


CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Visit to the UK in May 1979 by Herr Stobbe
and other Governing Mayors of West Berlin.
Further visit by Herr Stobbe in December 1980.

GERMANY

MARCH 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
31.1.89							
26.4.89							
4.5.89							
22.2.93							
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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 May 1989

Dear Richard,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

The Prime Minister had a meeting this morning with the new Governing Mayor of Berlin. Herr Momper was accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador. Mr Michael Burton was also present.

The Prime Minister said that she understood that immigration into Berlin from Eastern Europe was causing problems. Herr Momper confirmed this: 20,000 people of German origin had come to settle in Berlin last year from Eastern Europe. In the public's perception they were lumped together with Turks and asylum-seekers. It was impossible to provide housing for all of them. The 6/7,000 immigrants who came from East Germany each year were less of a problem, adapting more easily to the way of life.

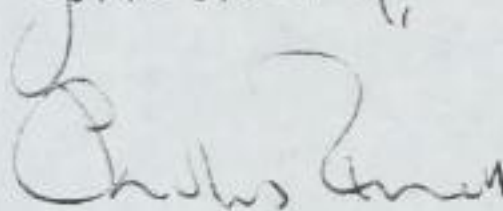
The Prime Minister observed that East Germany was lagging far behind countries such as Poland and Hungary in its approach to reform. Herr Momper doubted whether there would be any change so long as Honecker and his old guard colleagues remained. The Party Congress in 1990 was the next opportunity for a major change in personnel.

Herr Momper said that it was important that the West should respond to developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union obviously wanted to reduce its military spending. The reforms in Eastern Europe deserved to be supported with financial help. The Prime Minister warned against wishful thinking. It was evident that the Soviet Union was making West Germany a special target for its propaganda. We must judge the Russians by what they do, not what they say. The fact was the Soviet Union remained immensely strong militarily. Even its unilateral disarmament proposals had to be viewed with some caution: for instance there was evidence that, rather than destroy tanks withdrawn from Eastern Europe, they were intending to store them East of the Urals. Herr Momper commented that he was less impressed with Soviet military efficiency. He accepted that there would have to be hard bargaining on arms control.

Herr Monger volunteered that the new Red-Green Coalition government in Berlin wanted good co-operation with the Allies. They would rely on the Allies' help and partnership. Even the Greens accepted the status of the City and the presence of the Allies. He had banned them discussing the numbers of Allied forces publicly. He would try to discipline them. The Prime Minister welcomed Herr Momper's statement.

The Prime Minister asked whether the East Germans had reverted to a policy of shooting those attempting to cross the border illegally. Herr Momper doubted whether they had ever given up the policy, although they had certainly tried to avoid incidents at sensitive times such as Honecker's visit to West Germany. He thought the East German authorities were very sensitive to the damage which such incidents could do to their reputation.

I am copying this letter to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence).

Yours sincerely,


(C.D. Powell)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

You are to see the Governing Mayor of Berlin on Thursday - the brand new SPD one elected at the end of January and now governing Berlin in coalition with the Greens. Herr Momper is paying a first round of calls to the capitals of the three Berlin powers and has already seen President Bush.

Herr Momper is apparently a strong supporter of the Allied presence in Berlin, which is more than can be said of his coalition partners: the Greens want to see the Allied presence reduced to a 'token' level. The purpose of his visit is to consult closely with the allies before starting on the contacts with the East, and this is of course something which we welcome.

Herr Momper's priorities are with domestic issues in Berlin, in particular housing and unemployment. His views on East/West issues and arms control look pretty naive: he supports Soviet disarmament initiatives: wants nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones: and is against SNF modernisation. He also believes in a more open attitude towards the GDR.

You will want to reaffirm our commitment to Berlin's security and prosperity. You may then like to ask him what he believes were the main factors leading to the defeat of the previous Berlin government. You will want to set out your own views on East/West relations, Gorbachev and arms control. You will want to warn against taking East Germany's statements about willingness for East/West co-operation at face value: it remains one of the most unreconstructed and unpleasant regimes in Eastern Europe and he would be well advised to exercise great caution in dealing with them.

Fuller briefing, together with a personality note is in the folder.

C.D.P.
C. D. POWELL

2 May 1989

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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2 May 1989

Dear Charles,

Call on the Prime Minister by the Governing Mayor of Berlin
at 1215 on Thursday 4 May

Herr Momper will be accompanied by the German Ambassador, Baron Hermann von Richthofen. Herr Momper speaks very good English. Providing you agree, Mr Michael Burton, the Minister at the British Military Government who will be in London for the visit, will, as on past occasions, also attend.

I enclose a personality note on Herr Momper, and a copy of the programme for the visit.

The Prime Minister did not meet Herr Momper when she visited Berlin in 1987. Herr Momper's coalition government (an alliance between the SPD and the Alternative List (AL) - the Berlin Greens) came to power following the surprise result of the 29 January elections. They are still developing their policies and the visit to London is part of an early tour of the three Allied capitals. Herr Momper met President Bush and Mr Baker when he visited Washington from 16-19 April, and will meet President Mitterrand in Paris in mid-May. Herr Momper's wish to make such visits before embarking on contacts with, for example, the GDR is intended to underline his full personal support for the Allies' continuing presence and role in Berlin.

During the negotiations over the formation of his coalition he persuaded his Green coalition partners to moderate some of their previous attitudes, which had included a demand for the Allies' presence to be reduced to a "token" level. The key question is whether he has the strength to restrain the radicals (including in his own party) and keep the coalition together.

Herr Momper delivered his statement of the new government (Senat) programme to the Berlin House of Representatives on 13 April. His priorities are domestic and include measures to improve the housing situation and tackle unemployment. He said that Berlin's free and democratic society could not have

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developed without the Allies' presence, but that there were a number of areas, including legal questions and air transport, where the new Senat would be looking for concessions from us. These issues will be covered in talks with Lynda Chalker and me. If Herr Momper should raise them, it would be sufficient for the Prime Minister to recognise that these are important points for the new Senat, which we are willing to discuss with them. Our own approach, in these talks and afterwards, will be to insist on close consultation between the Senat and the Allies; to show ourselves ready to consider ideas on their merits; to look for agreement where possible; but to say no where necessary. It will be important to treat the new Senat on a par with the old.

We recommend that the Prime Minister should concentrate on broader matters of East/West relations, as she did with the previous Governing Mayor, Herr Diepgen, in January. Herr Momper's views on these questions are those of the German SPD. In a recent interview, he spoke in support of Soviet disarmament initiatives, of Nuclear and Chemical Weapon Free Zones in Europe, and against missile modernisation. It would therefore be useful if the Prime Minister could set out our views on the prospect for arms control and the need for the West to maintain strong defences. On Nuclear Weapons Free Zones she could explain that these would not enhance security, since they could still be targeted from outside, and since mobile missiles could easily be moved back in times of tension. Herr Momper would also be interested to hear from the Prime Minister her assessment of the changes that are under way in the Soviet Union, drawing on her recent meeting with Mr Gorbachev.

As indicated above, we recommend the Prime Minister need not discuss specific Berlin issues. But, in the context of a discussion on East/West relations, the Prime Minister might reaffirm our commitment to Berlin's security and prosperity, and draw Herr Momper out on his view of Berlin's role in the future. Herr Momper has recently spoken of Berlin becoming a room in the "Common European Home", with doors opened to all sides. The new coalition is likely to take a more open attitude towards the GDR than that of Herr Diepgen (which itself caused the Allies some difficulties). The Prime Minister might remind Herr Momper that, while the GDR may show interest in cooperation at a practical level, the regime remains one of the most old fashioned and unreformed in

/Eastern

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Eastern Europe, and will not hesitate to take advantage of any opportunities to exploit apparent divisions between the Allies and the Senat.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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MOMPER, WALTER

Governing Mayor of Berlin since March 1989.

Born 21 February 1945 in Sulingen (lower Saxony). Grew up in Bremen. Read political science, history, and economics at Münster, Munich, and the Free University Berlin. Joined the SPD in 1967 and cut his political teeth in Kreuzberg borough politics, as Chairman of the local Young Socialists from 1969-1971 and in other appointments. He became a member of the House of Representatives in 1975, and of the Berlin SPD Party Executive in 1978. He became Deputy Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group in 1980 and Chairman in 1985. He became Chairman of the Berlin SPD Party Executive in 1986. His other interests include the German Political Science Association, Friends of the Spandau Mental Clinic, and the Workers' Samaritan Federation.

Intelligent, and good (sometimes passionate) debator. Prominent in the attack on Berlin's corruption scandal in early 1986. Now a keen advocate of closer contacts with East Berlin, on the basis of accepting it as the functional capital of the GDR. Well-disposed towards the Allies. Married (wife's name Anne), with two daughters. Speaks good English.

Gomeny

Visit of

Gov. Meyers
of Berlin

March 79



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ADMINISTRATION PLAN FOR THE VISIT OF HERR WALTER MOMPER,
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN:
2-5 MAY 1989

(to be read in conjunction with the official programme)

Tuesday 2 May

1 ARRIVAL

The Governing Mayor will arrive at London Heathrow Airport at 1845 hours by Flight BA 989.

When the aircraft has landed, a representative of Heathrow Airport Limited will escort His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the aircraft (accompanied by Group Captain Robert Thomson, Government Hospitality Escort Officer), where they will greet the Governing Mayor. They will then accompany the Governing Mayor and his Official Suite to the VIP suite where he will be welcomed by:

Sir Edwin Arrowsmith
Special Representative of the Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Brigadier Alan Cowan
Secretary, Government Hospitality

Mr Michael St E Burton, Minister at Berlin, will arrive at London Heathrow Airport on the same aircraft as the Governing Mayor and will accompany the official party to the VIP suite.

Dr Christian Stocks, Counsellor, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, will also be present to welcome the Governing Mayor.

2 TRANSPORT

Cars are provided for the Official Suite by Government Hospitality throughout the visit.

3 PARTICIPATION BY THE OFFICIAL SUITE

The Governing Mayor will be accompanied by his Official Suite, together with His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany and Mr Michael Burton, except where indicated below.

Dr Klaus-Peter Klaiber, Minister-Counsellor, and Dr Christian Stocks, Counsellor, of the Federal Republic of Germany, will also accompany as necessary.

/Although

MARHA

Although Frau Ursel Haselby (Mrs Haselby) will accompany the Governing Mayor as a member of the Official Suite, she will not accompany the Governing Mayor to any of the functions etc indicated in the official printed programme. As Press Officer, she will accompany the visiting journalists at all times.

Wednesday 3 May

4 Mr Michael Burton will not accompany the Governing Mayor to the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany but will join the party for the call on the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs at 1000 hours.

5 CALL ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

The Governing Mayor will be accompanied at the talks by Professor Dr Pfarr, Frau Dr Schreyer and by His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany. Mr Michael Burton will also be present.

It is to be advised whether Herr Kolhoff will attend as Notetaker.

PROGRAMME AMENDMENT

The Governing Mayor will not now call at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany at 1500 hours following the visit to the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Instead, the following will apply:

- 1445 Arrive the Central London branch of the Samaritans,
46 Marshall Street, W1
- Tour, and Presentation on the work of the Samaritans
in Central London
- 1530 Leave the Central London branch of the Samaritans
- 1615 Arrive Mansion House, Walbrook Entrance
- Met by the City Marshal, Colonel J R L Howard
- Presentation
- 1630 Tea with the Right Honourable The Lord Mayor
Sir Christopher Collett
- 1700 Leave Mansion House

/6

6 THEATRE/SUPPER PARTY
(Royal Festival Hall/Admiralty House)

The Theatre/Supper Party will be:

The Governing Mayor of Berlin Herr Walter Momper	The Lord Glenarthur (host)
Professor Dr Heide Pfarr	Mr Michael Burton
Frau Dr Michaele Schreyer	Herr Klaus-Peter Klaiber
Herr Werner Kolhoff	Frau Klaiber
	Mr Richard Fyjis-Walker
	Mrs Fyjis-Walker
	Mr David Ratford
	Mr Stephen Wordsworth
	Group Captain Robert Thomson
	One name to be advised

Thursday 4 May

7 TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

For the call on the Prime Minister, Herr Momper will be accompanied only by His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany and by Mr Michael Burton.

8 TALKS WITH THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

For the call on the Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP, Herr Momper will be accompanied by His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany.

9 PRESS CONFERENCE

Following the luncheon given by His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Governing Mayor will arrive at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany where he will hold a Press Conference (1515-1615 hours).

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10 SEPARATE PROGRAMME FOR FRAU DR MICHAELE SCHREYER

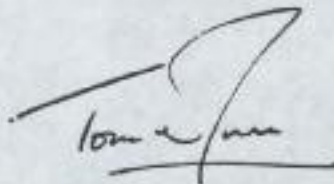
Frau Dr Schreyer, accompanied by Herr Dietmar Greineder, First Counsellor (Scientific Affairs) of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany will call on Mr David Burr, Deputy Secretary (Environment Protection) at the Department of the Environment, 2 Marsham Street, Westminster, SW1.

The call will last from 1600-1630 and will take place in Room N 19/20 (North Tower).

Frau Dr Schreyer and Herr Greineder will be met by Miss Skeggs and escorted to the meeting with Mr Burr.

Transport will be provided by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

11 It is possible that certain other appointments may be confirmed during the visit of the Governing Mayor and certain timings may be adjusted during the course of the Programme. Details will be advised as necessary.



T Wynn
Protocol Department
OAB SG104 210 6366

28 April 1989

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Special Representative of the Secretary of State

Sir Edwin Arrowsmith

MARAH

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 April 1989

**PROPOSED VISIT OF THE
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN**

of 11
Thank you for your letter of 26 April pressing the claims of the Governing Mayor of Berlin. I am afraid the only time we can fit him in is at 1215 on 4 May. I regret that this means postponement of the Foreign Secretary's bilateral.

(C.D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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12.15 on 6 AM up/c
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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26 April 1989

Dear Charles,

Proposed Visit of the Governing Mayor of Berlin

Thank you for your letter of 21 April.

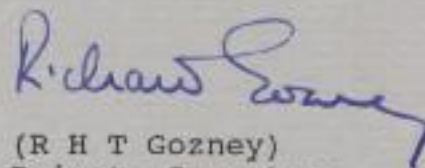
The Foreign Secretary recognises the extremely heavy demands on the Prime Minister's time, but still hopes that she will be able to see Herr Momper during his visit from 3-5 May.

The Allies have a unique responsibility for Berlin. Herr Momper's visit to London provides us with an opportunity to show him, at the highest level, that we remain committed to Berlin's future security and prosperity. Herr Momper is well disposed towards the Allies but there are others in his party (SPD), and amongst his coalition partners, the Alternative List, who are much more inclined to question the Allies' position. We may need to rely heavily in the years ahead on Herr Momper's goodwill and common sense. Time and trouble we take with him now are likely to pay a good dividend.

Naturally we regret that we have to ask the Prime Minister to see two Governing Mayors of Berlin in four months. But the fact that the Prime Minister saw Herr Momper's predecessor, Herr Diepgen, on three occasions, coupled with Herr Momper's subsequent success in the polls, strengthens, rather than weakens, the case for seeing Herr Momper now. Herr Momper has already seen Mr Bush in Washington, and is due to call on M Mitterrand and M Rocard in Paris on 16-17 May.

I recognise that the request for this call comes at short notice. We had originally envisaged a longer timescale. But Herr Momper's strong desire to visit Allied capitals before travelling elsewhere is soundly based. Herr Momper hopes to visit East Berlin and Moscow and wants to have visited Allied capitals first.

Yours sincerely,



(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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Germany

Visits of Gerny, Meyer & Koller
March 79





10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

21 April 1989

PROPOSED VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 20 April proposing that the Prime Minister should see the new Governing Mayor of Berlin between 3 and 5 May. It is asking a great deal of the Prime Minister to find time once again for a Governing Mayor of Berlin in the space of a few months, at short notice, and on days when she has very heavy engagements (some of them not unconnected with the fact that they mark her tenth anniversary as Prime Minister). Indeed to put it bluntly I think there is a tendency at the present to put the convenience of foreign visitors of second and even third rank ahead of that of the Prime Minister. We are going to have to cut back and it is really only a question of where we start. I cannot myself see a very strong case for Herr Momper, at least on the dates in question, and would ask you to consider very carefully whether you really want to press this. In the last resort, I do not doubt that the Prime Minister would agree. But I also think insisting on it would make her more resistant in future to people with better claims on her time. Can I please ask you to think further about this.

(CHARLES POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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20 April 1989

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Dear Charles,

Berlin, Proposed Visit by the New Governing Mayor

The new Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Walter Momper, has made clear that he would like to pay an early visit to each Allied capital. He will have met President Bush and Mr Baker in Washington from 16-19 April and is to meet M Mitterrand and M Rocard in Paris on 16-17 May. We envisage that he might come to London between 3-5 May.

Herr Momper's new government, a coalition of the socialist SPD and the Berlin "Greens", the Alternative List (AL), is likely to prove more awkward for the Allies than Herr Diepgen's CDU/FDP coalition. The government includes some left-wing members of the SPD, and there are many people at the grass roots level in the AL who want the Allies to leave Berlin altogether. But Herr Momper has already played an important moderating role in getting the AL leadership to shelve some of their more radical demands. He is personally well-disposed towards the Allies, and has a particular affection for the United Kingdom. He made a point of keeping in close touch with the Allies while in opposition, and has already made clear since his election that he hopes for good working relations now.

The Prime Minister saw his predecessor, Herr Diepgen, on his three visits to London (1984, 1986 and 1989). Herr Diepgen's defeat was a surprise, but the Allies have carefully avoided any expressions of regret at the outcome of the elections, remaining strictly impartial. Herr Momper would clearly greatly value a call on the Prime Minister during his visit to London, which he is keen should, for reasons of courtesy and political symbolism, take place before he travels elsewhere. (Trips to Moscow and East Berlin are planned.) Such a meeting would indicate that we attach no less importance to our special responsibilities over Berlin than do the other Allies, and demonstrate that we have an even-handed approach to the parties in Government there.

/The

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The Foreign Secretary therefore recommends that the Prime Minister should see Herr Momper during his visit. If the Prime Minister agrees, it would be helpful to have an indication of when a call might take place.

Yours ever,
Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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T e l e g r a m

from

Herr Eberhard Diepgen, Governing Mayor of Berlin

to

Her Excellency

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you very much for the opportunity to hold extensive talks on 12 January 1989. In all my talks with representatives of the British Government, and particularly with you, I gratefully experienced once more Great Britain's steadfast attitude.

Towards Berlin, I was especially gratified by your personal interest in Berlin's economic and demographic development. I should be pleased if we could continue our exchange of ideas on another occasion.

Yours faithfully

(sgd.) Eberhard Diepgen

DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

Baron Hermann von Richthofen

London, 31 January 1989

Dear Prime Minister,

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed message
from Herr Eberhard Diepgen, Governing Mayor of Berlin.

I am, dear Prime Minister,

Yours sincerely

Hermann Richthofen

The Rt.Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Her Majesty's Prime Minister and
First Lord of the Treasury

London

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

12 January 1989

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

The Prime Minister had a talk this evening with the Governing Mayor of Berlin. Herr Diepgen was accompanied by the German Ambassador. Mr. Burton, Minister at the British Military Government, was also present.

The Prime Minister complimented Herr Diepgen on Berlin's economic performance and on his success in projecting West Berlin to the wider world. She referred to the forthcoming elections, and invited Herr Diepgen to give an account of Berlin's situation and prospects.

Herr Diepgen waved away the elections as routine. There had been a considerable change for the better in Berlin's situation and outlook since his first meeting with the Prime Minister some years ago. Rather than a decaying city with an aging populace, the population was increasing. Official predictions had expected it to reach 1.7 million by 1990. In fact it was already more than 2 million. The city was absorbing a considerable number of immigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, about 20,000 altogether in 1988. 10,000 of these were from East Germany and the remainder from the Soviet Union and Poland. He expected the population to stabilise around 2.1 million. Plenty of new jobs were being created. Berlin's links with the West had improved considerably and there was much more traffic using them. The city's problems were those of success, principally the need for new housing.

Herr Diepgen continued that there had also been improvements in West Berlin's contacts with the GDR. For instance there was better cultural cooperation, with cultural exhibitions from West Berlin permitted in various parts of the GDR. He had been allowed to open some of these in his official capacity. However, Honecker continued to face major problems and his regime was unable to work with the East German people. The difficulties were aggravated by the fact that East Germans could watch West German television which constantly reminded them of how much better life was in the West. Honecker continued to work doggedly for wider

international acceptance of the GDR. His goal now was to be invited to visit the United Kingdom and subsequently the United States. That offered us some leverage.

