Cable

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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4400
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INFO: RUEHCL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: MAY 12 KOHL/YELTSIN TALKS
TEXT:

SECRET BONN 11493
OPS CENTER PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY
Exdis
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, QM, RS
SUBJECT: MAY 12 KOHL/YELTSIN TALKS
1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. HEREWITH A SUMMARY OF THE HIGH POINTS OF JOACHIM
BITTERLICH'S DEBRIEFING TO FRANK WISNER AND MYSELF
CONCERNING THE FIRST DAY OF THE KOHL-YELTSIN
CONVERSATIONS. (WE DO NOT YET HAVE INFORMATION ON THE
SECOND DAY -- PRIVATE TALKS WITHOUT AIDES -- BUT BITTERLICH
PROMISED US THIS INFORMATION ONCE HE GETS IT FROM THE
CHANCELLOR.)
3. ON A "MOST SENSITIVE BASIS", BITTERLICH BEGAN BY SAYING
THAT IN THE DINNER AND AFTER DINNER HE FELT THAT YELTSIN
HAD DRUNK FAR TOO MUCH. "HE WAS DRINKING WINE LIKE I DRINK
WATER," BITTERLICH OBSERVED, "AND HE WAS NOT ONE-HUNDRED
PERCENT ON HIS FEET. HIS BACK WAS IN PAIN. BUT,
NONETHELESS, HE ALWAYS KNEW WHAT HE WAS SAYING AND SEEMED
IN CONTROL OF HIMSELF INTELLECTUALLY."
4. DURING THE TALKS, THERE WAS MUCH DISCUSSION OF THE
DEPARTURE OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM GERMANY. THE
CHANCELLOR SAID HE WISHED TO AVOID INCREASING YELTSIN'S
DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES ON THIS SENSITIVE POINT. HE WOULD
MAKE SURE THAT THE RUSSIAN DEPARTURE WAS "DIGNIFIED AND
RESPECTFUL." THEY DISCUSSED A JOINT VISIT TO BUCHENWALD,
SIMILAR TO THE KOHL-MITERRAND RECONCILIATION EVENT AT
VERDUN IN 1987. BUCHENWALD'S SYMBOLISM IS OBVIOUS,
BITTERLICH SAID: "IT IS WHERE THE GERMANS KILLED THOUSANDS
OF RUSSIANS DURING THE WAR AND THE RUSSIANS KILLED
THOUSANDS OF GERMANS AFTER THE WAR." YELTSIN SAID HE
AGREED WITH THE CONCEPT OF USING IT AS A SITE FOR
RECONCILIATION BUT THAT HIS MILITARY WAS NOT YET READY TO
ACCEPT SUCH AN EVENT. "LET US WAIT TWO OR THREE YEARS," HE
REPORTEDLY TOLD KOHL.
5. IN THE SAME VEIN, KOHL ASKED YELTSIN TO GET HIS
GENERALS UNDER CONTROL IN PUBLIC ON THE PARADE ISSUE--
SPECIFICALLY GRACHEV AND BULAKOV. BITTERLICH SAID "YELTSIN
TURNED TO GRACHEV AND SO INSTRUCTED HIM DURING THE MEETING."
6. ON THE "MORE DIFFICULT" ISSUE OF CULTURAL TREASURES
"STOLEN" BY RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE WAR, BITTERLICH SAID
THAT THERE WERE STILL "TREMENDOUS DIFFICULTIES." HE SAID
KINKEL AND FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD MADE A MESS OF THESE
IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS. YELTSIN FURTHER COMPLICATED THE
ISSUE BY SAYING GERMANY MUST PROVE FOR EACH PIECE THAT
GERMANY WAS THE RIGHTFUL OWNER. IN REGARD TO SUCH
TREASURES AS THE SCHLIEMANN DISCOVERY AT TROY THIS COULD
INVOLVE PROBLEMS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY.
7. "WE HAD ONE SUCCESS IN THIS CULTURAL AREA," BITTERLICH
SAID, WHEN KOHL PROPOSED, AND YELTSIN AGREED, TO CREATE A
