULD SIMILARLY BE SEEKING TO EXERT A
STEADYING INFLUENCE ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE WAY FORWARD, URGING
CAUTION ABOUT THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF CSCE OR US/EC FORA AND
EMPHASISING THE NEED INSTEAD TO DECIDE HOW BEST TO PRESERVE THE
ALLIANCE'S MILITARY ROLE, WHILE DEVELOPING MORE ON THE POLITICAL
SIDE.

ACLAND

YYYY

ORWBAN 3988

NNNN

TOD 101805Z

9(a-b)

7

ORWBAN 3988

SECRET

DD 101800Z FCOLN BONNN BRNAT PARIS MODSH MOSCO
FM WASH: TO FCOLN
101700Z FEB
GRS 600

SECRET

UK EYE

FM WASH

TO DESKBY

TELECON

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

DESKBY

FOR DUS(P)

PLEASE PASS DESKBY 101800Z NO. 10.

TELECON WOOD/RESIDENT CLERK: GERMAN QUESTION: BAKER'S REMARKS
IN MOSCOW.

1. BAKER'S REMARKS AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS MIDNIGHT PRESS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, THAT QUOTE WE FAVOUR A CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN, OR ASSOCIATION WITH, NATO UNQUOTE, WAS CLEARLY AN INJUDICIOUS INITIAL PHRASE, WHICH HE AND THE ADMINISTRATION GENERALLY ARE NOW SEEKING TO CLARIFY, THROUGH NUMEROUS ASSURANCES, DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT AMERICAN POLICY ON GERMANY HAS NOT CHANGED.
2. FOLLOWING OUR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION LAST NIGHT, BOTH BLACKWILL AND ZELIKOW (NSC) TELEPHONED US THIS MORNING, 110 FEB, WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS. THEY SAID THAT BAKER HAD IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT TO CORRECT THE IMPRESSION CAUSED BY HIS REMARKS. HE HAD SAID FOUR TIMES SUBSEQUENTLY TO REPORTERS THAT HE WAS NOT INTENDING TO SIGNIFY ANY SHIFT IN THE US POSITION REGARDING GERMAN UNIFICATION AND NATO. THE AIM WAS FOR GERMANY TO REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, AND QUOTE YOU WILL HAVE THE GDR AS PART OF THAT MEMBERSHIP UNQUOTE. THE REFERENCE TO AN ASSOCIATION HAD BEEN MADE ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GUARANTEES THAT MIGHT BE NEEDED QUOTE REGARDING THE EXTENSION EASTWARD OF NATO FORCES UNQUOTE.
3. NEVERTHELESS THE ADMINISTRATION REALISE THAT SOME DAMAGE WAS DONE. (THE FRONT PAGE HEADLINES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF 10 FEB ARE -- BAKER HINTS SHIFT ON GERMANY, NEW LINK FOR NATO'S US SAYING IT MIGHT ACCEPT A LOOSER ASSOCIATION). BLACKWILL TOLD THE MINISTER THAT HE, SCOWCROFT AND BAKER HAD HELD SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS IN THE PAST FEW HOURS ON THIS AND BAKER WOULD BE SEEKING FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES DURING THE DAY TO PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

4. BLACKWILL WAS ALSO AT PAINS TO PROVIDE A CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE
THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF AN ELABORATE FIX BEING DONE WITH
THE GERMANS OR RUSSIANS BEHIND OUR BACKS. QUOTE GERMANY MUST
REMAIN A MEMBER OF NATO, PERIOD. WOOD REPLIED THAT WE WERE VERY
RELIEVED TO HEAR THIS SINCE ANY WEAKENING OF THE AMERICAN POSITION
WOULD CAUSE US GRAVE DIFFICULTY. WE ALSO KNOW FROM NSC STAFF THAT
THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE NSC AND THE
GERMANS, ON THE EVE OF KOHL AND GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW,
INCLUDING A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KOHL, IN WHICH
BUSH SPOKE IN FULLY ORTHODOX TERMS.

5. WE WOULD EXPECT FURTHER ADMONITIONS TO COME FROM THE NATO
SECRETARY GENERAL OVER THE WEEKEND. WOERNER WILL HAVE FIVE HOURS
AT CAMP DAVID WITH THE PRESIDENT, SCOWCROFT, EAGLEPURGER AND
BLACKWILL ON 10/11 FEB, BEFORE FLYING TO OTTAWA. TORRIT (COMUSCEN
POL-MIL) HAD A PRIVATE WORD WITH WOERNER AT HIS HOTEL IN WASHINGTON,
JUST AFTER BAKER'S STATEMENT APPEARED. WOERNER SAID THAT HE HAD
WORKED VERY HARD ON KOHL, GENSCHER AND THE COALITION LEADERSHIP
GENERALLY IN ORDER TO SECURE THEIR CURRENT POSITION. IT WAS VITAL
THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERMINED THROUGH AMERICAN LOOSE-TALKING
(OF WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN ONE OR TWO OTHER EXAMPLES
FROM JUNIOR OFFICIALS DURING THE WEEK). IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE
GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE BEING OFFERED A CHOICE BETWEEN
FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP AND SOMETHING LESS THAN THAT, IT WOULD BE ALL
TOO EASY FOR THEM TO GO FOR THE SOFT OPTION.

6. WOERNER SAID THAT HE WOULD SIMILARLY BE SEEKING TO EXERT A
STEADYING INFLUENCE ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE WAY FORWARD, URGING
CAUTION ABOUT THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF CSCE OR USZEC FORA AND
EMPHASISING THE NEED INSTEAD TO DECIDE HOW BEST TO PRESERVE THE
ALLIANCE'S MILITARY ROLE, WHILE DEVELOPING MORE ON THE POLITICAL
SIDE.

ACLAND

YYYY

ORWBAN 3988

NNNN

TOD 101805Z