Herr Diepgen said that, in a way, Berlin's problems lay more with the Soviet Union than with the GDR. This had been evident from Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow and the continued Soviet refusal to accept Berlin's ties to the West. His conclusion was that solutions to Berlin's problems had to be sought in the context of wider East/West issues. For instance, the Soviet Union had accepted a Berlin clause in the EC/Comecon Agreement where it had a clear interest in reaching agreement. It should be pressed to accept similar clauses in other contexts. Some way had to be found to bring the special nature of West Berlin more directly to Mr. Gorbachev's attention. Mr. Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union offered wider opportunities for East/West cooperation which the West should encourage. Such cooperation offered the best hope of solving Berlin's problems.

The Prime Minister said that Mr. Gorbachev was inevitably very much preoccupied with internal problems in the Soviet Union and with reaching a new relationship with the United States. He would not want to face more problems than necessary over Berlin. Indeed he would prefer to keep that front stable. It was too early to say whether his reforms would succeed or whether the Soviet Union might not slip back into something approaching Stalinism. The Soviet leaders had no conception of how to operate a market economy. Nor did people in the Soviet Union show much inclination to accept responsibility or take initiatives. Herr Diepgen interjected that he too was quite pessimistic about the prospects for reform in the Soviet Union. Nonetheless he was keen to see the West take practical initiatives such as data exchange, mutual recognition of product standards and so on. The COCOM list was far too extensive and there were too many unnecessary restrictions on economic cooperation with the East, although he recognised the need not to transfer defence technology. The Prime Minister said quite sharply that we must not fall into either of two traps: handing over our technical expertise to the East or making our own economic progress hostage to cooperation with them. She emphatically did not agree about the COCOM list. We should be patient and work for steady if unspectacular improvement in relations, recognising that Mr. Gorbachev had got as much on his plate as he could cope with.

Herr Diepgen asked how far the Prime Minister thought countries such as Hungary would be allowed to push their economic reforms. The Prime Minister said that the Hungarians had a very acute awareness of the limits beyond which they could not safely stray. They would continue discreetly to push forward those limits, being careful never to go too far. Poland faced much more difficult problems. She had been depressed by her visit there and did not see how the economic difficulties could be overcome. The German Ambassador commented that Mr. Rakowski would be visiting Bonn later this month.

The Prime Minister commented subsequently that Herr Dieppen continued to have rather naive views about East/West cooperation.

I am copying this letter to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence).

(CHARLES POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

You are to have a brief meeting with the Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Diepgen. This will be the third time that he has called on you at No.10. You also met him when you visited Berlin in September 1987.

The main purpose of the visit is to underline the continuing strong UK commitment to Berlin. It is important for the Governing Mayor to be seen to be received regularly at the highest level here.

Herr Diepgen is of course CDU by affiliation and faces re-election at the end of January. He should win comfortably and hopes that some of your lustre will help him.

The points you might cover are:

- compliment him on West Berlin's strong economic performance and its wider success in 1988 as the site of the World Bank/IMF meeting and its nomination of European City of Culture.
- welcome the excellent working relationship between the British and Berlin authorities.
- have a general discussion of East/West relations and arms control, warning against too relaxed and optimistic interpretation of Soviet intentions and policies. It was clear from Chancellor Kohl's meetings with Gorbachev that the Russians are not ready for any move forward on Berlin.
- you might ask for his assessment of the general political situation in West Germany; and the reaction to perestroika and Gorbachev's other new policies in East Germany.

C D P

CHARLES POWELL

11 January 1989

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cc PC
✓ BU P

Foreign and Commonwealth Office



London SW1A 2AH

11 January 1989

Dear Charles,

Call on the Prime Minister by the Governing Mayor of
Berlin at 1700 on Thursday 12 January

Herr Diepgen will be accompanied for this call of thirty minutes by the new German Ambassador, Baron Hermann von Richthofen, and by his personal interpreter, Brigitte Amedinck. As agreed, Mr Michael Burton, Minister at the British Military Government, will also attend. I have not been able to show this letter to the Foreign Secretary: I shall do so on his return.

I enclose a personality note on Diepgen, and the programme for his visit.

This is Diepgen's third official visit to the UK since his election as Governing Mayor in February 1984. His last was in December 1986. Since then he has consolidated his position in the Berlin leadership. The celebrations of the city's 750th Anniversary in 1987 were a success. Berlin gained extensive international exposure in 1988 from its nomination as European City of Culture and from successfully mounting the IMF/IBRD Annual Meetings. Diepgen has also won good opinions in Berlin for his dealings with the GDR. In addition to improved arrangements for travel between East and West Berlin, there have been agreements on an exchange of territories between the Eastern and Western sectors, and on the opening of a new crossing point between West Berlin and the GDR.

Diepgen is therefore likely to be in confident and positive mood. He has just visited Paris (20-22 December), where he saw M Rocard, and he will be hoping to use his visit to London to polish his image at home in the run-up to the Berlin elections on 29 January. The Socialist (SPD) Opposition have had a poor year, and have not been able to identify any issue which could prove a serious challenge to Diepgen. His re-election is a virtual certainty.

We recommend that the Prime Minister congratulate Diepgen on the continued growth in Berlin's prosperity and on its success as a visible example of Western values. Beyond that, there are no specific Berlin issues we recommend the Prime Minister raise. Relations between the Allied Protecting Powers in Berlin and Berliners remain very good, and regular and close consultation is now the accepted practice. Diepgen has said that he will be bringing to London the message that the relationship between Berliners and the British authorities there in particular were at present unclouded by any significant differences between us.

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We therefore recommend that the Prime Minister turn the conversation, as when she last met Diepgen in Berlin in September 1987, towards broader matters of East/West relations. Diepgen will be especially interested in the Prime Minister's assessment of the present situation in the light of Gorbachev's UN speech, and in her view of the prospects for his reform programme. A realistic account could help to counter some of the more euphoric impressions carried by the German media.

The Prime Minister might also draw Diepgen out on his own view of Berlin's role in the future. Diepgen hopes to be able to take advantage of the improvement in East/West relations, and has an understandable wish to play his own part in reducing tensions and divisions within Germany. If Diepgen seemed unduly optimistic about Soviet attitudes towards Germany and Berlin, the Prime Minister might reiterate the caution she expressed at their meeting in 1987 against blurring or ignoring the deep philosophical and political differences that remain between East and West. She might instance the negative Soviet response to the Allied Initiative on Berlin. The Initiative followed President Reagan's speech in Berlin in June 1987 when he called upon the Soviet Union to work with the Western Allies to improve commercial air services to Berlin; to bring international meetings (including UN meetings) to the City; to sponsor youth exchanges and cultural events there; and to hold joint sporting events in both East and West Berlin. The Soviet reply to a subsequent Allied Aide Memoire was to suggest consultations only on West Berlin and revealed no readiness to consider the improvements suggested by the Allies. The Allies, who have formally asked the Russians to think again, hope for eventual progress. But Gorbachev's attitudes concerning the German question and Berlin when raised by Chancellor Kohl in Moscow in October give little ground to expect early movement.

We do not expect Diepgen to raise the question of Berlin Air Services with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister may wish to be aware, however, that Diepgen has expressed concern about disagreements between the three Allies over the management of the Air Services, fearing that the uncertainty could be damaging. In practice the services have not been disrupted, and there are now more connections between Berlin and the FRG than ever before. The Allies are committed to reaching agreement on a longer-term framework for managing the Berlin Air Services and Diepgen takes a keen interest in the progress of the negotiations (to which neither the Berliners nor the FRG are a party, although they are kept closely informed). If, contrary to expectation, Diepgen should raise the subject, we recommend that the Prime Minister note his concern, but point out that flights were never interrupted,

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that services have improved substantially in number and quality, and that the Allies are working hard to reach a new agreement by 1 February designed to avoid future problems.

I am copying this letter to John Weston (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

DIEPGEN, EBERHARD

Governing Mayor of Berlin, Chairman of the Berlin CDU and member of the Federal Executive of the CDU.

Born 13 November 1941 in Berlin. Studied law at the Free University Berlin. 1968-72 junior barrister at the Berlin Supreme Court. In legal practice from 1972. Member of the CDU since 1962. Member of the House of Representatives and of the Berlin Party Executive since 1971. 1980-84 Leader of the Parliamentary Party in Berlin. Elected to succeed Richard von Weizsäcker as Governing Mayor in February 1984 on the latter's nomination as CDU/CSU candidate for Federal Presidency. Returned to power convincingly in the 1985 Berlin elections. Handsomely re-elected as CDU Chairman in November 1987.

Since 1984 he has emerged as a skilful, popular and effective Governing Mayor. The first Berlin-born Mayor, he is now a significant political figure in his own right and will be his party's chief asset in their campaign to retain power in the 1989 Berlin elections. His firm control of the Senat and CDU, together with his local popularity, (further enhanced during Berlin's 750th Anniversary celebrations in 1987), have enabled him to continue to develop his own dialogue with the GDR, despite some Allied anxiety, misgivings in Bonn and periodic GDR obstacles. While he is still a little provincial in his outlook, his political stature and experience continue to grow. He is likely to be a major figure in Berlin politics for many years to come unless he departs for the wider political stage in Bonn.

Married. Two children. Speaks increasingly good English. Visited the UK in 1977; then in 1984 after becoming Governing Mayor, briefly in 1985, and most recently in December 1986.

RESTRICTED



che
JK

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 September 1988

**BERLIN: PROPOSED VISIT BY
GOVERNING MAYOR**

esp

Thank you for your letter of 2 September.
The Prime Minister could see Herr Dieppen
at 1700 on Thursday 12 January.

(C. D. POWELL)

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

✓



10 DOWNING STREET

Tessa

~~Does this look
a grater?~~

Charles

CD

1700 Tuesday 12th
January.

Tg.
5/9

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 September 1988

Dear Charles,

Berlin: Proposed visit by the Governing Mayor

Thank you for your letter of 27 July, in which you said that the Prime Minister would be ready to meet Diepgen, perhaps early next year, but that the dates earlier envisaged (22-24 November) were unacceptable.

Diepgen has now proposed new dates of 11-13 January 1989. I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister could receive Diepgen during that period, and for an indication of when a call might take place.

Yours,

Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)

Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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010
DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
Baron Rüdiger von Wechmar

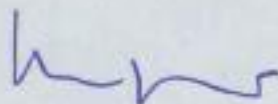
afe
esPali
London, 27th January 1987

Dear Prime Minister.

It is a great pleasure for me to transmit to you the enclosed letter from the Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Eberhard Diepgen.

A courtesy translation is also attached.

*I am, Dear Prime Minister,
Sincerely yours*



The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury
10 Downing Street
London

13. Januar 1987

The Rt. Hon.
Margaret Thatcher, P.C., M.P.
Premierminister des Vereinigten
Königreichs Großbritannien und
Nordirland
10, Downing Street
LONDON, SW 1
GROSSBRITANNIEN

Exzellenz,

für unser Gespräch im Rahmen meines London-Besuches
am 16.12.1986 danke ich Ihnen herzlich. Ich war beein-
druckt von Ihrem Engagement für Berlin und Ihrer Kennt-
nis über die Situation meiner Stadt und hoffe, unseren
Gedankenaustausch in Zukunft fortsetzen zu können.

Ich wünsche Ihnen Gesundheit und Erfolg für das bevor-
stehende Jahr 1987.

Margaret Thatcher
/

Walter Mommsen



T r a n s l a t i o n

The Rt. Hon.
Margaret Thatcher, FRS, MP,
Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland,
10, Downing Street,
London SW1,
Great Britain.

January 1987

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you very much for our talks on 16 December 1986 during my visit to London. I was impressed by your commitment to Berlin and your knowledge of my city's situation. I hope to be able to continue our exchange of views in the future.

I wish you health and success in the coming year 1987.

Yours faithfully,

Eberhard Diepgen



DCABPH

be PC

SUBJECT cc MASTER

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

16 December 1986

From the Private Secretary

Dear Coler,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

The Prime Minister saw the Governing Mayor of Berlin for a talk this morning. Herr Diepgen was accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador and by Herr Stronk. Mr. Michael Burton was also present. Herr Diepgen spoke partly in German and partly in English. The meeting was perfectly amiable - unlike the occasion two years ago - although the Prime Minister commented afterwards that she found Herr Diepgen rather over-addicted to the jargon of détente.

Situation in Berlin

In response to the Prime Minister's invitation, Herr Diepgen gave an account of the situation in Berlin. A strong defence was vital to provide the external security within which Berlin could flourish. The city had experienced a marked economic upswing since his last visit to London. The main factors in this were the establishment of new industries and demographic trends. Berlin had created more new jobs than any other part of the Federal Republic. Kruschew had once boasted that Berlin would drop into his lap like a rotten fruit. In fact the city was more secure and more prosperous than ever. This was evident in the fact that more people were now moving from elsewhere in the Federal Republic to West Berlin than in the opposite direction. Berlin was increasingly attractive as a source of jobs and for its cultural life and vitality, especially with young people. His intention was to use the 750th Anniversary of Berlin next year to underline the city's success, with the two watchwords of quality and performance. The Prime Minister complimented Herr Diepgen on Berlin's economic success.

Asylum Seekers

The Prime Minister enquired about the problem of asylum seekers crossing from East Berlin. Herr Diepgen said that the problem had now diminished in local terms. But the basic problem was one of relations between industrialised and developing countries, and would remain a source of difficulty. He himself would like to see a harmonisation of law dealing with aliens throughout the European Community. The Prime

Minister said that there had been some discussion of this at the European Council. It had been agreed that freer movement within Europe depended on more effective controls at the Community's external frontiers. It was necessary to take a firm line on immigration into the Community.

Draft Dodgers

The Prime Minister recalled that Herr Diepgen had been much exercised at their last meeting by the problem of draft dodgers from the Federal Republic. Herr Diepgen said that unfortunately it was proving difficult to solve. But he hoped it could be settled after the Federal elections.

750th Anniversary Celebrations

Herr Diepgen said that he hoped the Prime Minister would come to Berlin for the 750th Anniversary celebrations. The Prime Minister said that there had been a suggestion that those attending the Economic Summit in June might go on to Berlin. But she had not yet been able to discuss this idea with the other participants. However, The Queen would certainly visit Berlin. Herr Diepgen said that President Reagan had also agreed in principle to pay a visit although there were no dates yet. He hoped that both President Mitterrand and M. Chirac would also come. He believed that the celebrations would have an important function in strengthening Berlin for the future. But there was also a risk that, because the celebrations would be divided between East and West, they would highlight the continuing division of the city. He wanted to use the occasion as an opportunity to overcome these divisions and show the people of the GDR the attractions of freedom.

East/West Relations

The Prime Minister said that negotiations on arms control were not in themselves an adequate framework for conducting relations with the Soviet Union. We must look at other sources of tension between East and West. The Berlin Wall was one of the most obvious symbols of this tension. The Soviet Union should never be allowed to forget this. Herr Diepgen agreed. The aim should be to seek dialogue at all levels designed to show the superiority of the Western system. The Prime Minister replied that she was always hearing about "détente" and "dialogue". But they were words. You could see the Wall. Herr Diepgen said that one had to start from the reality that the Wall divided Europe into two power blocs. We could not expect to dissolve the Eastern bloc. But in the long run we could loosen it up by demonstrating the superiority of the democratic system. He believed that Berlin could become a symbol of, and a focus for, East/West dialogue. The Prime Minister said that she was anxious that the West should not always be on the giving side. We must get something from the Soviet Union as well. Above all the West must remain staunch in defence. Herr Diepgen agreed that we should not seek dialogue for its own sake but in order to reach concrete agreements. He underlined the importance of

the 750th Anniversary celebrations as a focus for further progress in East/West relations.

I am copying this letter to John Howe (Ministry of Defence).

Yours sincerely
Charles Powell

(C.D. POWELL)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

VISIT OF HERR EBERHARD DIEPGEN
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, AND FRAU MONIKA DIEPGEN

15-18 DECEMBER 1986

ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN

Monday 15 December

ARRIVAL

When the aircraft has landed a representative of Heathrow Airport Ltd will accompany the greeting party to the meeting point. The following will welcome the Governing Mayor and his party:

Sir Donald Logan
Special Representative of the Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

A representative from the Embassy of the Federal
Republic of Germany

Mr Michael St E Burton
Minister at Berlin

Brigadier Alan Cowan
Secretary, Government Hospitality

Group Captain Robert Thomson
Government Hospitality Escort Officer

The party will proceed to the VIP Suite.

TRANSPORT

Cars are provided for the Official Suite by Government Hospitality throughout the visit (see car plan at Annex 1).

PARTICIPATION BY THE OFFICIAL SUITE

The Governing Mayor will be accompanied by his Official Suite and by Mr Burton throughout the visit with the exception of the call upon the Prime Minister (when the Governing Mayor will be accompanied only by Dr Stronk and Frau Amedinck).

INTERPRETATION

Frau Amedinck will act as sole interpreter during the calls made by the Governing Mayor with the exception of the calls upon the Prime Minister and Lady Young (Tuesday 16 December). Mrs Eike Crowley will interpret for the Prime Minister and for Lady Young on both these occasions.

Tuesday 16 December

Call on the Prime Minister (1000 hours)

The following will be present:

Dr Detlef Stronk	Mr Charles Powell
Frau Brigitte Amedinck	Mrs Eike Crowley

Mansion House (1930 hours)

The Governing Mayor and Frau Diepgen together with the Official Suite will arrive at the Mansion House, pass directly into the Foyer and be received by the Remembrancer, Mr Adrian Barnes, and the Chairman of the City Lands and Bridge House Estates Committee, Mr Patrick Roney. A bouquet will be presented to Frau Diepgen. The Official Suite will be conducted immediately to the Salon to be received. In the meantime, the Governing Mayor and Frau Diepgen will be invited to sign the Distinguished Visitors' Book in the Foyer and photographs will be taken. The Governing Mayor and Frau Diepgen will then be escorted to the Salon to be received by the Lord Mayor. Official photographs will be taken in the North Drawing Room after which the Mayoral Party and Dignitaries will proceed to the Egyptian Hall where the Dinner is to be held.

Wednesday 17 December

Call on Schrodgers PLC (0930 hours)

The following will also be present:

Sir Claus Moser	Sir Ian Hunter
Mr Ronald Grierson	Mr Hans Tauscher

Call on The Rt Hon Denis Healey MP (1500 hours)

The Governing Mayor and his party will be met at the Members' Entrance by Mrs Harriet Shackman, Secretary to Mr Healey, who will escort them to Mr Healey's office.

SEPARATE PROGRAMME FOR FRAU MONIKA DIEPGEN

Frau Diepgen will be welcomed on arrival at Heathrow (VIP Suite) by Mrs Patricia Beale, Government Hospitality Escort Officer, who will accompany Frau Diepgen to the separate appointments (Guy's Hospital and Rudolf Steiner House) on 16 and 17 December respectively. Mrs Beale will also be available to escort Frau Diepgen during the afternoon of 17 December and as required during the joint programme for the Governing Mayor and Frau Diepgen.

Tom Wynn
Protocol Department
210 6366

10 December 1986

CAR PLAN

LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT TO THE SAVOY HOTEL

MONDAY 15 DECEMBER

Car 1 Herr Dieppen
 Mr Burton
 Group Captain Thomson

Car 2 Dr Stronk
 Dr de Maiziere
 Frau Amedinck
 Group Captain Bird

LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT TO THE SAVOY HOTEL

TUESDAY 16 DECEMBER

Car 2 Frau Dieppen
 Mrs Beale

NB: Car plans for appointments during the visit will be arranged by Group Captain Thomson and Mrs Beale.

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PS/Mr Luce

House of Commons

Mr Healey
Sir Bernard Braine MP
Mr Donald Anderson MP
Mr George Foulkes MP

Guildhall

Mr A Barnes (2)

CSMA

Dr Woolhead

CCP



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 December 1986

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister
 Additional briefing
 CDP 15/12/86

Call on the Prime Minister by the Governing Mayor of Berlin

Colin Budd wrote to you on 11 December about Diepgen's call on the Prime Minister. I now enclose telegrams from Sir Julian Bullard, who had breakfast with Diepgen on 14 December, and from Michael Burton, Minister at Berlin accompanying Diepgen.