JOINT HISTORICAL COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THE GERMAN AND
RUSSIAN ARCHIVES, "NOT TO WRITE OFFICIAL AGREED UPON
HISTORY, BUT TO WORK ON THE HISTORICAL TRUTH, AND ALLOW
MORE THAN ONE VERSION OF HISTORY."
8. PFP: THE DISCUSSION WAS PREDICTABLE. YELTSIN SAID HE
ACCEPTED PFP, IN PRINCIPLE, BUT NEEDS A STATEMENT OR
"PROTOCOL" THAT MAKES IT CLEAR THAT RUSSIA IS DIFFERENT
FROM ALL OTHER COUNTRIES JOINING PFP - "A GREAT COUNTRY
WITH A GREAT ARMY WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS."
9. BITTERLICH PROPOSED THAT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN THE
QUAD DEVELOP SUCH A STATEMENT IN TIME FOR GRACHEV'S
FORTHCOMING VISIT TO BRUSSELS. "THIS SHOULD NOT BE DONE IN
NATO, BUT IN THE QUAD," HE SAID.
10. AS IS WELL KNOWN, BITTERLICH SAID, YELTSIN IS NOT
HAPPY WITH RUSSIA'S STANDING IN THE G-7. HE MADE THE USUAL
ARGUMENTS. KOHL RESPONDED THAT IN THE LONG RUN WE HAVE TO
MOVE TO A POLITICAL G-8 BUT WE CANNOT MAKE RUSSIA PART OF
AN ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE
TO THE FACTS. BITTERLICH SAID THAT THIS IS THE POINT ON
WHICH YELTSIN WAS THE MOST EMOTIONAL.
11. IN ANSWER TO KOHL'S QUESTION, YELTSIN SAID THE UKRAINE
WAS A DISASTER IN WHICH KRAVCHUK WAS CONSTANTLY CHANGING
SIGNALS. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF A SPLIT BETWEEN THE
EAST AND THE WEST, AND "I SEE BLACK." YELTSIN SAID HE
WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPLY OIL, BUT ONLY IN SMALL TRANCHES.
12. KOHL ASKED TO OPEN THREE CONSULATES IN RUSSIA. THE
FIRST TWO WERE FINE WITH YELTSIN, BUT THE THIRD STARTLED
THE RUSSIANS AND LED TO AN IMMEDIATE NEGATIVE RESPONSE,
BECAUSE IT WAS KALININGRAD. AFTER INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS
AMONG THE RUSSIAN TEAM, YELTSIN CAME BACK WITH A COUNTER
SUGGESTION WHICH KOHL ACCEPTED: THE GERMANS WOULD OPEN OR
INTENSIFY CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IN KALININGRAD AND
OPEN A CONSULATE AT A DATE TO BE DETERMINED LATER.
13. FINALLY, ESTONIA: "UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS, I
CANNOT LEAVE," BITTERLICH QUOTED YELTSIN AS SAYING. I WANT
TO LEAVE, YELTSIN SAID, BUT "I NEED YOUR HELP IN PERSUADING
THE ESTONIANS TO GIVE THE RUSSIANS THERE THE SAME
CONDITIONS AS THEY HAVE IN LATVIA AND LITHUANIA."
14. CITING RUSSIA'S CHAOTIC INVESTMENT LAWS AND RAMPANT
CRIME, KOHL TOLD YELTSIN THE FRG COULD NOT PROMOTE
ADDITIONAL INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA, AS THE RUSSIANS DESIRED.
YELTSIN DID NOT DISAGREE. HOWEVER, HE NOTED HIS LACK OF
EXPERTISE FOR REFORMING INVESTMENT LAW AND POLICY AND ASKED
KOHL FOR HELP.
15. THIS CONCLUDED BITTERLICH'S SUMMARY, PRESENTED WITHOUT NOTES. THERE WAS ALSO SOME DISCUSSION OF BOSNIA, WHICH IS ALREADY OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. WILL REPORT FURTHER AS MORE INFORMATION ARRIVES.##

HOLBROOKE
BT
#1493
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SECT:  SECTION: 01 OF 01
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