Diepgen claims to believe that East Berlin is forging ahead in everything from political status to material reconstruction, while West Berlin remains stuck in the past. Most observers acknowledge the recent achievements of the East Berlin authorities in such matters as restoring historic buildings and attracting high level foreign visitors. But generally East Berlin, though supposed to be the GDR's show piece, remains drab and depressing compared with the Western sectors. West Berlin is fully integrated into the economy of the Federal Republic. The gap between East and West in Germany in terms of individual well-being (not to speak of human rights) is probably as wide as at any time since 1949.

If therefore Diepgen makes much of West Berlin's "disadvantages", we suggest that the Prime Minister show sympathy and understanding for the political challenge which Diepgen faces, but say that there seems little real evidence of East Berlin and the GDR making great strides, particularly in the areas of freedom and prosperity on which the success of Western society is built.

Yours ever,

(Signature)

(A C Galsworthy)
 Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
 10 Downing Street

GRS 933

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FOLLOWING FROM BURTON

GOVERNING MAYOR'S VISIT TO LONDON, 15-18 DECEMBER

WEL 001/1		
RECEIVED 11 DEC 1986		
11 DEC 1986		
INSTR	IN	ACCTG TAVEN
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SUMMARY

1. DIEPGEN LEAVES FOR LONDON BUOYED UP BY RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS. HOWEVER, HE IS PREOCCUPIED BY THE PREPARATIONS FOR BERLIN'S 750TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS PARTICULARLY HIS INVITATIONS FROM HONECKER AND KRACK. HE IS STILL STRONGLY INCLINED TO ACCEPT THESE BUT WORRIED THAT THE DECISION MAY BE BEING TAKEN OUT OF HIS HANDS BY BONN AND THE ALLIES. HE MAY ALSO BE CONCERNED AT INDICATIONS OF INCREASING ALLIED RESISTANCE TO HIS ACCEPTING THE INVITATIONS. HOWEVER STRONG OUR RESERVATIONS ON STATUS GROUNDS IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING OF HIS POLITICAL CONCERNS. WE SHOULD ALSO URGE THAT IF THE FINAL AGREED DECISION ON THE INVITATIONS IS NEGATIVE HE SHOULD RESIST THE TEMPTATION IN HIS DISAPPOINTMENT OF SHIFTING THE BLAME ON TO THE ALLIES.

DETAIL

2. ALTHOUGH THE VARIOUS SCANDALS THIS YEAR HAVE SHOWN THAT HIS JUDGEMENT IS NOT INFALLIBLE, AND HE LOOKS SLIGHTLY MORE TARNISHED THAN HE DID A YEAR AGO, DIEPGEN AS HE LEAVES FOR LONDON IS BEYOND QUESTION THE DOMINANT FIGURE IN BERLIN POLITICS. THE MOST RECENT OPINION POLL SHOWED THAT 59% OF BERLINERS SUPPORT HIS POLICIES, AND 47% (COMPARED WITH 46.4% AT THE LAST ELECTIONS) HIS CDU PARTY. HE HAS NO SERIOUS RIVAL IN THE PARTY, AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES DO NOT CURRENTLY REPRESENT A REAL THREAT (THE ^{SPD} ~~CDU~~ HAVE ONLY ABOUT 32% SUPPORT, AND ALTHOUGH THE ALTERNATIVE LISTE ARE UP TO 14.5% THEIR APPEAL IS MOSTLY ~~ENTIRELY~~ CONFINED TO YOUNGER VOTERS.)

3. HOWEVER ON HIS MAIN PREOCCUPATION, NAMELY THE HANDLING OF THE INVITATIONS FROM HONECKER AND KRACK, DIEPGEN MUST FEEL THAT MATTERS ARE NOT GOING HIS WAY. HE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY LIKE TO ACCEPT THE INVITATIONS IN ORDER TO GIVE IMPETUS TO HIS DEEPLY HELD CONVICTION THAT BERLIN MUST BE AT THE CENTRE OF INNER-GERMAN AND BERLIN-BERLIN RELATIONS. HE SEES THE CITY'S ROLE AS BEING A CENTRE OF DIALOGUE

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IN THE CENTRE OF EUROPE AS WELL AS OF ECONOMIC DYNAMISM AND CULTURAL DISTINCTION. HE FEELS THAT SINCE IT IS BERLINERS WHO HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN OR LOSE IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS HE SHOULD NOT BE LEFT BEHIND IN THE PARADE OF FRG FEDERAL AND LAND POLITICIANS BEATING A PATH TO HONECKER'S DOOR. HE WILL NO DOUBT DEVELOP THESE IDEAS IN HIS DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON.

4. AS REGARDS THE INVITATIONS HOWEVER HE FEELS THAT BEPLIN'S CONCERNS HAVE NOT BEEN ADAQUATELY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE CONSULTATION PROCESS IN BONN (MY TELNO 366). HE MUST ALSO BE DISAPPOINTED AT FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER RAIMOND'S SPEECH IN BERLIN ON 8 DECEMBER OR RATHER THE PROMINENT COVERAGE OF IT IN TODAY'S DIE WELT UNDER THE HEADLINE 'WESTERN POWERS ACT AS BRAKE ON DIEPGEN'S VISIT TO HONECKER'. FURTHERMORE WE ARE FINDING THAT INFORMED OPINION IN WEST BERLIN WHICH ORIGINALLY WAS MOSTLY IN FAVOUR OF ACCEPTANCE IS NOW TENDING TO VEER AROUND. THIS MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH RECENT PARTICULARLY BRUTAL TACTICS BY THE GDR BORDER GUARDS AT THE WALL.

5. I THINK IT RIGHT THAT WE SHOULD LEAVE DIEPGEN IN NO DOUBT OF OUR STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT HIS BEING ABLE TO ATTEND HONECKER'S STAATSAKT WITHOUT DOING SERIOUS DAMAGE TO WESTERN PRINCIPLES ON THE STATUS OF THE CITY. BUT WE SHOULD EQUALLY SHOW UNDERSTANDING FOR HIS LEGITIMATE POLITICAL CONCERNS. HE EXPRESSES THE THOUGHTS OF MOST BERLINERS UNDER 40 IN SAYING AS HE OFTEN DOES THAT STATUS MUST NOT BE A BARRIER TO DEVELOPING HUMAN CONTACTS ACROSS THE WALL AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. HE IS ALSO GENUINELY CONCERNED TO TRY TO FURTHER THE CONCEPT OF ONE BERLIN IN SPITE OF ITS ALL TOO OBVIOUS DIVISION.

6. HIS INTEREST IN OTHER AND MORE DETAILED QUESTIONS COMES A LONG WAY BEHIND. GATOW RANGE WILL BE TOPICAL AFTER THE ALTERNATIVE LISTE'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN STRASSBOURG ON THE SUBJECT TODAY BUT HE WILL PROBABLY NOT HAVE MUCH TO SAY ABOUT IT. HE HAS BEEN GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE ON THE OTHER CURRENT ISSUE OF CLEARING TREES FROM THE RUNWAY APPROACH AT RAF GATOW ALTHOUGH HE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE PREFERRED THE PROBLEM NOT TO HAVE ARISEN. HE WILL PROBABLY GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OVER BERLINERS' RIGHTS BUT SHOULD HAVE BEEN BRIEFED THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ALLIES ARE MAKING STEADY IF SLOW PROGRESS. HE MAY RAISE THE QUESTION OF DRAFT DODGERS ON WHICH HE WOULD DEARLY LIKE HELP FROM THE ALLIES IN GETTING RID OF A PARTICULARLY DISAFFECTED SECTION OF THE BERLIN ELECTORATE. BUT HE SHOULD ACCEPT THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH WE CAN DO ABOUT IT.

7. DESPITE THE IRRITATIONS OVER THE RANGE AND THE TREES (BOTH OF REAL CONCERN TO SMALL MINORITIES) BRITISH/BERLINER RELATIONS ARE GOOD. AT A PERSONAL LEVEL, WE HAVE A GOOD UNDERSTANDING WITH ALL THE ESTABLISHED PARTIES AND GET ON REASONABLY WELL EVEN WITH THE

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ALTERNATIVE

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ALTERNATIVE LISTE. A DELEGATION OF ALL THE PARTIES, LED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IS VISITING THE UK AT THE SAME TIME AS DIEPGEN'S OWN VISIT. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL VISITS RECENTLY BY THE SENATORS FOR JUSTICE AND FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, THE LATTER OF WHICH USEFULLY HIGHLIGHTED BOTH THE EXTENT OF EXISTING ECONOMIC LINKS AND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER EXPANSION. AT A MORE POPULAR LEVEL, THIS YEAR'S BRITISH/BERLIN TATTOO WON WIDESPREAD ACCLAIM, AND THE REGULAR FRIENDSHIP WEEKS IN THE BRITISH SECTOR BOROUGHS HAVE ALSO CONTINUED TO BE VERY POPULAR. THERE IS ALREADY GROWING EXCITEMENT ABOUT THE VISIT NEXT YEAR OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, WHICH IS WIDELY SEEN AS THE REAL HIGHLIGHT OF THE 750TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS.

B. HM AMBASSADOR IS DUE TO HAVE A TETE-A-TETE WITH DIEPGEN OVER THE WEEKEND AND MAY WISH TO ADD HIS OWN COMMENTS SUBSEQUENTLY.

BROOKING

YYYY
BJBPAN 1211

ALLIED RELATIONS WITH BERLIN
LIMITED

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BMG BERLIN TELNO 46 : GOVERNING MAYOR'S VISIT TO LONDON,
15-18 DECEMBER

FOLLOWING FROM AMBASSADOR

SUMMARY

1. DIEPGEN AWARE THAT HIS WISH TO TAKE UP INVITATIONS FROM THE EAST IS UNLIKELY TO BE SUPPORTED IN LONDON. HE WILL SEEK TO WRAP THIS QUESTION UP IN BROADER PROBLEM OF BERLIN'S FUTURE. WE SHOULD SHOW UNDERSTANDING.

DETAIL

2. HE HAD BREAKFAST WITH DIEPGEN TODAY. WE TALKED ABOUT HIS VISIT TO LONDON. HE EMPHASISED THAT THE CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE SHORT AND ENCOURAGED HIM TO DISPENSE WITH INTERPRETATION AT LEAST FROM ENGLISH INTO GERMAN.

3. DIEPGEN SAID HE WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT NO 10 WOULD NOT BE THE PLACE FOR A DETAILED DISCUSSION ABOUT BERLIN PROBLEMS. HE WAS STILL WORRIED ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT HAD COME UP LAST TIME (GATOW, DRAFT-DODGERS), BUT HE WOULD KEEP THOSE FOR HIS TALKS AT THE FCO. NOR WOULD HE WANT TO BURDEN THE PRIME MINISTER WITH THE QUESTION OF HOW TO RESPOND TO THE INVITATIONS TO HIM FROM HONECKER AND KRACK. THESE WERE ONLY THE LATEST ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LONG TERM PROBLEM OF THE FUTURE OF BERLIN.

4. WE THEN WENT OVER A LOT OF OLD GROUND. DIEPGEN PAINTED THE USUAL PICTURE OF EAST BERLIN FORGING AHEAD IN EVERYTHING FROM POLITICAL STATUS TO MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION, WHILE WEST BERLIN REMAINED STUCK IN THE PAST. HE GRUMBLED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN NEXT YEAR'S CEREMONIES IN THE EAST, AND FORESAW THAT IT WOULD NOT BE LONG BEFORE SOME WESTERN STATESMAN ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE RECEIVED IN EAST BERLIN WITH FULL MILITARY HONOURS. THE GDR OBJECTIVE WAS CLEAR, AND OF COURSE THE INVITATIONS WERE DESIGNED TO THAT END. BUT DIEPGEN'S CONCERN WAS TO PREVENT WEST BERLIN FALLING BEHIND, AND HE DOUBTED IF HONECKER'S SUCCESSOR WOULD BE SO INTERESTED IN AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRG, OR IN STABILISING THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND BERLIN, AS DIEPGEN BELIEVED HONECKER TO BE. SET AGAINST THIS GENERAL BACKGROUND, THE INVITATIONS WERE ONLY A DETAIL, AND DIEPGEN WOULD BE HAPPY IF THE QUESTION WHAT TO DO WITH THEM WERE PUT ON ICE FOR SAY 2 MONTHS.

5. AS WITH KOHL LAST WEEK, HE TOOK THE LINE THAT HE COULD SEE THE DANGERS MORE CLEARLY THAN THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS. AS TO THE

BROADBEE

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BROADER PICTURE, THIS WAS SOMETHING WE NATURALLY THOUGHT ABOUT, AND HE WAS SURE DIEPGEN WOULD FIND THE FCO READY TO DISCUSS IT.

COMMENT

6. CLEARLY DIEPGEN FEARS THAT RAISING THE QUESTION OF THE INVITATIONS IN LONDON NOW MIGHT PRODUCE AN EVEN MORE NEGATIVE REACTION

THAN HE GOT IN PARIS. EVEN HERE, AS MR BURTON SAYS IN TUR, MATTERS ARE NOT GOING HIS WAY: TODAY'S TAGESSPIEGEL HAS A CRUSHINGLY NEGATIVE LEADER BY THE EDITOR IN CHIEF, WHO HAS A WAY OF BEING MORE ALLIED THAN THE ALLIES: HE ENDORSE MR BURTON'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO HANDLE DIEPGEN IN LONDON. HE HOPE HE CAN BE MADE TO FEEL THAT WE UNDERSTAND NOT ONLY HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONCERNS (WHICH AT THE MOMENT ARE NOT GREAT, THE OPPOSITION BEING WEAK AND DIVIDED) BUT ALSO THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION DESCRIBED IN PARA 4 ABOVE. AS YOU KNOW, HE THINK THE PROBLEM EXISTS AND DESERVES CAREFUL THOUGHT, BUT THAT THE KIND OF "DYNAMIC" OR "MAGNANIMOUS" POLICY WHICH DIEPGEN HANKERS AFTER IS NOT A SAFE OPTION IN PRESENT OR FORESEEABLE CIRCUMSTANCES.

BROOKING

YYYY

BJBPAN 1223.

ALLIED RELATIONS WITH BERLIN
LIMITED

WED
SOVIET D
EED
DEFENCE D
PLANNING STAFF
NEWS D
INFO D
R D
NAD

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR RENTON
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
MR GOODALL
MR RATFORD
MR FALL

COPIES TO:-

MR HENDRY LEGAL ADVISERS (W44/4)
MR HILL CABINET OFFICE
WG CDR DONNELLY CABINET OFFICE
MR D WEIDNER SEC(NATO/UK)(P) MOD
WG CDR LUCAS DCTS NATO MOD
PS/MR STANLEY MINISTER OF STATE
(ARMED FORCES) MOD

2
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GERMANY

VISITOR

MAJOR OF BERLIN

3/79

PRIME MINISTER

GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

You are to see Herr Diepgen briefly on Tuesday. You were not impressed with him last time: but a short meeting is essential to reaffirm the Allied commitment to Berlin. He has been warned not to raise parochial Berlin questions this time.

The main issues are-

- the 750th Anniversary. The Queen is going, but you will want to reserve your position on a possible visit.
- Diepgen is tempted to go to East Berlin to participate in an 'Act of State'. This would give up an essential point of principle, and he should not go.
- the Berlin authorities have been helpful over dealing with Libya and Syrian terrorism.
- there have been problems with Third World asylum seekers, coming in through East Berlin. But these now seem to be over.
- he will be interested to hear your views on East/West relations.

On your instructions, we have given him fifteen minutes only.

CDD

C.D. POWELL

12 December 1986

BM2BAZ

call
3cc/BUP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 December 1986

Dear Charles,

Call on the Prime Minister by the
Governing Mayor of Berlin at 1015 on 16 December

Diepgen will probably hope to be accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador, by Detlef Stronk, official Head of the Senat Chancellery, and by his interpreter, Brigitte Amedinck. He will not need interpretation from English. Mr Michael Burton, Minister in the British Military Government, will be accompanying Diepgen and would be ready to attend the meeting, if the Prime Minister wished.

I enclose a personality note on Diepgen, a programme of his visit and a short background note on developments in Berlin.

Diepgen (who also paid official visits to Washington and Paris this year) has improved his political position since the Prime Minister received him in July 1984. He increased the CDU's majority in the Berlin elections of March 1985 and looks set to remain Governing Mayor for at least the next two years. Securing Berlin, which up to 1981 had been a Socialist Party stronghold for nearly the whole of the previous century, is a considerable achievement, as is his success in restoring confidence in the economy, halting the decline in population and promoting the city as a centre of high technology.

/Uppermost



Uppermost in Berliners' minds at the moment is the 750th Anniversary of the city in 1987. The Queen will visit Berlin on 26/27 May and there is a possibility (which should ~~not~~ be revealed to Diepgen at this stage) of the Prince and Princess of Wales attending the premiere of the Royal Ballet on 1 November, immediately before their official visit to the Federal Republic. It is likely that Diepgen will personally invite the Prime Minister to visit Berlin during the Anniversary Year. The Prime Minister may wish to express interest in and support for West Berlin's part in the Anniversary, but to continue to leave open the question of whether she makes a visit.

In discussion of the Anniversary we recommend that the Prime Minister should say that the British Government's policy is to support the celebrations in West Berlin. (British cultural events in East Berlin, of which a number have been organised by the East Germans, are taking place under commercial arrangements and with no official support unless also being staged in West Berlin). We share Diepgen's aim of using the occasion so far as possible to assert the essential unity of the city and to press for improvements in the way of life of all Berliners, notably by the removal of restrictions on movement. The East should be put on the defensive over the Wall and their attempts to divide the City. Opportunities should be taken to bring out these points in public statements by Western leaders visiting Berlin during the Anniversary Year.

Diepgen has recently been preoccupied with the question of how to respond to invitations he has received from Honecker to attend a GDR "Act of State" in the Soviet sector of the city, and from Herr Krack, whom the Protecting Powers do not recognise as 'Mayor' of East Berlin. These invitations present Diepgen with a tempting opportunity to play a role in inner-German and East/West relations commensurate with his ambition to match as statesmen his predecessors, von Weizsacker and Brandt. But his presence at the Act of State, whose purpose will no doubt in part be to portray East Berlin as capital of the GDR, would undermine the principles, including that of Berlin's

/unity



unity under Four Power authority, on which the Protecting Powers and the FRG base their case that the German question is still open. These difficulties are recognised by the Federal Government; and Kohl has decided, with Diepgen's acquiescence, that the matter should be left in abeyance at least until after the German elections (in which Berliners do not participate) on 25 January. Realism thus seems to be prevailing; and it should not be necessary to press the issue hard with Diepgen, who will be disappointed by the Federal Government's decision and perhaps sensitive about it. We recommend that the Prime Minister say that, while we understand the West Berliners' wish to increase contacts with the East Germans, essential points of principle must not be given up, and caution must be the rule. It is important that decisions be taken together in consultations between the three Allies, the Federal Government and the Senat, and that the matter be handled publicly in a way which leaves the Western side with the high ground. Depending on Diepgen's attitude, the Prime Minister could echo what Chirac told him in Paris on 6 November: that, if he were in his (Diepgen's) shoes, he would not accept the invitations.

In discussion of terrorism we recommend that the Prime Minister thank Diepgen for the cooperation of the Berlin police in applying in the Western Sections the Allied exclusion order against members of the Syrian Embassy to the GDR. The order was made by the Allied Kommandatura after the trial of Hasi and Salameh had confirmed evidence of the involvement of the Syrian Embassy officials in the bombing of the German Arab Friendship Society in March.

If time allows, we would expect Diepgen to be interested in the Prime Minister's approach to her own visit to the Soviet Union next year. The Prime Minister might also ask Diepgen how he sees Honecker's prospects for enlarging the GDR's room for manoeuvre under Gorbachev.

/We

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We are not including briefing on the more parochial Berlin points, for which there will not be time at the meeting. Diepgen has been advised to raise such matters with officials.

I am copying this letter to PS/Mr Luce in view of his interest in the British contribution to the 750th Anniversary, and to PS/Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St

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DIEPGEN, EBERHARD

Governing Mayor of Berlin. Chairman of the Berlin CDU and member of the Federal Executive of the CDU.

Born 13 November 1941 in Berlin. Studied law at the Free University Berlin. 1968-72 junior barrister at the Berlin Supreme Court. In legal practice from 1972. Member of the CDU since 1962. Member of the House of Representatives and of the Berlin Party Executive since 1971. 1980-84 Leader of the Parliamentary Party in Berlin. Elected to succeed Richard von Weizsäcker as Governing Mayor in February 1984 on the latter's nomination as CDU/CSU candidate for Federal Presidency. His CDU/FDP coalition was returned to power convincingly in the 1985 Berlin elections.

Thought by many to be one of the most able second generation post-war CDU politicians in Berlin. Worked closely with von Weizsäcker who saw him as his natural successor. Highly successful as a fixer and organiser in party, parliamentary and local affairs. He has had some difficulty in making the transition to the more elevated role of Governing Mayor. His image as the new, clean young political leader has been somewhat tarnished by a series of (mostly minor) corruption scandals in Berlin throughout 1986 involving inter alia party associates (but not Diepgen himself). These forced him to reshuffle the Senat (his cabinet) in March. But he remains firmly in control of the coalition.

Married. Two children. Speaks some English. Visited UK in 1977 and, as Governing Mayor, in 1984 and 1985.

VISIT TO UK BY GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, 15-18 DECEMBER

15 December

1650 Arrive London Heathrow
1830 Reception at German Embassy

16 December

0845 Breakfast at German Embassy
1015 Call on the Prime Minister
1045 (approx) Call on Lady Young, Minister of State, FCO
1115 (approx) Meeting with Mr Ratford, AUS, FCO
1230 Meeting and lunch at Anglo-German Foundation
1445 Interview with BBC German Service
1600 Meeting with British-German Parliamentary Group
1900 for 1940 Dinner at the Mansion House

17 December

0930 Meeting at Schrodgers plc with sponsors of
German Arts Festival to be held in UK in 1987
1045 Call on Mr Luce, Minister for the Arts
1130 Meeting and lunch with Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
1500 Call on Rt Hon Dennis Healey MP
1545 Press Conference
1700 Meeting with all-party group of young MPs
2000 for 2015 Dinner hosted by German Ambassador

18 December

0900 Depart from Heathrow

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VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, 15-18 DECEMBER

DEVELOPMENTS IN BERLIN

1. Since the conclusion of the Quadripartite (UK, US, France, Soviet Union) Agreement in 1971, there have been no major crises over Berlin. Soviet airspace reservations in the Air Corridors are being successfully managed and pose no practical difficulties for Allied air traffic. The Russians have shown no inclination to use Berlin as a pressure point on East/West matters (eg over Afghanistan, Poland). The city's situation remains however inherently sensitive and vulnerable to Eastern pressure, as incidents during 1986 demonstrated.

2. In March a terrorist bomb exploded outside the German-Arab Friendship Society, and in April a larger bomb went off in the La Belle Discotheque in West Berlin. Following the latter, which killed two and injured nearly two hundred people, the Allies (UK, US, France) who had firm evidence of official Libyan involvement, issued exclusion orders against members of the Libyan People's Bureau (LPB) in East Berlin. On 27 November the Allies excluded members of the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin, after the trial of Hasi (a brother of Hindawi) and Salameh had confirmed Syrian complicity in the German-Arab Friendship Society bombing.

3. In May the GDR, using as a pretext the Allied measures excluding LPB members from West Berlin and Allied calls for action against diplomatic missions in East Berlin involved in terrorism, sought to introduce passport and visa requirements at the Sector Boundary between West and East Berlin for diplomats and members of the Military Missions accredited to the Allied authorities. These measures were intended to reinforce the GDR view that (East) Berlin is an integral part of the GDR and that the Sector Boundary is thus a state frontier. Faced with Allied protests to the Russians, the solidarity of NATO missions in Berlin (who refused to comply with the new measures), and with the risk that their relations with the West might be jeopardised, the GDR backed down in June and effectively restored the status quo ante, as the Allies had demanded.

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4. During the summer up to 1,000 asylum seekers (mainly from the Third World) were entering the Western Sectors of Berlin each week. These people were brought (for hard currency) by Aeroflot and the GDR airline Interflug to Schoenefeld airport, outside East Berlin in the GDR, from where they crossed with GDR transit visas from East into West Berlin, exploiting the Western view that Berlin remains one city (there are no controls on the Western side of the Sector Boundary). Following pressure from the West, including financial pressure from the FRG and demarches to the GDR and Soviet Union by the Twelve, the GDR agreed in October not to issue transit visas to travellers without visas for their final destination, consistent with established international practice. The influx into Berlin has since slowed to a trickle.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
11 December 1986

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SPW



etc

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

19 September 1986

VISIT BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

During the Prime Minister's recent visit to Bonn, Sir Julian Bullard pressed her to agree to see the Governing Mayor of Berlin briefly when he visits the United Kingdom in December. He suggested that 15 minutes would be adequate. The Prime Minister said that she was very reluctant indeed to undertake this but, given Sir Julian's plea, would see the Mayor briefly. Accordingly we have found time in the diary for Mayor Diepgen from 1000-1015 on 16 December.

DX ||

(C. D. POWELL)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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10 DOWNING STREET

~~Cable~~

Mayer of Berlin

1 per tel to
Prime Minister gave
way on this. Can you
please find $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. for
Mayer Diepgen in the
period 16-18 Dec.

CD?

10.00.

10.15

16 Dec.

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 September 1986

VISIT BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 1 September about the official visit to the UK of the Governing Mayor of Berlin. I have discussed this with the Prime Minister and she remains very reluctant to see Mr. Diepgen again. It is possible that her view may change nearer the time but I cannot at the moment hold out any promise of a meeting with him.

(Charles Powell)

C. R. Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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ccR

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

September 1986

Prime Minister
The last call was a
pretty fair disaster, &
we are trying to ~~see~~
save you from foreigners.
But it seems that it would
be a major break from tradition if

Dear Charles, you refused to see him.
The letter is not too bad.

Visit by the Governing Mayor of Berlin

Agree?

cap 1/1

Diepgen will be paying an official visit to the UK from 16-18 December, at the invitation of the Foreign Secretary. This will be his second official visit since he became Governing Mayor in February 1984. During his first visit, which was shortly after his election, he called on the Prime Minister.

Although I understand that the Prime Minister was initially reluctant to receive a second call from Herr Diepgen (your letter of 17 December 1985), Sir Julian Bullard has recommended that if possible she should offer him a brief call. I believe that when Sir Julian mentioned the matter to the Prime Minister on 10 February he formed the impression that she would not be opposed to a further call on her by Diepgen, if this could conveniently be fitted in.

The Foreign Secretary endorses Sir Julian's recommendation. Since the 1950s successive Governing Mayors on official visits to the UK have without exception been offered a call on the Prime Minister. Diepgen himself is likely to remain in office at least until 1988. It has, we understand, been normal practice for him to be received at Head of Government level on official visits to the other two Protecting Powers. With the year of the 750th anniversary of the city about to start and The Queen's prospective visit in May, it would be particularly apposite for the Prime Minister to see Diepgen and likely to be interpreted unfavourably in Berlin if she did not.

I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister would agree to receive him for a half hour call between the afternoon of 16 and the morning of 18 December.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

Reger

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

Der Regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin

CF

No reply
required
2.30/8

15. Oktober 1984

819

The Rt. Hon.
Margaret Thatcher, PC, MP
Premierminister des Vereinigten Königreichs
Großbritannien und Nordirland
10, Downing Street

London, SW 1

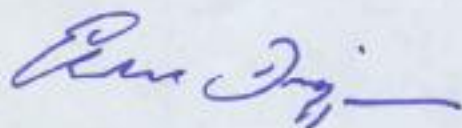
Exzellenz,

vom Gesandten und Stellvertretenden Stadtkommandanten in Berlin, Herrn D. J. Wyatt, wurden mir von Ihnen signierte Aufnahmen als Andenken an meinen London-Besuch übersandt, für die ich Ihnen herzlich danke.

Gerne denke ich an meinen Aufenthalt in London und den dort geführten offenen Gedankenaustausch zurück.

In der Hoffnung, unser Gespräch eines Tages - vielleicht in Berlin - fortsetzen zu können, verbleibe ich

mit freundlichen Grüßen



Eberhard Diepgen

GERMANY. Visit by Mayor of Berlin

March '79



12, 1979

The Hon.
The Secretary of State
Foreign Office
London, W.1

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to hear that you
will be visiting Berlin in
the near future. It would be
a pleasure to meet you and
discuss the various aspects of
German-English relations.

I am sure that your visit
will be most fruitful and
productive.

I am sure that your visit
will be most fruitful and
productive.

Yours faithfully,
[Signature]



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

13 July 1984

Dear Governing Mayor

I should like to thank you again for the kind gift of the film 'The British in Berlin'. I look forward to watching this in a quiet moment.

I found our talk very useful and am grateful to you for bringing me up-to-date with developments in Berlin.

*Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher*

Herr Eberhard Diepgen.

Subject as master

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bc PC
file

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 July, 1984

Dear Roger,

MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE GOVERNING MAYOR
OF BERLIN, 11 JULY AT No.10

The Prime Minister received a visit from Herr Diepgen, Governing Mayor of Berlin, this morning. Herr Diepgen was accompanied by Herr von Alten, the German Chargé d'Affaires. Sir Julian Bullard was also present.

Herr Diepgen said that the Prime Minister's visit to Berlin was still remembered. He would like to present her with a memento of her visit, a film 'The British in Berlin'. The Prime Minister said that she had been thrilled by her visit and found it a deeply moving experience. Viewing East Berlin from the observation platform had given her a vivid picture of the reality of life on the other side. The Prime Minister continued that she had been surprised to learn of the growing numbers of people allowed to leave East Germany. She would be interested in Herr Diepgen's views on the reasons for this.

Herr Diepgen prefaced his remarks by saying that Berliners had a strong interest in East/West dialogue and in particular in contact between the two parts of Germany. On the specific point raised by the Prime Minister he thought that the GDR leadership had made a misjudgement. They had thought by letting out a large number of people they would ease pressure for the lifting of restrictions. The opposite had been the case. The expectation had been created that a lot more would be allowed to leave. The Prime Minister enquired whether those who were coming over from the East were mostly older people. Herr Diepgen said that, on the contrary, they were mainly young families with children. The Prime Minister asked whether Berlin could cope with the influx. Herr Diepgen said that in general they could. A number of those who came were people with personal problems and they found it difficult to integrate whether in East or West Germany. Skilled workers could be integrated within a few weeks. But there was more of a problem with professional people, particularly teachers,

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-2-

whose qualifications did not match the guidelines laid down in Berlin and the Federal Republic.

The Prime Minister commented that the influx of so many people offered a remarkable opportunity to learn more about how people thought in East Germany. Presumably a lot of them already had a clear picture of life in Berlin and the Federal Republic from television. Herr Diepgen said that interestingly the greater part of those leaving East Germany came from areas beyond the reach of West German television. There were many factors affecting their decision to leave. For instance the desire for religious education, concern about the prospects for their children. But in his view the strongest reason was their refusal to be treated by the East German regime as babies, with everything decided for them. They wanted to arrange their lives as they wanted. Sir Julian Bullard said that he had received very much the same impression when he had visited East Germany last week. The Prime Minister wondered whether the same was true of other East European countries. Herr Diepgen thought there were differences. There was indeed general pressure throughout Eastern Europe for more freedom. But the special links between the two Germanies, the fact of a shared culture, language, even the same pop idols, gave a particular incentive to East Germans to want to move. Herr Diepgen expected the easing of travel restrictions to be one of the main issues for discussion during Herr Honecker's visit to the FRG in the autumn.

Herr Diepgen said that he wished to raise a particular problem concerning the construction of a firing range at RAF Gatow. This was an environmental problem which raised considerable emotion in West Berlin. Litigation had been initiated in the United Kingdom. This raised sensitive legal problems affecting the status of Berlin. The issue could also affect relations between Berliners and the protecting power. The Prime Minister said that British forces had to be trained. They could not provide protection for Berlin without it. If Berlin wanted one it must accept the need for the other. Herr Diepgen agreed that training was necessary but the problems caused could not be ignored. Herr von Alten added that limitations on legal redress in West Berlin were a political problem. There was also the risk that a decision by the High Court could have implications for the legal status of Berlin. The Prime Minister commented that those who had brought the action should have thought of that.

Herr Diepgen said that he also wished to raise a problem about conscientious objectors in Berlin. As the Prime Minister would know, Berlin was a demilitarised zone. Some 10 - 12 thousand conscientious objectors had come to West Berlin to escape military service in the Federal

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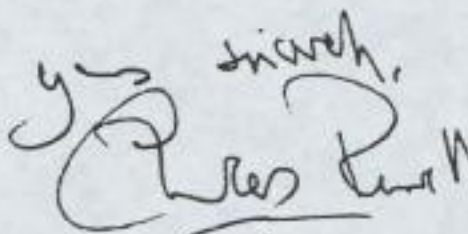
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-3-

Republic. A significant minority was therefore growing up which expressed strong anti-Western feelings. The people of Berlin did not want this. The Prime Minister asked whether they were genuine conscientious objectors or draft dodgers. Herr Diepgen said that they were predominantly the latter. He continued that he wanted it to be possible for draft dodgers to be served with their call-up papers in Berlin or summonsed by courts in the Federal Republic. However Allied instructions prevented this. This was another example of how Berlin's special status gave rise to problems. If the Senat started returning draft dodgers to the Federal Republic it might lead to Soviet protests. Sir Julian Bullard pointed out that it was not simply a question of Soviet protests. The allies themselves had to have regard for the special status of Berlin. Herr Diepgen said that the status must of course be preserved but should be interpreted in a way to allow the City to be viable. The Prime Minister said that she agreed that Berlin should not become a city of draft dodgers. That could affect the will to defend it. But the legal questions were complex and Herr Diepgen should discuss them in more detail during his call at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

I should say that the Prime Minister was rather surprised that Herr Diepgen raised these two rather detailed points in his call on her. She notes that one of them was referred to only in passing in her brief, the other not at all. She would have liked warning that Herr Diepgen was going to raise these matters and to have been more fully briefed on them.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

yes sirrah,


Charles Powell

R. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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PRIME MINISTER

Call by Governing Mayor of Berlin

11 July

Herr Dieppen is to call on you tomorrow morning. He will be accompanied by Herr von Alten, the German Charge d'Affairs. Sir J. Bullard will support.

I suggest meeting in the White Drawing Room.

A card is attached together with a personality note, briefs, and the text of your speech in Berlin.

C D P

10 July 1984

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HERR EBERHARD DIEPGEN

Governing Mayor of Berlin. Chairman of the Berlin Christian Democratic Union Party (CDU) and member of the Federal Executive of the CDU.

Born 13 November 1941 in the Wedding district of Berlin. 1960-67, studied law at the Free University Berlin. 1962 President of the Students' Union. 1965-66 Vice-President of the Union of German Students. 1968-72 junior barrister at the Berlin Supreme Court. In legal practice since 1972. Member of the CDU since 1962. 1967-71 in local government in the Tiergarten district of Berlin; helped to frame legislation on tertiary education. Member of the House of Representatives and of the Berlin CDU Executive since 1971. 1971-1975 Chairman of the Education Committee of the House of Representatives. 1981-84 leader of the CDU Parliamentary Party in Berlin. 1983 member of the Federal Executive of the CDU and Land Chairman of the Berlin CDU. Elected to succeed Richard von Weizsaecker as Governing Mayor of Berlin in February 1984 on the latter's nomination as CDU/CSU candidate for the Federal Presidency.

One of the most able and active second generation post-war CDU politicians in Berlin. Worked closely with Herr von Weizsaecker, who saw him as his natural successor. An undisputed expert in party, parliamentary and local affairs. Keen to promote technological/cultural/commercial links between Berlin and the United Kingdom.

/Married



Married, with two children. Speaks some English and understands more (but will be accompanied by an interpreter). Visited the United Kingdom as a guest of Her Majesty's Government in 1977. As Governing Mayor, visited Washington in April 1984, and is to visit Paris in the autumn.

BERLIN

ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. The external political situation remains generally calm. The Russians and the GDR have been careful recently to avoid serious acts of provocation (though the three Western Powers are keeping a careful watch on Soviet interference with the status quo in the air corridors linking Berlin to the FRG). Although operating from a very different perspective, and for his own purposes, the GDR Head of State, Erich Honecker, appears as keen as Chancellor Kohl to insulate Inner-German relations from current East/West tensions. There are plans for him to visit the FRG for the first time in September. Berlin stands to benefit from such upturns in FRG/GDR political relations.

2. It is not clear whether Chancellor Kohl will require concessions from Honecker as a price for his visit. Berliners would welcome any reduction in the GDR Minimum Exchange Requirement (MER), which was increased drastically in 1980 and halved the number of visits by West Berliners to East Berlin and the GDR.

3. Internally, the Governing Mayor and his Senat look forward with some trepidation to the elections on 10 March 1985. The ruling CDU/FDP coalition would suffer if the FDP failed to win the necessary 5% of the vote - which would mean that the FDP lost all its seats in the

House of Representatives. The SDP have put up a political heavy-weight to oppose Diepgen (Hans Apel, former Federal Defence Minister). But his moderate SPD line may not win whole hearted support from local left wing activists. The Alternative Liste (Berlin's equivalent of the Greens) is a nuisance factor in Parliament, and stands to gain considerably in the March elections. Both the Alternative Liste and the SPD have criticised the construction of a firing range at RAF Gatow (Berlin) for British troops. Herr Diepgen is likely to raise this sensitive issue during his talks at the FCO. An action against the Attorney-General and the General Officer commanding British forces in Berlin, brought by Berliners living near the site, is now before the High Court here.

4. The West Berlin economy is showing signs of recovery after 3 years of recession. Business confidence is improving. GDP should grow by 3-4% this year; but unemployment will remain higher in Berlin (10.3%) than in the FRG (8.6%). Chancellor Kohl and Herr Diepgen's predecessor as Governing Mayor, Richard von Weizsaecker, held a successful industrialists' conference in 1982 to persuade major companies visit in the FRG to manufacture in Berlin. Herr Diepgen and the Chancellor held a second conference in Berlin on 20 June 1984. During this visit Herr Diepgen is keen to promote commercial links and high technology exchanges between Berlin and the UK. His crowded programme is intended to enable him to make appropriate contacts.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER MP,
ON FRIDAY 29 OCTOBER 1982 AT THE GOLDEN BOOK CEREMONY,
RATHAUS SCHÖNEBERG, BERLIN.

BRITAIN'S SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM

My Lord mayor, Chancellor Kohl, Ladies and Gentlemen,
thank you for the very warm welcome you have given me here
today. It is an honour for me to sign your Golden Book,
on this my first visit to Berlin.

THE MESSAGE OF BERLIN

Your great city has profound significance for all mankind.
No other place brings home so forcefully the realities of the
world in which we live.

Berlin has two fundamental messages.

The first is one of warning. This city reminds us - that
we live in the shadow of a power dedicated to the denial of
all that we believe in - reminds us that we must be vigilant,
strong and determined in the defence of liberty and justice
if our peoples are to continue to enjoy the way of life
which they have freely chosen.

Here in Berlin meet the ideologies of East and West. Here,
men and women have demonstrated their passion for liberty by
fleeing from one to the other, always at great risk, often at
great cost. You live but a short step from oppression, they
a short step from liberty. Here, freedom is always at issue.
But if the first message is one of warning, the second message
is one of hope.

It is nearly 40 years since Greater Berlin was divided.
Recently, your city has not escaped the effects of economic
recession. Few have. But Berlin has strong vitality. Free
Berlin flourishes. It is a centre of excellence in the arts.
It is renowned for scientific endeavour. It is a living
proof of what man can achieve if he will. This success is
a tribute to the character of the people in Berlin. In

/circumstances

circumstances which are vulnerable and exposed you have remained steadfast, calm and confident over many years. That is why I and many other Western leaders come to this city, not just as your guarantors, but as your admirers.

The Wall

Mr Mayor, this afternoon, for the first time in my life I saw the Wall in all its menacing reality. It is a grim monument to a cruel and desolate creed. Every stone bears witness to the moral bankruptcy of the society it encloses. And yet hundreds of East Berliners have escaped by extraordinary routes which had they been invented by a teller of tales, would have been dismissed as fanciful. They tunnel, they fly, they float, they sail, they swim, they drive, they even parachute to liberty. The communists will stop at nothing to keep people in. They even flaunt their ruthlessness and barbarism in their desperate attempts to stop the flight to freedom. The Wall is also an ever-present reminder that those who repress the liberties of our Eastern neighbours seek also to extinguish our own. Let us resolve that they must never succeed.

Defence of Liberty

For the defence of liberty, we need the means and the will. Both must be clearly evident if we are to deter our potential adversaries.

As to the means, we must maintain the necessary level of conventional armed forces, and of nuclear weapons. Over 30 years ago the men of the Royal Air Force played their part in the Airlift to Berlin. We had the means. But we also had the will. This afternoon, I have met some of the British Forces stationed here today. Their presence demonstrates the continuing commitment of Britain, with our French and American Allies, to uphold the freedom of your city. They remain here because there is a vital task for them to do and because you want them to do it.

We have our wider, collective responsibilities as members of NATO and of the European Community. We shall work, to ensure that these cornerstones of Western freedom continue to guard our way of life. Together we are stronger than when we act alone. Mr Mayor, if liberty is assaulted in one place, it is diminished everywhere. If we in Europe fail to stand by our commitments in any one place, then our willingness to stand by them in another is questioned.

That is why, as you kindly reminded us, earlier this year, British Forces sailed 8,000 miles to expel a foreign invader. When the aggressor abandoned the path of negotiation and resorted to force, we had no choice. We could not accept that the liberty of British people to enjoy their chosen way of life should be extinguished. There were those who argued that force should not have been used, that the liberty of a small number of people many miles away in the South Atlantic was not worth so much effort and sacrifice. That argument has a hollow ring, above all here in Berlin. You have a special need to know that Britain honours her obligations, and I come before you as Prime Minister of a country which has so recently proved that.

Strength Leads to Cooperation

Berlin teaches us something else as well - teaches us that strength and determination not only keep the peace, the peace that we have already enjoyed for 37 years, but they can lead to reduction in tension, to greater East/West cooperation. Is this a paradox? No: because it is weakness that tempts the aggressor. It is strength that leads to discussion and negotiation.

Thanks to the determination shown by the West and by the people of Berlin themselves, it proved possible to negotiate practical arrangements with the Soviet authorities in the Quadripartite Agreement of 1971. These arrangements reduced the tension which has for so many years affected the life of this city. And again, because the Western Alliance is strong in both capacity and resolve, the negotiations to achieve a balanced reduction in nuclear weapons and conventional forces have a better chance of success. We would welcome, indeed we seek, arms reductions which do not jeopardise our security or our way of life. The West

must negotiate, patiently and tenaciously, to this end. We in Britain will continue to work for peace. Peace, not at any price, but peace with freedom and justice. And we shall seek improved relations between East and West. But this requires a two-way effort and greater respect for international law and human rights than we have seen in recent years. As Chancellor Kohl said on 13 October, and I quote his words:-

"Walls, barbed wire and orders to shoot are not and cannot be the last word between East and West, in Germany, in Europe or in the World."

The Free Society

There are forces more powerful and more pervasive than the apparatus of war. You may chain a man - but you cannot chain his mind. You may enslave him but you cannot conquer his spirit. In every decade since the War the Soviet leaders have been reminded that their pitiless ideology only survives because it is maintained by force. But the day comes when the anger and frustration of people is so great that force cannot contain it. Then the edifice cracks: and the mortar crumbles. That is the lesson of Poland.

There will be attempts to shore up the edifice but the world knows that in Poland things will never be quite the same again. The renewal and reform which the Polish people seek must come, or there will be no lasting stability or prosperity in that unhappy country. The Polish authorities must change course. In the long run, they have no realistic alternative. Poland's history proves.

Mr Mayor, what the Berlin Wall really reveals is not so much how we are threatened by the Soviet Union and her Allies but how they feel threatened by our ideals and our values. Yet, as the Great Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, is reported to have said:

/"It

"It is useless to close the gates against ideas: ideas will overleap the gates."

Who better qualified to come to that conclusion than Metternich? He devoted his long life to the preservation of autocracy. But the revolution of 1848 showed him that all his efforts to prevent the spread of liberty and the ideals of freedom had been in vain. The Kremlin knows that when people are free to choose, they choose to be free.

One day, liberty will dawn on the other side of the Wall.

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF
BERLIN

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Reaffirm British commitment to Berlin. Pleased that external situation remains calm. Much activity in Inner-German relations - prospects for Honecker's visit to the Federal Republic in September?
2. Prospects for the Berlin elections in March?
3. How is Berlin coping with the economic recession? Understand that Industrialists Conferences chaired by Federal Chancellor/Governing Mayor have succeeded in attracting new investment. Hope Governing Mayor's programme (talks with Kenneth Baker, visit to Cambridge Science Park, address to British businessmen) will lead to greater bilateral trade.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 July, 1984

Jan Barber

Visit of Governing Mayor of Berlin: 10-13 July

Herr Eberhard Dieppen, Governing Mayor of Berlin (personality note attached) is to pay his first official visit to London on 10 to 13 July. He is due to call on the Prime Minister at 0930 on 11 July.

I enclose a brief.

Unlike his predecessor, Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, the Governing Mayor is a young Berliner relatively inexperienced in international affairs. He understands English, but will converse in German. He will be accompanied by the Deputy Senate spokesman, Jorg Henschel; his Private Secretary, Lothar Kaltofen; the Charge d'Affairs of the FRG Embassy, Jurgen von Alten; and an interpreter, Frau Brigitte Amedinck. Sir J Bullard, HM Ambassador Designate to Bonn, and Mr David Wyatt (Minister, British Military Government Berlin) are available to attend.

Herr Dieppen comes to London as the second stage of the customary initial round of visits to Allied capitals by a new Governing Mayor (he was in Washington in April, and goes to Paris in the autumn). He is pre-occupied by the prospect of elections in Berlin in March 1985. He enters the election campaign in coalition with the shaky FDP.

The Prime Minister may wish to recall her visit to Berlin in October 1982. I attach a copy of her Berlin speech. The Secretary of State has accepted an invitation from the Berliner Pressekonferenz to make a speech in Berlin on 10 December. We have not yet announced this visit publicly, but Herr Dieppen has welcomed it privately.

Copies of this letter and its enclosures to to PS/Mr Baker (DTI) and PS/Mr Waldegrave (DOE), since their Ministers will also receive Herr Dieppen during his visit.

Jan Barber
R B Bone
 (R B Bone)
 Private Secretary

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bc SPCradock

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 April 1984

Dear Roger,

Call on the Prime Minister by Dr. von Weizsaecker

Dr. von Weizsaecker had a thirty minute conversation with the Prime Minister before her dinner for him yesterday evening.

He showed considerable interest in the Prime Minister's visit to Hungary. The Prime Minister gave him a general account of her impressions and of her talk with Mr. Kadar. She said that she had found difficulty in persuading the Hungarians (and the Russians during her recent visit to Moscow) that President Reagan and other Western leaders had purely peaceful intentions. Dr. von Weizsaecker said that he was very glad that the Prime Minister had gone to Moscow for Andropov's funeral.

He then spoke about East Germany. He said that since the deployment of INF missiles, the East Germans appeared to have sought increased rather than reduced contacts. These contacts were friendly but their substance was thin. The Federal Republic was puzzled as to why the East Germans were now issuing so many exit permits for their nationals to go to West Germany permanently. The figure for the first three months of this year had been bigger than for any whole year previously. He had been told that seventy doctors had left Dresden alone in the period January to March of this year. He had heard various explanations for all of this but none made sense to him. It was just possible that the East Germans were seeking to prevent a repetition of events earlier this year when a number of East German citizens had taken refuge in Western missions. But the exodus included some of the most talented people. The East German Church had asked the Federal Republic to help stop this flow but clearly that could not happen.

Yours ever
John Major

Roger Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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file *SSR*
DINNER FOR DR VON WEIZSAECKER : SPEAKING NOTES

DELIGHTED TO WELCOME.

A TRULY DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS COUNTRY AND A

FRIEND OF OURS.

OUR REGRET THAT HE HAS RECENTLY RELINQUISHED HIS
POST AS GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, IS COMPENSATED
BY THE THOUGHT THAT WE MAY SEE HIM LENDING
DISTINCTION TO ANOTHER GREAT OFFICE.

TWO YEARS AGO DR VON WEIZSAECKER WAS DUE TO CALL ON ME. THE

DAY CHOSEN WAS 2 APRIL 1982.

FOR REASONS HE WELL UNDERSTOOD - AND YOU ALL WELL

/ UNDERSTAND

UNDERSTAND - THE CALL HAD TO BE CANCELLED.

IN OCTOBER OF THAT YEAR I WENT TO BERLIN AND HAD THE GREAT
PLEASURE OF TALKING TO, AND BEING ENTERTAINED BY,
DR VON WEIZSAECKER. MANY BERLINERS TOLD ME THEN
THAT THE ACTION WE HAD TAKEN IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC
HAD STRENGTHENED THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE DETERMINATION
OF THE WEST TO UPHOLD FREEDOM IN EUROPE.
FOR THAT, AND FOR MANY OTHER REASONS, MY VISIT
TO BERLIN WAS UNFORGETTABLE.

/ OUR GUEST

OUR GUEST HAS LONG BEEN A FRIEND OF BRITAIN.

BEFORE THE WAR HE STAYED WITH THE FAMILY OF A
BALLIOL DON.

HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN KEEN TO STRENGTHEN THE
FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN BRITIAN AND GERMANY AND HAS
GIVEN MUCH TIME AND EFFORT TO THE KOENIGSWINTER
CONFERENCE.

HE, LIKE MANY OTHER GUESTS HERE TONIGHT, WILL
BE ATTENDING THIS YEAR'S CONFERENCE IN CAMBRIDGE
TOMORROW.

/ A STRONG

A STRONG RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BERLIN AND GERMANY IS

FUNDAMENTAL TO BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.

WE ARE ESSENTIAL PARTNERS IN THE DEFENCE OF

EUROPE AND IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

WE SHARE A VISION OF A STRONG WESTERN EUROPE,

CO-OPERATING EFFECTIVELY IN FOREIGN AND DEFENCE

POLICY, AND USING ITS INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD TO

UPHOLD THE MOST PRECIOUS VALUES OF WESTERN

CIVILISATION.

/ WE WISH

WE WISH OUR DISTINGUISHED VISITOR ALL SUCCESS IN THE
FUTURE.



ak

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

4 April 1984

John Johnson

Prime Minister's Dinner for Herr Von Weizsaecker

I enclose, as promised, some speaking notes for the Prime Minister's use at the dinner tomorrow evening.

John Johnson

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street



DRAFT SPEAKING NOTE FOR PRIME MINISTER: 5 APRIL 1984


Recall visit to Berlin on 29 October 1982 when I was entertained to dinner by Dr von Weizsaecker (Governing Mayor at the time) in the Charlottenburg Palalce. Valued and admired Dr von Weizsaecker's distinguished work as Governing Mayor. Regret at his departure from that Office compensated by thought that we may see him lending distinction to another great Office (ie Federal Presidency).

Acknoweldge Dr von Weizsaecker's long-standing association with the UK. He stayed with the family of a Balliol don before the war. Oxford associations: Oxford is twinned with Bonn; and I visited Sankt Augustin, which is just outside Bonn, and is twinned with Grantham, in 1983.

Refer to the cancellation of Dr von Weizsaecker's call two years ago as Governing Mayor of Berlin, on the day of the Falklands invasion. The Falklands invasion also coincided with the Koenigswinter Conference at Cambridge two years ago and thinned out attendance by British Ministers and Members of Parliament. No such problem this year. Sir Geoffrey Howe will attend (Mr Pym was prevented two years ago). I recall that I participated myself in the 30th anniversary of Koenigswinter Conference at Cambridge four years ago. Since 1950 Koenigswinter has made an invaluable contribution to Anglo-German relations and to encouraging leading personalities in British public life to be more European-minded. Dr von Weizsaecker's notable contribution to it.

Vision of a stronger Western Europe co-operating effectively in foreign and defence policy, so as to be able to speak with one voice. On that basis we can better conduct a broad dialogue with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The PRG an essential and valued pillar of such a Europe.

/Our



Our commitment shown by our forces in Germany, and our responsibilities in Berlin. We respect German commitment as the basis on which the FRG can work for improved dialogue and better contacts with Eastern Europe including the GDR. Look forward to settling the problems that face the Community and going forward together to build that new Europe.

SCPC
Press

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 April, 1984

John Illman,

Visit of Dr Richard von Weizsaecker

The Prime Minister has agreed (my letter of 2 March) to receive Dr Richard von Weizsacker for a tete-a-tete on 5 April before dinner at No 10. I attach a personality report on Dr von Weizsaecker, whose main purpose in visiting Britain this time is to attend the 34th Koenigswinter Conference at Cambridge. He is travelling alone.

Dr von Weizsaecker stepped down as Governing Mayor of Berlin on 9 February. He will stand for the Federal Presidency in succession to President Carstens in May and is certain to be elected. He will assume that office on 1 July.

Dr von Weizsaecker has told our people in Berlin that he detected a somewhat sour atmosphere in Bonn concerning Britain in the immediate aftermath of the Brussels Summit. Against this, German Ministers have made it clear since the European Council that, although they would welcome a solution to the Community's financial problems which reduced the burden on their exchequer, it is an absolute priority for them that Britain should remain a full participant in the Community and work with them in developing a strong Europe.

Dr von Weizsaecker is particularly interested in East/West relations. He has given much thought to the question how, in the long term, the division of Germany might be overcome. As Governing Mayor of Berlin he has recent, practical experience not only of the harsh realities of East/West relations, but also of the advantages that can flow from soundly balanced agreements. As the Prime Minister knows, the division of Germany is also a subject of particular interest to Chancellor Kohl. I am enclosing a short note on this.

Now that he has stepped down from the post of Governing Mayor, von Weizsaecker is unlikely to raise contentious matters affecting Berlin. It is however possible that he may mention a case brought in the High Court by Berliners contesting the construction of a military firing range at Gatow, in the British sector of Berlin. If so, our advice is that the Prime Minister should say that, as the matter is still before the Court, she cannot comment in detail; she could add that the British Military Government in Berlin are determined that everything possible should be

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done to reduce to a minimum any inconvenience that may be caused by the range to the local population.

I will let you have separately some speaking notes for the dinner.

Your m
R B Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Dowing Street

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VON WEIZSAECKER, DR RICHARD

CDU/CSU candidate for the Federal Presidency.

Born 1920 in Stuttgart, the son of a career diplomat, Ernst von Weizsaecker (who though not a Nazi was State Secretary at the Foreign Office from 1938-43 and was sentenced by a US tribunal in 1949 for complicity in war crimes).

After a period at Oxford in the family of a Balliol don, Richard von Weizsaecker was called up in 1938 and later served with the infantry on the Eastern front. Came within sight of Moscow in 1941. In 1945 he was with the troops cut off in East Prussia and evacuated to Schleswig-Holstein. When the surrender came he demobilised himself and went home.

Studied law at Grenoble and Göttingen and helped to defend his father. Entered industry. President of the German Evangelical Church Conference 1964-70 and 1979-81. Member of the Bundestag from 1969-81. Opposed Scheel in the Presidential election of 1974 and did far better than expected. Author of the CDU's 1978 programme of basic principles. A Vice President of the Bundestag 1979-81. Governing Mayor of Berlin 1981-84. Certain of election as Federal President to succeed Carstens this July.

Imported by the Berlin CDU, somewhat at the last moment, to lead the party into the 1979 Berlin elections, he failed to defeat the SPD/FPD coalition, but achieved a record vote for the CDU. Weizsaecker owed his election as Governing Mayor in June 1981 to support from members of the FDP Parliamentary Party, with which his CDU is now in coalition. Elected Deputy Chairman of the Federal CDU in May 1983.

Weizsaecker is respected for his good sense, upright character and charm. An excellent speaker. An effective Governing Mayor. An intellectual and philosopher with a conversational style to match. Liberal views on both domestic policy and Ostpolitik. An old friend of Britain who has given much time to the Koenigswinter Conferences.

Married with four children. Speaks excellent English. Although born a Freiherr (Baron) he prefers not to use his title.

VISIT OF DR RICHARD VON WEIZSAECKER, 5-8 APRIL 1984

NOTE ON THE GERMAN QUESTION

Reunification

1. The German Question is established as a central theme of Chancellor Kohl's policy. He aims to combat the risk of gradual consolidation of the division of Germany and to avert the danger of a resurgent German national consciousness choosing the path of neutralism to German unity. His strategy is to ensure that legitimate patriotic aspirations find expression in loyalty to NATO and democratic values. This preoccupation is a key factor governing the FRG's relations with the East. Kohl's point of departure is the strong assertion of the basic preconditions of German reunification enshrined in Adenauer's Western-orientated policy on Germany. Kohl also endorses the practical achievements of Brandt and Schmidt's Ospolitik and has thereby ensured broad continuity in foreign policy. The result is a mixture of tactical flexibility (generous credit terms to the GDR, enhanced dialogue and official contacts) and firmness in matters of principle (frequent references to the continuing validity of the concept of 'one Germany' and eventual reunification).

Dr von Weizsaecker's Views

2. Dr von Weizsaecker was closely involved in the formulation of Kohl's policy and is a strong advocate of wider cooperation between East and West. In his view West Germany opted decisively for membership of the Western family of nations in the split that developed after 1945; and that commitment remains. But the political realities dictate the need for accommodation with the East; and formal reunification is not practical politics. His ambition to set his personal mark on inner-German relations led him to hold, in East Berlin in September 1983, the first meeting between a Governing Mayor of Berlin and a GDR Head of State. He did not adequately consult either the Allies or the Federal Government, and we were concerned at the implications for the status of Berlin. This concern was explained to him by the British Ambassador at Bonn.

British and Three Power Position

3. There are no differences of substance with the FRG. Our common objective is a Germany reunited in peace and freedom on the basis of all-German elections. Until that time, there can be no valid Peace Treaty and no final delimitation of German borders. This is the Western commitment as laid down in the Bonn/Paris Conventions which came into force in 1955, and regularly reaffirmed in joint Allied statements. These Conventions were formally re-endorsed on their 25th anniversary in April 1980 in an exchange of letters between the Three Powers and the FRG. We also accept the German view that the Three Powers share a common interest with the FRG in defusing any threat that might arise to the FRG's Western commitment from a possible renaissance of German national sentiment; and to this end, we have agreed in general terms to support the FRG in its efforts to emphasise that the German Question remains open. The Western Allies also give general support to the FRG in its policy of encouraging dialogue and human contact with the GDR.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

4 April 1984



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CCR.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 March 1984

Visit to London of Governing Mayor of
Berlin

Thank you for your letter of 16 March.

The Prime Minister will be glad to
receive Herr Dieppen at 0930 on Wednesday
11 July.

A. J. COOPER

Roger Bone Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Prime Minister:

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Agree to receive new
governing Mayor of Berlin at
9.30 on Wednesday, "July?"

16 March 1984

A.S.C. 2/3.

Yes mk

Jon Teh.

Visit to London of Governing Mayor of Berlin

As you know, Herr von Weizsaecker has stepped down from his position as Governing Mayor of Berlin in anticipation of being elected President of the FRG in May. The Prime Minister is to give him dinner on 5 April. He has been succeeded as Governing Mayor of Berlin by Herr Eberhard Diepgen, who assumed office on 9 February. It is customary for the Governing Mayor to pay early visits to the three Allied capitals and we propose inviting him to London as a guest of HMG from 10 to 12 July.

Sir Geoffrey Howe has invited Herr Diepgen for talks followed by lunch on 11 July. He would like to suggest that the Prime Minister also receive the new Governing Mayor for a courtesy call. This would be in line with what was done for Herr Diepgen's predecessors and would reflect the UK's position as one of the Protecting Powers in Berlin.

I should be grateful to know the Prime Minister's view.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

THE SEVENTH CORBISHLEY MEMORIAL LECTURE

*pl. + 1/2 the
correspondence on this
subject. A.S.C. 1913.*

STRATEGIES FOR PEACE

by

Professor C F von Weizsäcker

The Wyndham Place Trust
18 Montpelier Row
Blackheath
London SE3 0RL

THE WYNDHAM PLACE TRUST

The Wyndham Place Trust was founded in 1959 to promote among men and women of religious faith a concern for peace, world order and the rule of law. For this purpose it brings together people of various vocations and specializations and those associated with a wide range of political and religious opinions.

As its contribution towards achieving this goal, and a world at peace, the Trust undertakes research and educational activities. It seeks to enlighten public opinion and arouse concern about problems that must be faced in fashioning a world society in an age of interdependence.

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His Eminence Cardinal Basil Hume OSB, Archbishop of Westminster
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Miss Monica Wingate

Mrs Caragh Hanning *Office Secretary*

THE SEVENTH CORBISHLEY MEMORIAL LECTURE

STRATEGIES FOR PEACE

by

Professor C F von Weizsäcker

The Wyndham Place Trust
18 Montpelier Row
Blackheath
London SE3 ORL

THE REVEREND THOMAS CORBISHLEY S J

by Peter Storrs

Father Corbishley had a distinguished career in the Jesuit Order. He was Warden of Campion Hall, Oxford and later Superior at Farm Street, London. He was the first Roman Catholic author to be invited by an Archbishop of Canterbury (Lord Ramsey) to write his Lent Book (*One Body, One Spirit - 1973*). That year also he became the Chairman of the British Committee which organised an International Conference at Roehampton in 1974 on *Christians and the European Community* which was inaugurated by Lord Hallsham and the Archbishop of Canterbury. As a result of this conference an ecumenical group, dedicated to educating Church people as regards the European Community was set up and called *Christians for Europe*. Tom Corbishley was its first chairman.

Thomas Corbishley was an active member of the International Ecumenical Fellowship and of the Wyndham Place Trust which, after his death in March 1976, decided to establish an annual Memorial Lecture.

FOREWORD

by Professor George Wedell

This Seventh Thomas Corbishley Memorial Lecture was given by Professor Dr C F Freiherr von Weizsäcker on Tuesday 5th July 1983 in London. Professor von Weizsäcker is one of the leading theoretical physicists in Germany, having held chairs in this subject in the universities of Strasbourg and Goettingen. He became Professor of Philosophy in Hamburg in 1957. Professor von Weizsäcker has been an opponent of nuclear armament by the Federal Republic. As a Christian philosopher Professor von Weizsäcker in the last twenty-five years has devoted much of his time to the analysis of the social, economic, strategic and religious causes of war and to the exploration of ways of promoting peaceful coexistence. In 1979 he was invited to be a candidate for the Presidency of the German Republic but declined. Until recently he was Director of the Max Planck Institute, Starnberg.

The lecture makes a significant contribution to the search for a viable relationship between East and West. Professor von Weizsäcker's approach is multi-faceted and as such avoids the sterile arguments between unilateral and multilateral disarmament. Professor von Weizsäcker's approach is also mindful of the long term need for a much more creative relationship between the countries of East and West. He applies to this analysis a sober, religious commitment which enables him to combine realism with a lively hope.

The Wyndham Place Trust is very happy to make the lecture available to a wider readership.

STRATEGIES FOR PEACE

"Strategies for Peace" implies that peace is not a good which we possess but an end at which we aim. I accepted this title because I believe indeed that the present peace is threatened because it was never a true peace. This view induces me to sub-divide my speech into three parts:

1. The present danger
2. Peace and ethics
3. Medium-range strategies and short-term tactics.

The first part is a piece of political analysis, trying to say why I consider peace to be actually threatened. The second part is an ethical or theological consideration on the question of what we would mean by true peace. The third part is about possible programmes of action for peace in our time.

I shall begin by reminding you of a few emotional premonitions or perceptions of the underlying crisis of our world.

Before 1914, poets of all great European nations predicted a great war. Fifty years after the event the great scholar, Sir Maurice Bowra of Oxford, collected these voices in an impressive essay on the prediction of the first world war in European literature. The poets were not alone. A few of the leading statesmen of the time sensed with horror the possible tragedy of the drama whose main actors they were. Marxism had a theory, even if an inadequate one, on a final war. And primitive people told each other doomsday prophecies, of which the children's vision of Fatima in 1917 later became the most famous. Yet "they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage....and knew nothing until the flood came". (St Matthew 24 38-39).

I cannot imagine that this undercurrent of European consciousness should have announced only two great wars which would move the centres of world power from Britain, France and Germany to the United States of America and Russia. It is true that, in the Pax Americana under which we have lived since 1945, progress and optimism have seen a most vigorous revival. But the warning voices were never silenced. Art, probably the most sensitive seismograph of a culture, has obstinately refused to endorse the optimism of these decades. In the centuries since the Renaissance art has presented to us this world as a well-ordered reality; this order was shining through in artistic beauty even in the midst of tragedy. The art of our century is consistently undoing this vision of order. Why? What is the undercurrent sensed by all the great artists of our time?

In the late sixties a wave of protest ran through our planet, from San Francisco to Paris and Prague, even to Peking and Tokyo. In the final event it changed little, but it expressed profound discontent. And since 1980, peace movements in many countries seem to have been awakened into a perception of the real danger.

Emotional perceptions can be more subtle than our intellect but they lack the factual precision needed as a basis for considered action. Hence I shall now turn towards an attempt at rational analysis.

1. THE PRESENT DANGER

It is impossible to give a coherently argued but brief analysis of the present political situation in the world. Hence I shall condense the conclusions to which I have been led into a number of propositions with brief explanations. The propositions are subdivided into four groups:

- I General remarks on history
- II Problems of the world economy
- III The political danger of war
- IV The technical danger of war.

Each group will contain four propositions so there will be sixteen altogether.

I General remarks on history

PROPOSITION 1 – *There has always been war in human history. We have not learned to overcome the causes of war.*

The fact cannot be denied that there have been wars through at least 6,000 years of history. More than 130 wars have been fought since 1945. There are people who believe that war between the great powers of the Northern Hemisphere is no longer possible due to nuclear deterrence. I shall soon explain why I consider this view erroneous.

First we should turn our attention to the causes of wars. Generally speaking, we may see power conflicts as one of the main reasons for war and mutual fear as one of the main reasons for power conflicts. So I take the power structure as given and try to understand its probable future.

PROPOSITION 2 – *Human culture is at present growing rapidly into an unknown and probably unstable future.*

Here the key word is "growing". We speak about growth of the economy, of the population, of armaments. Growth seems to be ambivalent. Economic growth is considered good and necessary by economists and politicians, but not by ecologists. Growth of national armaments is deemed necessary by most national governments; its collective effect is called the arms race and is publicly condemned. I suggest that this ambivalence about growth is not specific to our time.

PROPOSITION 3 – *Political stability seems to presuppose some degree of economic growth, but in every culture there are specific limits to growth. This may be one of the reasons for the recurrent political instability in all higher cultures.*

I make this hypothetical proposition in order to help us to avoid the common fallacy of most political debates, the fallacy of searching for the villain. A structural problem may be accentuated by malevolent or stupid action, but it will not disappear by eliminating such special causes. This remark may describe the difference between an election slogan and a responsible policy.

I ought to give a brief historical argument for the proposition. Economic growth permits government by compromise; stagnation renders harsh decisions indispensable. Even in long-lived cultures like ancient Egypt and classical China, the chroniclers tell us of good emperors and a prosperous dynasty, of bad emperors with harsh measures, barbarian conquest, centuries of trouble, and a new beginning. Were the beloved emperors those who governed by compromise in a growing economy, and were the bad ones the victims of the limits of growth?

PROPOSITION 4 – The present growth and the present danger are beyond historical comparison.

II Problems of the world economy

PROPOSITION 5 – The population growth has so far been peacefully delayed by economic welfare.

Only the rich nations have so far slowed down their growth. In all traditional poor societies it is an advantage for any family to have many children; who, if not the children, will feed the parents when they grow old? Let it be seen whether the present Chinese or Indian rulers will survive politically if they try to limit the growth by force. Thus population growth is a strong, perhaps a cogent, argument for rapid economic growth.

PROPOSITION 6 – It still seems probable that ecological conditions will not permit more than a few decades of further economic growth along traditional lines.

The Club of Rome's detailed arguments were partly erroneous. The first report confounded raw materials as known at the time with those which would be found by further prospecting. But its models, simple as they were, showed that the man-made changes in our natural environment are now approaching the same order of magnitude as natural influences. Hence the natural balance is now at the mercy of human reason. No political mechanism has so far been able to apply reason to these worldwide problems.

PROPOSITION 7 – It is not evident that the present crisis of the world economy can be overcome in the present political structure of the world.

Unemployment – the most striking example – can only be overcome by a redistribution of labour even if the economic growth rates should increase again within plausible limits. This will not be achieved without public action. In my personal view, socialism is less able to promote an economy than is the market. Yet, according to Adam Smith, the market economy needs the State for three purposes: protection of peace, the rule of law and non-profitable enterprises like beacons or roads. In the world market of our own day protection of peace means not just a

national army, but an international peace system. The rule of law must be internationally enforceable, and non-profitable enterprises mean both infrastructure and the protection of the environment.

PROPOSITION 8 – A political world system with enforceable rules and decisions is necessary, while not sufficient, for a functioning world economy.

Today the power to enforce such a system resides only in the United States of America in co-operation with Western Europe and Japan; but it needs a consensus of a relevant majority of the Third World Nations and coexistence with the Soviet bloc. Let us pray for reason!

III The political danger of war

PROPOSITION 9 – The likelihood of conflict in the Third World is prone to increase rather than decrease.

Most of these conflicts have genuine local reasons. The end of political colonialism left the liberated nations with a power gap in which new systems of domination were bound to arise. The unsolved problems of the world economy produce both abject poverty in rural districts and urban slums and, on the other hand, a new class of those who are sufficiently fed and educated to recruit new technocrats and also an élite of ardent revolutionaries.

PROPOSITION 10 – The two super-powers are objectively entrenched in a competition for hegemony.

I say "objectively" to indicate that it is not in the free personal decision of the leaders of either power to disengage their respective nation from this contest. Conflicts for hegemony are as old as the different organised political units within a culture. In general, both sides in such a conflict see their own role subjectively and honestly as defensive. The other side is always the aggressor.

Since the early sixties I have expected and then observed a world-political cycle. The cold war, a system of antagonistic bipolarity, led to a mutual political paralysis of the two super-powers in an increasingly pluralistic world structure. Hence the super-powers found a common interest in some degree of co-operative bipolarity, which is called *détente*. Yet they were bound to rediscover that they were still hegemonial competitors. This is the present phase, probably more dangerous for peace than was the cold war in the time of American military superiority.

PROPOSITION 11 – The Soviet empire is today a threat to the world due to its combination of military strength, political immobility and economic, demographic and ideological weakness.

Russia has a long tradition of steady and cautious power politics, filling

every power gap near its borders and preparing for defence against great powers. Defence against Mongol, Polish, Swedish, French or German armies of conquest is the Russian experience of history. Marxism added the idea of world revolution, entailing an expected aggression of Capitalism against the Socialist leader. Today the Soviet Union is second to none in the military field, but weak in all other aspects. Thus it lives in fear and it excites fear in the very world whose encirclement it fears.

PROPOSITION 12 – The present American reaction to the Soviet threat is positively increasing the danger.

A perilous aspect of American foreign policy is its large pendulum swings. The Soviet regime has no reason whatsoever for embarking on a big war as long as it can safely survive without it. But it is absurd to believe that it would ever fall down "not with a bang but a whimper". A policy which would try to achieve this is dangerous even if it is only rhetorical. The tiger in the circus constantly retreats from the slow moves of the trainer, but if cornered, the tiger will jump and kill the trainer.

The hegemonial confrontation might have led to a Third World War long since, had it not been prevented by the justified fear of nuclear warfare.

IV The technical danger

PROPOSITION 13 – Peace cannot be perpetually stabilized by technology: it needs a political stabilization.

Let me give the following two illustrations:

PROPOSITION 14 – We cannot completely rule out an outbreak of war by technological failure.

Throughout the past thirty-five years I have considered this a minor danger. Technology is what our civilisation has learned to master; our shortcomings are in the political and moral fields. But with the increasingly short warning times, and with the idea of "launch on warning" – an idea as natural as it is horrible – the danger cannot be excluded. And one failure could lead to catastrophe.

PROPOSITION 15 – Small nuclear weapons for special uses are constantly being developed. It is quite probable that some day they will be used.

The rationale for these weapons was to make deterrence credible at every level. But the temptation actually to use them rests precisely in the fact that escalation is not automatic. In the Third World nuclear weapons might well be used, either by a third power or by one of the super-powers, without ensuing escalation and with military success. But breaking the nuclear taboo once is extremely

dangerous even if successful. And even the European theatre is not safe from such temptations. The debate between true believers in the safety of deterrence and prophets of the absolute holocaust is dangerously superficial, for it distracts attention from the more probable limited but still unprecedented horror in the intermediate range.

I conclude:

PROPOSITION 16 – A nuclear world war is actually possible, even probable, in the remaining years of this century.

2. PEACE AND ETHICS

The picture which I have painted in an attempt at rational analysis is dark and dramatic, yet it is less dramatic than my true feelings. What is required from a human being in the light of this situation? I think we need the courage to despair, and the strength not to despair.

Twenty-five years ago a friend asked me: "Do you believe that the possible war of which you speak will actually happen?". Without hesitation I said: "I don't know". After a second I continued "I am not permitted to know". Indeed if either I knew that the war would happen or else if I knew that it would not happen, I would do nothing; but it is my duty to do something. Later on my feelings became even less optimistic. He who has not felt the total despair in his heart is unable to help; he will escape into the cowardice of unreal optimistic solutions. But he who stays within the field of despair can do nothing. Yet the strength not to despair is a gift of grace.

I return to an analysis of the possible ethical answers to the challenge of the nuclear age. I do this in two steps. First I shall seek the answer in the field of secular political ethics. Then I shall ask what Christian faith means in this situation.

The field of secular political ethics has been opened mainly by the Age of Reason. In my German tradition, nobody has reflected on this field more profoundly than Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of Practical Reason* and his ensuing but little known writings on the philosophy of history, culminating in his wonderful essay, *Perpetual Peace*. Let me share with you some of the ideas I hope to have learned from Kant.

Kant says that the civilized state has been achieved within our nations, but that between the nations the natural state still prevails. The civilized state means the rule of law. Kant distinguishes between legality and morality. I think this well-known distinction is one of the greatest *moral* achievements of modern times. In Kant's words, legality means to act in accordance with the law, morality means to act out of respect for the law. In the civilized state we are permitted, and the courts of law are even requested, to judge the legality of the action of our fellow citizens.

But we are not permitted to judge the morality of our neighbour. The moral question I must address to myself, or only as a friend, to a friend. The rule of law preserves civic freedom. Freedom is not what I crave for my own wilful actions, but what I grant my fellow citizen. Freedom is a precondition for the public search for truth, and truth is needed if a civilized community is to survive. This is, in outline, the theory of the liberal state.

Kant continues that there will be no end to the sufferings and tragedies of history unless the civilized state, the rule of law, is also established between nations. I take this postulate into the present situation, two hundred years after Kant. At the beginning I said that our peace is threatened, since it was never a true peace. A minimal condition for a peace to deserve the name of true peace would mean a rule of enforceable law. I said this in connection with the world economy; and I add that I do not see what a political preservation of peace can mean unless it contains the rule of law.

The political realist will ask how such a rule of law can possibly be established in the world as we know it. I would not use the word "despair" if I were not myself open to this doubt. But at present I act as the advocate of modern rationalism and I say that it is rational to expect the universal rule of law to be finally established. Imagine a man six hundred years ago saying (in 1383) that the time will come when the City of London would no longer need protection by city walls. The political realist would then have replied; "You fool! Not before the Second Coming". Yet in 1383 the two decisive secular inventions had already been made: artillery that finally rendered city walls useless and the territorial state that made them unnecessary. The weapons that may soon render national defence useless have already been invented. How could a worldwide rule of law stay unenforceable indefinitely?

The pessimistic answer is that the territorial state was only established when many city walls had actually been broken in civil wars. Correspondingly by far the most probable way towards an efficient political union of the world would be the Third World War with all its consequences. One of these might be a worldwide dictatorship rather than a rule of law in a free society of nations. We approach here a profound weakness of secular rationalism.

Kant's idea of the civilized state rests on his categorical imperative which is no more nor less than a profound philosophical interpretation of the Golden Rule. The maxim of your action ought always to be apt as the principle of a universal legislation. Universality is a basic concept in the field of reason. The categorical imperative is, in other words, the self-imposed practical principle of reason: you should act in a manner that makes the common life of rational beings possible. I have no objection whatsoever against this rule. In my personal view, there is no political problem in the world that would not, in principle, admit of a rational solution if both sides sincerely wish to apply reason even to their own behaviour. But how will they be induced to do so? The blindness of our affections will only be overcome by a stronger affection. This affection is called love in Christian language. The prevalence of emotional motivation is the reason for which I chose in this lecture twice to

preface my analytical attempts by appealing to your emotional perception. I did so by frankly presenting my own emotions.

Let me do it a third time when I speak of Christian ethics. When I was a boy of eleven I read St. Matthew's Gospel. I read the Sermon on the Mount. I was struck by terror. What I read was evidently and incontrovertibly true. But if it were true, my personal life was false and so was the life of our whole world, including the life of my beloved and revered parents. Not much later, at the age of sixteen, I lost for ever my naive childhood faith — in the acceptance of the authority of tradition. I lost it by the simple consideration that other cultures implant other kinds of faith in their children. Being brought up as a Lutheran, as a Christian, in a religious tradition, proves nothing whatsoever about the truth of these beliefs. Yet up to this day I have never been able to deny the evident truth of the Sermon on the Mount. It strikes me in my heart. And still, as almost all Christians, I am not living according to its commandments. This is, in a nutshell, the problem of two thousand years of the Christian Church; it is the moral problem of human history.

In the meantime I have learned what scholarship can tell us about the Sermon on the Mount. It must be read in conjunction with the parables and with the announcement of the Last Judgement. This is precisely what struck me as a child. The world must be completely transformed if it is to live under the commandment of love. This change can begin here and now in every single person; the kingdom of heaven is already with us. As a moral law, the commandments cannot but produce terror. Who is able to obey them? But the essence is in the Beatitudes. This, as theologians say, is not law but gospel. It is an experience that can actually be made. But it is, to my mind, absolutely certain that Jesus did not intend merely to transform our minds leaving political history as it is. He believed in the Judgement, probably an impending one. The mythical, cosmic imagery of the revelation is not to deceive us; a real event in human history is meant. It means to establish the true sense of Creation. But, as God's actions often are, this extreme bliss is preceded by destructive terror. Who can see God and live?

History evolved quite differently from that which the early Christians expected. The Second Coming was delayed beyond every expectation. But the unredeemed world turned to Christian faith. Christians found themselves, amazingly enough, in responsible positions in the unredeemed world; they inherited the empire whose destruction had been their original hope. There were always two possible reactions to this fact. The official church accepted it, it became imperial and responsible. Minority groups persisted in rejecting participation. Both groups had characteristic answers to the Sermon on the Mount. The official church re-interpreted it so as to show that the commandments were not meant to be literally obeyed in this present age. The minorities, like the Franciscan friars or the Quakers, renouncing any personal possession of power, had no difficulty in believing that Jesus' words were meant to be obeyed.

I should like to interject here a remark on human nature. Man is the animal that possesses a history. Human action, as distinct from instinctive behaviour, can

interpret the chain leading from stimulus to response. Language, judgement and tradition endow us with a non-genetic inheritance of acquiring properties. One may say that human culture rests on a luxury of modes of behaviour, a luxury of means and of ends. One of man's most efficient and most dangerous luxuries is power. I define power as the unlimited accumulation of means for personal or social ends. Wealth is power, as analysed by Marx. Knowledge is power as Francis Bacon said. Armament is power and this is our present problem. Power competition tends to produce self-contradictory situations. For every single competitor it is absolutely rational to acquire more power; given the competition this is his precondition of survival. But for the society in which all competitors have to live together, precisely this competition can turn out to be fatal. Every competitor sees himself on the defensive; so did Athens and Sparta, so do the United States and the Soviet Union. Adam Smith's three tasks of the state, and especially the rule of law, are meant to mitigate this competition by reason. Our problem is: why is reason so weak?

The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount have their forerunners in the Hebrew Prophets, but no less in the ascetic schools of India, most wonderfully expressed for example in the sermons of Buddha. I should call this great tradition a counter-luxury against the luxury of power, a luxurious effusion of good will, of self-denying love. These two luxuries have lived together in history for millenia. But the eschatological hope that the kingdom of flourishing power should finally be overcome has always stayed a rational hope. In the old times of undeveloped technology, the self-destructiveness of power competition was limited mainly by its inadequate means of destruction. There was a Darwinian self-preservation for some of those who did not mix with the battle of the elephants. In our time the contradiction in the power competition comes to a climax: who will be spared?

This climax has now become clearly felt throughout mankind. How can this feeling be transformed into action? There is the danger that it induces in us resignation and passive despair. The Christian tradition, however, offers other ways.

One way is radical pacifism. This is a genuinely Christian attitude. Even quietism, as practised by minority groups all through Christian history, is a kind of action. Those who dissociated themselves from any participation of power and left history to the mercy of God presented a symbol of peace to the world. And who would deny that even a tacit example, with the intensity of prayer, changes something in the world? And by perceiving the suffering of their neighbours and giving active help, they can be drawn into ever broader fields of action. Look at the achievements of the Society of Friends! Today pacifism has become a possible political principle. This leads us to the problem of practical strategies for peace.

Perhaps even more impressive is what is happening today in mainstream Churches. I want to express my theological admiration for the American Catholic Bishops. They have taken the doctrine of the just war seriously. This doctrine was developed by the official church in the Middle Ages, not by the dissenting minorities. It meant to mitigate the power competition in this age and to give a lead towards Christian behaviour in the unredeemed world. Wars will continue to be fought until the Last Events. A Christian in a politically responsible position can find it

inescapable to fight in a war, even to wage a war. But two conditions must be fulfilled. The war must be fought for a just cause and with adequate means for the cause. The American Bishops have clearly understood that a nuclear war cannot possibly be a just war. And they have understood, too, that deterrence, by threatening a nuclear war, is equally inadmissible from a moral point of view if the threat is meant to be carried out, and is of little avail if it is not meant to be carried out. These two facts stand out clearly and, I think, undeniably.

Yet it is hard to draw the casuistic conclusions from them. Can we get rid of nuclear weapons and retain the rest? My subjective impression is that "war as usual" will have no chance in the long run. I feel that we must overcome the institution of war, or face World War. Yet I shall not try here to prove such far-reaching statements.

I must now speak about the details of peace strategies, not for a distant future, but for the coming ten years.

3. MEDIUM-RANGE STRATEGIES AND SHORT-TERM TACTICS

What is a strategy for peace? The foundation of the League of Nations, 1919, and of the United Nations in 1945, was part of a political peace strategy. So was détente and so are the large peace movements of our days. The question is which strategy to embark on, considering chances and dangers. Some of the possible strategies are mutually exclusive while others are consistent with each other. I shall discuss four possible strategies:

- I Quest for superiority
- II Balance of power
- III Opening the frontiers
- IV Unilateral disarmament.

I Quest for superiority – This may look surprising in a list of peace strategies. But history gives us examples of imperial peace, of at least a temporary end to the competition for power by the victory of one power. An empire is, inevitably, morally ambivalent, but cultures have seen prosperous centuries under imperial rule. Such was the Pax Romana under which, among other things, the rapid spread of Christianity became possible.

I dare to mention another much debated example: India was given nearly two centuries of unity and progress in many fields under the British Raj. Who would not prefer a World Empire to a nuclear war? Yet in history, established empires were probably always preceded by hegemonial wars. Today both the United States and the Soviet Union think that the world would be safe under its own hegemony. I cannot exclude that America, had she used her military and economic superiority after 1945 for a consistently imperialistic policy, might have achieved a lasting world hegemony but, I fear, not without an early and victorious war against Russia. But this is an unrealistic fantasy. Of all hegemonial nations in

history, America was probably the most reluctant imperialist. The ideals of the American revolution, the lack of equal competitors on their own continent and the preoccupation with economic development, preserved an aversion against consistent imperialism. Today Russia has acquired approximate military parity. An American quest for military superiority, even hidden behind a rhetoric of restoring the military balance, is a profoundly perilous kind of brinkmanship. I had to mention the quest for superiority in order to say with rational arguments why I cannot believe in it as a possible peace strategy today.

II Balance of power – This is the diplomatic formula for the present negotiations in arms control. As such it is necessary, but I am afraid that it is no more than that. Historically, balance of power has never been a good way of preserving peace between competitors for supremacy. The famous European balance of five powers was preserved through centuries, but with wars recurrent in nearly every generation. Balance of forces is a permanent temptation to test the forces. Yet arms control is imperative in our times, and it cannot be achieved otherwise than under the diplomatic formula of balance, with the silly but necessary device of counting missiles, warheads, payloads, aircraft, submarines and tanks.

Let me say a word on disarmament. I have always been deeply sceptical about the attempts at achieving disarmament. History offers almost no example of disarmament unless it was imposed by a victor or applied to obsolete weapons. This is not surprising. The natural form of the competition for power, motivated by mutual fear in an honestly defensive mood on both sides, is an unlimited arms race. Arms control was a great idea for two decades. It intended to stop the arms race by the existence of invulnerable second strike capabilities. This has been achieved for strategic intercontinental missiles. But quite naturally the race went on with smaller weapons where assured destruction is not the question and where, hence, superiority counts.

Arms control is indispensable today. A full additional lecture could be given on its details; at present I confine myself to a few remarks. Success in the Geneva and Vienna talks is necessary. It is vital for the future of Europe to put an agreed limit to all intermediate range missiles for which the arms race is raging today. It is desirable to reduce inter-continental missiles. It would be great progress to replace the destabilising multiple warhead missiles (MIRV) by missiles with one warhead. All this is a medium-range peace strategy. We will be lucky if we can avoid a destabilising new arms race, and we will be lucky also if our present statesmen avoid a nuclear war during the next ten years.

It would be more than a medium-range strategy if it were possible in the long run to replace all nuclear weapons by new more refined conventional armaments. But we should not forget that this in itself is not yet a strategy for peace, but for damage limitation. In the European theatre it would be a great step forward if we could concentrate on such conventional weapons which can be used for defence only, so-called defensive defence, like infantry-borne precision-guided anti-tank missiles. They would not give rise to a new, conventional arms race because they would not threaten the other side's territory. But all these limitations would have to be no more than measures to accompany a political initiative for peace.

III Opening the frontiers – This is the most important concrete peace strategy. I am not now speaking of the Third World problems. I discussed them, as far as was possible, in the first part of this lecture. Between the two blocs of the North, economic ties and a free exchange of persons and of their views are the elements of a political peace strategy. Yet we should not be deceived about the dangers waiting on this path. They can be seen in two directions.

The present American administration seems to consider close economic ties with the Eastern bloc mainly as a strengthening of its military potential and hence as an unwelcome side-effect of European business interests. I think both we Europeans and our American friends ought to oppose this cowardly view. We are definitely not interested in strengthening the Soviet military build-up, and certain articles might well stay excluded from the trade list. But the main purpose of economic ties is precisely to open the frontiers and to create a common interest in the preservation of peace. This, as historical examples teach us, is not a sufficient means for preventing war, but it is useful.

The main danger lies in the opposite direction. The Soviet rulers see a threat to their system in an opening of the frontiers. The preservation of an absolutist rule by closing frontiers is a Tsarist heritage (and was common in oriental despotisms). It is intensified by the survival interest of the new communist ruling class. They are clear sighted enough to know that their system would not stand the competition of a free market both of ideas and of material goods. This was, I think, the main reason for the limited success of the détente policy. But if this is so, it is not for us to renounce the policy of open frontiers. We will have to continue it consistently and unaggressively. In a profoundly dangerous world situation we should not threaten Soviet rule by trying to promote dissent in their empire. Provide their people with more open access to the free world and let them take care of their future themselves. We may frankly express our view on their system as I have done, and we do not need to hide our admiration for heroes of peace and justice like Sakharov. But this does not exclude a diplomatic and trade policy of good relations.

IV Unilateral disarmament – This is a much discussed topic. There are fields in which this can easily be done without detriment to strategic stability, for example in short-range battlefield nuclear weapons. When unilateralism is proposed as a matter of principle, it provokes in me an ambivalent reaction. Those who would go all the way towards a complete renunciation of protection by weapons, accepting the possible loss of political freedom, may be the ones to remind us that the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount were meant to be done. If a whole nation, knowing the possible consequences, were to go this way by democratic consensus, it might be spared some of the horrors even of a possible war and it would set a great example. I would personally be prepared to join such a decision if a true majority could be found for it. But this is not a political reality today. And those who advocate pacifism must act carefully. They should not forget that the immediate practical consequence of their action might further destabilise the present precarious truce which is called peace. It is to be expected that their step would be perceived by the Soviet leadership as a definite sign of Western decay and

thus as a proof that their intransigent policy was correct and will have to be continued. If however, we do not dare to go the full way to pacifism, unilateral arms limitation remains a meaningful diplomatic instrument, to be applied without fear in a number of cases, but not as a full peace strategy.

So much for medium-range strategies. Let me finish by a few remarks on short-term tactics for peace.

Short-term tactics for peace. I limit myself again to the field of arms control. Possible immediate measures have been proposed, like a nuclear freeze or a pledge not to use nuclear weapons first. In both cases, the correct official Western answer was that in the present situation such a step would favour the Soviet side. But this fact only shows that the West has moved itself into a situation which will not be morally and diplomatically tenable in the long run. Three years ago I publicly proposed to the Churches to urge a no-first-use pledge for merely moral reasons, with the purpose of inducing the policy-planners to invent a less dangerous, conventional strategy. This is still my view.

The more urgent question is presented by the negotiations on medium-range missiles (INF). The strength of the Soviet position lies in the fact that they fill a gap in the treaties and negotiations which was left open between SALT I and MBRF, Vienna, by introducing a large new potential threat against Europe and both China and Japan by their SS-20 missiles. At present both sides are playing poker in Geneva taking intransigent and mutually irreconcilable positions. The main question is how to take account of the existing and the future British and French missiles. My personal view, which I pronounced in public in 1979 before the NATO dual-track decision, is that missiles which can reach Soviet territory, placed on the soil of a densely populated country like my own, are a threat to our country more than to the Soviets. I proposed a base at sea if they are considered necessary. Since NATO insisted on land-based missiles, the Soviets have now the great poker advantage of using the absolutely natural and rational public opposition to these missiles on our soil as an ally of Soviet intransigence. It is hard not to blame the Western leaders for having failed to foresee this impasse. I can only tell the Soviets that even now it is most dangerous for them to over-bid their cards. They must be interested in not joining Western public opinion to American intransigence. A negotiated solution is necessary, whatever its contents, if a most dangerous aggravation of the arms race is to be avoided.

I hope you will forgive me for examining these matters of detail. There is no sensible strategy that would not need to be implemented in concrete tactics. Let us pray for peace, let us think about peace, let us act on peace.

INF – Intermediate Nuclear Force
SALT I – Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
MBRF – Mutual Balanced Force Reduction

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②

May 5th, 1983

Prime Minister

A.S.C. 10/5.
M.

Prime Minister,

having returned to Berlin after a two-day visit to the Luther celebrations in the GDR I want to thank you once again for the warm welcome last week in No. 10 Downing Street. It was a great honour and a great pleasure to meet you again.

In my view it was important to continue the talks which we began in October last year during your moving visit to Berlin. I was again deeply impressed by your knowledge and interest concerning the situation in eastern Europe and particularly in East Germany.

Your continued deep commitment to Berlin is extremely important to our city and its people.

I am looking forward to seeing you again

Yours sincerely

Richard Weizsäcker

The Prime Minister
Margaret Thatcher



Germany

! Visit of Governor of W Berlin

March 7



FILE

856

CE MASTER

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

27 April 1983

Dear Sir,

VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 26 April.

I enclose a record of a conversation between the Prime Minister and Dr. von Weizsaecker.

I am copying this letter and its enclosure to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

Yours ever

John Gales

Brian Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, DR. VON WEIZSAECKER, ON WEDNESDAY,
27 APRIL AT 1000 HOURS

Present: Prime Minister Dr. von Weizsaecker
Mr. Coles Herr Pflueger

* * * * *

Dr. von Weizsaecker said that the Prime Minister's visit to Berlin last year had been of special importance. Her concentration on the affairs of Berlin and commitment to its significance had left a deep impression. As a symbol of Berlin's gratitude, he wished to leave with the Prime Minister a small collection of photographs. The Prime Minister said that Berlin had made a considerable impact on her. She was still inclined to wonder why the West had ever allowed the Wall to be constructed.

Dr. von Weizsaecker said that a number of Germans also raised this question from time to time. But it had to be remembered that Herr Brandt, who was Governing Mayor when the construction of the Wall commenced, was then conceiving the policy of Ost-Politik. The conventional thinking during that period was that the aim should be to preserve peace in Europe by recognising spheres of influence. In retrospect, this was perhaps mistaken.

Chancellor Kohl would be speaking about East-West relations in the statement he would make on behalf of his new Government next week. The German Government was likely to put out a statement today about the recent incident on the transit route to Berlin following the death of a West German. This would probably take the line that the incident had been grave but that there was no evidence that the East German interrogation had contributed to the death of the person concerned. His own interpretation of this incident was that the deceased had had very high blood pressure. He had been caught handing money and transistor radios to relatives, had been interrogated and had died after an hour or so. He did not believe that physical force had been used. But the

/ East Germans

CONFIDENTIAL

But the East Germans did not keep in mind that almost anyone using the transit route probably had higher than normal blood pressure because of the strain of the experience.

Our aim for East-West relations in the long run should be the same as that of Konrad Adenauer, i.e. the achievement of a real improvement in those relations, but without making the two mistakes that the Socialists always made. First, we should not think in terms of an ideological foreign policy. Kreisky used to speak of the final battle between social democracy and socialism. But Adenauer had accepted that we would not convince the Soviet people ideologically. Therefore our aim should be good relations and a foreign policy firmly based on our own interests. The second Socialist mistake was pacifism.

The Prime Minister agreed that there was always an element of weakness in the Socialist approach. They tended to think, because of their political position, that there was a greater similarity between East and West than in fact existed. She took the view that it was necessary to have relations with countries whose politics we detested. But a problem which preoccupied her was how we could so arrange things that more people from Communist societies visited the West. Taking up Dr. von Weizsaecker's earlier remark, she said that she was interested, from an ideological point of view, in extending freedom to Communist societies in the long run. But in the short run we had to make the best of the situation that existed.

Dr. von Weizsaecker said that the result of ten years of rapprochement between East and West had been to induce greater changes in our own societies than in those of the East. We had tended to concede that there was no longer a real Soviet military threat and that therefore our defence needs were less imperative. The peace movement showed how our society had changed. That kind of approach to relations with the East was not sound. There would of course be repercussions from INF deployment. But those would be less costly than allowing the Soviet Union to think they could achieve their aims by pressure. Did the Prime Minister think that

/ nuclear

nuclear issues would affect the British election campaign, whenever that was held? The Prime Minister said that these issues would play their part. The anti-nuclear voices would be loud and the media would ensure that they were heard. But the broad mass of British people accepted the need for strong defences. There was, in this debate, a worrying degree of anti-Americanism. This was misplaced. Many people had not grasped that Cruise was simply a modernisation of older weapons. Some people were worried that the United States might use nuclear weapons from British territory without British consent. It was necessary to remind public opinion that the United States kept nearly a quarter of a million troops in Europe. No American President was going to sacrifice those troops by using nuclear weapons, unless there was absolutely no alternative.

Dr. von Weizsaecker commented that the one thing that influenced the Soviet Union was the knowledge that they would have to deal with certain personalities. As long as there was any doubt about the future leadership of the West, they would not move. It was worth recalling that before NATO had taken its dual track decision, the Russians had said they would never go to the conference table. Once the decision had been taken, they did so. By the same token, they would not begin to negotiate about INF until we began to deploy the weapons. Nevertheless, the West should not limit its relations with the Soviet Union to questions of arms control and defence. The Russians had publicly stated twenty years ago that by now they would have caught up with the West in all spheres. They had failed to do so in every field except that of defence. It was not sensible now to ask them to give up their gains in the one field in which they had been successful while offering them nothing in other areas. The Prime Minister replied that strong defence and a strong deterrent were a necessary basis for relations with the East in other fields. But she was inclined to think that the time was approaching when we should re-think East-West relations. If the Russians had not invaded Afghanistan, this problem could have been tackled earlier. Dr. von Weizsaecker commented that Poland was relevant too.

/ The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister agreed that events in Poland represented the fundamental crisis of Communism. She had been encouraged by her recent talk with the Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, whose ideas, especially on economic policy, were refreshing. But she had heard since this conversation that the Hungarian Government appeared to have postponed further implementation of its economic policy. She would be interested to hear about the situation in East Germany.

Dr. von Weizsaecker said that relations between East Germany and Poland had never been good - those between West Germany and Poland were better. While East Germany was a faithful ally of the Soviet Union, the signs were that it was trying to achieve a little more independence. East German leaders were showing rather more confidence than in the past. East Germany was tending to take over Poland's position of prominence in the Warsaw Pact. There were small indications of an Eastern version of the peace movement within East Germany. It took a great deal of courage for people in that country to oppose nuclear weapons. But he did not see any signs of Solidarity's influence spreading into East Germany. The Prime Minister commented that the appearance of an incipient peace movement in East Germany could be a different manifestation of the Polish phenomenon. The crisis of Communism came when alternative sources of power developed.

Dr. von Weizsaecker said that the church was the only national non-Communist organisation in East Germany. It was nothing like as strong as the Polish church. One interesting development was that the East German Government was trying to make propaganda capital out of this year's 500th Martin Luther anniversary. They were expecting one million visitors for the event. But it was not possible to summon up Luther as an ally without reminding people of his real significance. He believed that the church in East Germany could now obtain rather more room for manoeuvre.

It was always worth talking to the Hungarians - indeed they were the only Warsaw Pact Government with whom discussion was invariably rewarding.

/ He believed

He believed that East-West relations should be broadened beyond the concept fostered by the U.S. Administration latterly. The only condition was that we should make clear that our policies of strong defence and deterrence would continue. The Prime Minister agreed, but said that we must not forget Afghanistan or Poland. She considered that, when they looked back at recent history, the Kremlin leaders must be worried that their system might crack. They would probably be more wary now than earlier of permitting a greater flow of people to the West.

The conversation ended at 1045 hours.

A. J. C.

27 April 1983



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 April 1983

Dear John,

Visit of Governing Mayor of Berlin

The Prime Minister has invited Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, Governing Mayor of Berlin, to call at 10 a.m. on 27 April. Dr von Weizsaecker is speaking this evening, 26 April, in the Oxford Union on 'The German Question and Berlin'. (He read philosophy and history at Balliol in 1937.) The Prime Minister will remember that she was unable to see him during his first official visit to London on 1-2 April 1982. The Governing Mayor has often recalled with pleasure and gratitude the Prime Minister's visit to Berlin on 29 October 1982.

Dr von Weizsaecker has been Governing Mayor of Berlin for almost two years. Externally the city remains quiet. The Russians appear to want continuing calm. There was a serious incident on 2 April when the Russians unilaterally closed the centre air corridor for 25 minutes. The Allies have protested about this to the Russians in Berlin and are doing so today in capitals. The indications are, however, that the Russian decision to close the corridor was a military one taken without full political consultation.

Internally the Governing Mayor seems to have made some progress in tackling Berlin's social problems. But the city's economic difficulties remain formidable. Although Dr von Weizsaecker succeeded in securing a conference of industrialists under Chancellor Kohl's patronage in Berlin in December 1982, there is still a question mark over whether Bonn is prepared to make the much greater commitment needed to ensure the regeneration of the city.

/The



The Governing Mayor will be interested in the Prime Minister's current assessment of East/West relations. We are still waiting to see how the new CDU government will handle inner German relations. The CSU are likely to press for the Government to be much tougher in negotiating humanitarian concessions by the GDR (notably a lowering of the hard currency Minimum Exchange Requirement). Their position has been strengthened by the death on 10 April of a West German (Rudolf Burkert) under East German interrogation. Unless the GDR can produce a convincing explanation or apology for the incident, it may become difficult for Kohl to keep open his invitation to Honecker to visit the FRG this year.

The Governing Mayor believes Berlin merits a more active role in the formulation and implementation of inner-German policy. He will want to see the Kohl Government adopt a coherent and determined stance towards the GDR. But he will also oppose any policies Bonn might adopt towards the GDR which he would regard as damaging to Berlin's interests.

On arms control and INF, Dr von Weizsaecker is a staunch advocate of the Atlantic Alliance and the US commitment to European defence. But he believes in the need for a Western approach that combines defence readiness with deterrence. He was highly critical of Vogel's attempt to make INF an issue in the Federal election. (He was absent from Berlin when Mr Heseltine visited on 31 March.)

Other subjects that the Governing Mayor may raise are:

- (a) Britain's economic prospects and the problem of unemployment;
- (b) the development of the EC and the pressures on the Federal Chancellor during the German Presidency. He regards the issue of Political Co-operation, including security aspects, as more pressing than decisions on voting principles. The Prime Minister might take the line that the UK would be prepared to look at ideas for increased security co-operation (though others have difficulty with the idea) provided, of course, that we are careful to maintain the US commitment to the defence of Europe and the central role of NATO in this field;

/(c)



- (c) the US Government's position on Turkey versus Greece in NATO. The Governing Mayor has a large Turkish community in Berlin and has recently visited Turkey. He is concerned about the strength of the Greek lobby in Washington in relation to the current dispute over the ratio of US military aid to Greece and Turkey.

The Governing Mayor will be accompanied by an Assistant Private Secretary, Herr Pflueger. The Germans know the Prime Minister would like the meeting to be tete-a-tete.

*i.e. I said
we did not want
an F/C.O. official!
AM $\frac{26}{4}$*

*9 days over
Pflueger*

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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Carline - to note

A.J.C. 20/4

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Just Tahn.

Visit of Governing Mayor of Berlin

We discussed on the telephone Dr von Weizsaecker's visit to the UK, primarily to speak at the Oxford Union, on 26/27 April. We put the Prime Minister's invitation to call at 10 am on 27 April to him in the terms the Prime Minister asked and have now heard that he will be delighted to accept.

We shall in due course provide a short background brief for the Prime Minister's use.

See on

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

Germany

23 April, 1982

VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF
BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 16 April.

As I told you earlier on the telephone, I have no doubt that if Dr von Weizsaecker visits London the Prime Minister will be glad to see him, always assuming that the date is convenient. I agree, therefore, that our Minister in Berlin may speak as you propose.

A. J. COLES

F N Richards, Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RM



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 April 1982

Dear John,

Visit of the Governing Mayor of Berlin: 1 - 3 April

In view of the Falkland Islands crisis the call by Dr von Weizsaecker on the Prime Minister that had been arranged for 1115 on 2 April had, as you know, to be cancelled. The Governing Mayor's meeting with Mr Humphrey Atkins had likewise to be cancelled and he was only able to see Lord Carrington for 10 minutes.

Before Dr von Weizsaecker left London we confirmed with your office, and told Weizsaecker, that the Prime Minister would in principle be glad to see him whenever it proves possible to arrange a fresh visit. If you have no objection, we shall ask our Minister in Berlin to confirm this with Dr von Weizsaecker and say that we shall in due course propose dates, although in the circumstances it may be some time before we are able to do so.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Reaffirm British commitment to Berlin.
2. Pleased that external situation remains calm. Scope for progress in inner-German relations?
3. Prospects for the internal situation? Will the squatter problem lead to further violence?
4. How is Berlin coping with the economic recession?

BERLIN

ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. The external political situation remains calm. There have been no repercussions from Poland. If anything, the Russians have been even more careful recently to avoid raising contentious issues.
2. But Berlin is affected by the stagnation in inner-German relations. The increase in the GDR Minimum Exchange Requirement (MER) in October 1980 halved the number of visits by West Berliners to East Berlin and the GDR. No substantial GDR concessions have so far resulted from the Schmidt/Honecker meeting in December 1981. The Senat's top priority remains a reduction in the MER, on which progress in other fields will depend.
3. Internally, the Governing Mayor and his Senat remain firmly in the saddle, despite the lack of a CDU parliamentary majority. They can rely on support from 4 or 5 members of the FDP, whose party is riven by local feuding. The SDP remains demoralised. The Alternative Liste (Berlin's equivalent of the 'Greens') is a nuisance factor in Parliament and a focus of youth discontent.
4. Since September there has been no major outbreak of street violence. The Senat's determination to prevent new occupations of empty houses has kept the squatter problem under control, while a dialogue has been opened with moderate elements.

CONFIDENTIAL

/in

in the squatter movement to separate them from the extremists. But violence could break out again in the warmer weather.

5. The West Berlin economy has been hit by the recession. Output has ceased to grow and there is no sign of an upturn. Investment is falling slightly. At the end of February, unemployment stood at 8.8%, 60% higher than at the same time last year and the highest total since 1969. The Senat have had to prune expenditure to meet a cut in the Federal subsidy.

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VON WEIZSAECKER, DR RICHARD

Governing Mayor of Berlin since 11 June 1981. Chairman of the Berlin CDU.

Born 1920 in Stuttgart, the son of a career diplomat, Ernest von Weizsaecker, who though not a Nazi was State Secretary at the Wilhelmstrasse 1938-43 and was sentenced by a US tribunal in 1949 for complicity in war crimes. The son was called up in 1939 and served with the infantry on the eastern front.

Studied law at, inter alia, Oxford, and helped to defend his father. Entered industry and became a member of the board of Boehringer and Co. President of the German Evangelical Church Conference 1964-70 and 1979-81. Member of the Bundestag from 1969-81, and a Vice Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Party, 1972-79. Nominated to oppose Scheel in the Presidential election of 1974 and did far better than expected against an unbeatable candidate. Author of the party's programme of basic principles, agreed at the 1978 party conference. A Vice President of the Bundestag 1979-81.

Imported by the Berlin CDU, at the last moment, to lead the party into the 1979 Berlin elections, he failed to defeat the SPD/FDP coalition, but achieved a record vote for the CDU. In the elections of 10 May 1981 the CDU under Weizsaecker further increased its share of the vote but with only 48% failed to obtain an absolute majority. Weizsaecker owed his election as Governing Mayor in June 1981 to support from members of the FDP Parliamentary Party and remains dependent on them for his legislative programme.

Weizsaecker is respected for his ability, upright character and charm. He is liberal in his views on both domestic policy and Ostpolitik, and plays an influential and beneficial national role on the side of moderation in his party. He has shown considerable strength in dealing with party and government affairs in Berlin. An old friend of Britain.

Married with four children. He speaks excellent, and his wife adequate, English. Although born a Freiherr (Baron) he prefers not to use his title.

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 March 1982

Prime Minister

A.F.C. 1/4

Dear John,

Visit of Governing Mayor of Berlin: 1/3 April

Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, Governing Mayor of Berlin (personality note attached), is to pay his first official visit to London on 1/2 April. He will then attend part of the Anglo-German Koenigswinter Conference in Cambridge before leaving for Tel Aviv on 3 April. He is due to call on the Prime Minister at 1115 on 2 April.

I attach a brief on Berlin. The city's current problems are on the whole internal rather than external. Dr von Weizsaecker has said that he himself will not wish to raise detailed Berlin issues.

The Governing Mayor is likely to be more keen to discuss wider international affairs and in particular East/West relations. He will speak on the latter at Chatham House on 1 April. The Prime Minister may also like to seek Dr von Weizsaecker's views, as a member of the CDU Federal Presidium, on the political situation in the FRG, in particular the future of the Bonn coalition and the prospects for the forthcoming Land elections.

Dr von Weizsaecker can be expected to extend an invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Berlin. In response to my Secretary of State's suggestion that she should pay a short visit after the autumn Anglo-German Summit, the Prime Minister said she would bear this possibility in mind but did not wish to commit herself at present. A visit by President Reagan following the NATO Summit in June is now in preparation. Dr von Weizsaecker also extended, during his recent visit to Paris, an invitation to President Mitterrand to visit Berlin. This was accepted but no date fixed.

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

Yours ever,
Francis Kelly
(F N Richard)
Private Secretary

VON WEIZSAECKER, DR RICHARD

Governing Mayor of Berlin since 11 June 1981. Chairman of the Berlin CDU.

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PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

POINTS TO MAKE

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2. Pleased that external situation remains calm. Scope for progress in inner-German relations?
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/in

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Genny

ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN FOR THE VISIT OF DR RICHARD VON WEIZSACKER,
GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, AND FRAU MARIANNE VON WEIZSACKER.

1-2 APRIL

(to be read in conjunction with GHF programme)

Thursday 1 April

Arrival: met by:-

Sir David Muirhead, Special Representative of the Secretary of State;

Mr F R MacGinnis, Minister, British Military Government, Berlin.

Brigadier J A C Cowan, Secretary Government Hospitality Fund

Mr Neville Coppel, Escort Officer.

1200 hours Arrive Ambassador's Entrance, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, accompanied by Herr Henschel and Herr Kolitzus
Met by Miss Katherine Himsforth, Western European Department.

1300 Arrive Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House.
Met by Mr David Watt, Director of the Institute.

1445 Arrive at the House of Commons, St Stephen's Entrance.
(not as shown in programme).

Friday 2 April

1030 Arrive Ambassador's Entrance, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, met by Miss Katherine Himsforth.

1200 Leave No 10 Downing Street and return to FCO via Ambassador's Entrance.

Short briefing with journalists in the Ambassador's Waiting Room.

1245 for 1300 Luncheon given by Her Majesty's Government.

The following are also invited:-

Herr Jorg Henschel
Herr Henner Kolitzus.

B C Burrough

30 March 1982

B C Burrough
Visits Section
Protocol and Conference Department
Tel no 233 4227.

DISTRIBUTION

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NO 10 DOWNING STREET

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Mr M C Rylands (1)

FORIEGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

Private Secretary (2)

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Mr D Gillmore (1)

Mr D Gladstone (1)

Mr A C Goodison (1)

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ECD(E) (1)

Mr Hannaby, News Department (4)

Resident Clerk (1)

Col Durrant PCD (4)

PCD (4)

Just
c. Miss Stephens
AM

5 January 1982

Visit of the Governing Mayor of Berlin

Thank you for your letter of 4 January.
The Prime Minister agrees to receive
Dr. von Weizsaecker and could make available
45 minutes at 1015 on 2 April.

V. J. COLES

Brian Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Bo



Prime Minister

You could see him for
45 minutes at 10.15 on 2
April.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 January 1982

Agree?

Yes not
A.F.C. $\frac{4}{1}$

Dear John,

Visit of the Governing Mayor of Berlin

My Secretary of State wishes to invite Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, the Governing Mayor of Berlin, to pay his first official visit to this country from 1-3 April. Lord Carrington plans to entertain him to lunch on 2 April.

Von Weizsaecker's responsibilities are, in view of Berlin's special situation, greater than his title suggests. He equates formally to a Minister of Cabinet rank in the Federal Government but his international standing is second only to that of the Chancellor and Foreign Minister. He has held office since the elections in May this year when, under his leadership, the CDU became the largest party in the Berlin House of Representatives and he himself became, with the tacit support of the FDP Parliamentary Party, the first CDU Governing Mayor for over 25 years. He is a highly respected figure throughout Germany and has shown considerable ability in dealing with party and government affairs in Berlin.

Dr von Weizsaecker visited Washington in September where he was given high level treatment which included a meeting with President Reagan. He is expected to visit Paris in February or March. His visit to London will therefore complete his introductory tour of Allied capitals.

Herr Stobbe, Governing Mayor of Berlin from 1977 to January 1981, was received by the Prime Minister on both his official visits to London. Lord Carrington believes that it is important that we should continue to demonstrate the importance we attach to our commitment to Berlin and hopes the Prime Minister will agree to receive Dr von Weizsaecker on 1 or 2 April.

Yours ever

[Handwritten signature]

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

Der Regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin

Germany

by Paul

Translation

January 1981

Dear Sir Ian,

I should like to thank you again for the friendly reception and generous hospitality which I received in Great Britain.

It was an honour for me to have the opportunity once again to hold political talks with you. In the course of these talks I was most gratified to see that the unswerving stand of your government and your country to Berlin and their continued interest in this city have been reaffirmed. I should be most grateful if you would convey my thanks to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary.

I was also pleased to be able to visit Edinburgh and York and enjoyed these visits very much. This enabled me to make contacts and to see more of the beautiful scenery in your country.

Finally, I should like to say a special word of thanks to the staff of the Central Office of Information and the Scottish Information Office for their help.

I wish you and Lady Caroline all the best for the new year.

Yours sincerely,

Dietrich Stobbe

The Rt.Hon. Sir Ian Gilmour, Bt., M.P.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

L o n d o n

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT

apostas



File

Germany

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

17 December 1980

Dear Paul,

VISIT BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

Herr Dietrich Stobbe, the Governing Mayor of Berlin, called on the Prime Minister this morning. He was accompanied by those mentioned in your letter to me of 12 December.

The conversation was general in character and does not warrant being recorded in detail. However, one or two points which came up may be worthy of mention:-

- (a) In discussion of the Polish crisis, the Prime Minister said that her personal impression was that the Russians would probably not intervene until after Christmas. However, she thought it would be impossible for the Communists to accept indefinitely the establishment of an independent source of power in Poland. Herr Stobbe said that people in Berlin were very anxious about Poland. He himself did not think that the Soviet Union would try to create a Berlin crisis at the same time as they were intervening in Poland;
- (b) In response to a question from Herr Stobbe, the Prime Minister said that if there was no intervention in Poland, arms control negotiations, and East/West negotiations should, of course, continue. But if there were an invasion, international relationships would be altered in a fundamental way. Detente would, inevitably, be very seriously affected;
- (c) The Prime Minister said that whatever happened, Berlin could rely on the British Government's guarantee. We would also continue to remain in the closest touch with our allies about developments in the situation likely to affect Berlin;

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/ (d)

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- (d) Herr Stobbe asked the Prime Minister if she would be able to visit Berlin in the foreseeable future. The Prime Minister said that she very much hoped to be able to come but she thought it would be better if she did not come in the period of tension. It would be better if her visit took place when the situation was calmer. Herr Stobbe said the Prime Minister would be welcome at any time.

Yours ever

Michael Alexander

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 December 1980

Briefing folder.
Paul

Dear Michael,

Thank you for your letter of 1 December about the call on the Prime Minister by Herr Dietrich Stobbe, the Governing Mayor of Berlin, at 0930 on 17 December.

A brief on Berlin for the Prime Minister's use is attached. At the present time of tension in East-West relations, the Governing Mayor will wish to be able to tell Berliners that the Prime Minister has reaffirmed Britain's total commitment to the city. Herr Stobbe will also be interested to hear the Prime Minister's views on East-West relations and on the prospects for the new US Administration, as well as on the outlook for the British economy.

Herr Stobbe will be accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador, Herr Peter Soetje (Head of the Senat Chancellery), and Dr Hermann Meyn (Senat Press Spokesman). I suggest that from the British side, Mr Francis MacGinnis (Minister, British Military Government, Berlin) should also attend.

Herr Stobbe arrives on 14 December. On 15 December he will visit Edinburgh and North Sea oil installations. On 16 December he will visit York. On 17 December he will also call on Lord Carrington and the Lord Privy Seal, who will give a lunch in his honour.

Personality notes on Herr Stobbe, Herr Soetje, Dr Meyn and the FRG Ambassador are attached.

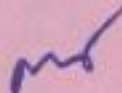
Yours truly
Paul
(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St

VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, HERR DIETRICH STOBBE

Points to Make

1. Welcome. Re-affirm total UK commitment to Berlin.
2. Glad Berlin not directly affected by East-West tension following Afghanistan and the Polish crisis. Russians so far obviously not interested in additional problems there. Tribute to the firm, yet circumspect approach pursued by the Allies, the FRG and the Senat. over the years. But we can't afford to relax. Intervention in Poland could spell trouble for Berlin.
3. Deplore the recent increase in the minimum exchange requirement by the GDR. As the Lord Privy Seal described it in Berlin, a setback to human contacts which affects especially the old and those with families. Why did they do it?
4. Glad also that the Berlin economy continues to do well. What are the main problems?
5. Welcome the continued excellent working relationship between the Allies and the Senat. Certain that, under your leadership, this will continue.



VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN, HERR DIETRICH STOBBE

Essential Facts

1. Herr Stobbe's visit was mooted in June, before the Polish crisis reminded Berliners of their exposed position. Stobbe was then concerned by signs that the years of relative calm following the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement in 1971 had lessened Berliners' perception of the importance of the Allied presence and their guarantee. He wishes demonstratively to emphasise this importance. He will wish to be able to say that the British guarantee is as firm as ever.

2. Berlin is at present leading a charmed life, unaffected by the general tension in East-West relations. The Russians regularly stress their interest in a calm situation there, and, despite a slight increase in the tempo of protests in recent months over traditional issues, they have been constructive in negotiation and flexible in routine business.

3. On 13 October, the GDR drastically increased the minimum hard currency exchange requirement for non-Socialist (mainly FRG) visitors to the GDR. The standard sum nearly doubled; pensioners, previously exempt, now pay the full amount and children, also previously exempt, pay a proportion. A special rate for East Berlin was abolished. By doing this the GDR, faced with turmoil in Poland, probably hoped to cut down Western influence, reduce the drain on economic resources by visitors, and reassure the Russians. The number of visits has declined by 60% in Berlin and by about 50% from the FRG overall. The FRG and its Allies, including the UK, publicly condemned this step; but the FRG did not take counter-measures, for fear of reducing Inner-German contacts even more. The deterioration of Inner-German relations seems now to have been halted; the GDR has granted agrément to the successor of the present FRG Permanent Representative in East Berlin.

/But

But the FRG anticipates no real improvement until the Polish situation stabilises. Herr Stobbe fears that a visible failure of the FRG's Inner-German policy of developing relations by agreements and small practical steps, could revive nationalist sentiments in West Germany.

4. The Defence Secretary visited Berlin in February and the Lord Privy Seal at the end of October. Both visits were highly successful, and welcomed as a sign of Britain's commitment. Our rôle in Berlin is a major positive factor in Anglo-German relations.

5. The Berlin economy is doing well (indeed better than that of the FRG). Progress has been made under Herr Stobbe's leadership to rationalise and restructure. The main internal problems relate to the provision of housing and the integration of immigrants (which form 10% of the population; 50% of these are Turks).

6. Herr Stobbe made a good start when he took over in 1977, attracting new investment, and pursuing a cautious and sensible political line. But since his re-election in March 1979, and particularly this year, his political stock has fallen. His attempt to combine the offices of Governing Mayor and Berlin SPD Party Chairman has not been successful and he is increasingly assailed by both wings of his own party. Too often his political judgment has proved faulty. This was particularly marked during the recent strike by the West Berlin employees of the (East German operated) Reichsbahn, which operates the city's rail links with the FRG and the surface local railway network (S-Bahn). Nevertheless, Allied/Senat cooperation remains generally excellent. No substitute for Herr Stobbe is in sight. He will wish to be able to present his visit to Britain as a personal and political success, and it is in our interests that he should be able to do so.

STOBBE, DIETRICH

Governing Mayor (SPD), Berlin, since May 1977. Chairman of the Berlin SPD since June 1979.

Born 1938 in Weepers (East Prussia). Experienced the Russian invasion in 1944 and the expulsion of Germans in 1945. Grew up in Stade, North Germany, before studying politics at the Free University, Berlin. Joined the SPD in 1960, a step motivated by his admiration for Willy Brandt and the Bad Godesberg programme. 1961 and 1965 worked in Brandt's election campaign team in West Germany. 1962 Constituency Business Manager of the SPD in the Borough of Charlottenburg. 1963-66 Personal Assistant and Press Secretary to the then Senator for Youth and Sport, Neubauer. 1966-67 spent a year in business at the Kindl Brauerei. Since 1976 member of Berlin House of Representatives. 1967-73 Business Manager of Parliamentary Party. 1973-77 Senator for Federal Affairs.

Throughout his career Stobbe has displayed intelligence, moderation and fairness. Although he stands on the right of the SPD he has worked consistently for integration within the party. His nomination (rather against the odds) as Governing Mayor on the resignation of Klaus Schutz in 1977 reflected his acceptability to all factions of the party. As Senator for Federal Affairs he was successful in furthering the close degree of cooperation necessary between the Senate and the Federal Government and established good relationship with the Federal Chancellor as well as with the Allies in Berlin and Bonn. Despite the SPD/FDP victory in the 1979 elections, the SPD's failure to improve its showing by more than 0.1% has been attributed by many to Stobbe's uncertain touch and lack of leadership. Following the election Stobbe, against some opposition, was elected Chairman of the SPD. He put himself forward to prevent a left/right split in the party.

Speaks fluent French and English. Visited UK as guest of HMG in 1972 and annually after his appointment as Senator for Federal Affairs in 1973. Visited UK as Governing Mayor in 1977 and 1979. Married with two children.

DR JURGEN RUHFUS

Dr Ruhfus was born on 4 August 1930 in Bochum. He is married with three children.

After university studies in law and management, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1955 and served in Geneva, Dakar and Athens. He was a highly successful Ambassador to Kenya from 1970-73. After 3 years as Assistant Under-Secretary in charge of European and politico/military affairs in the Foreign Office in Bonn, he was transferred to the Federal Chancellor's Office. For the past 3 years he has been the Chancellor's principal foreign policy adviser and appears to have gained Herr Schmidt's full confidence. He has been consistently helpful and frank in discussion with members of HM Embassy, a reliable guide to the Chancellor's thinking and to the lines on which German policies were likely to develop. His attitude to Britain, always friendly, became warmer still in the immediate aftermath of the Mogadishu hijacking episode in which he was very closely involved.

The fact that Herr Ruhfus has been appointed Ambassador in London is a sign of the importance the Federal Government attaches to Anglo-German relations. Of all the senior officials who might have been considered, he is probably the ablest and undoubtedly has the closest relationship with the Federal Chancellor. He is still comparatively young, immensely hardworking, and almost certainly will continue to have a distinguished career ahead of him after London. He spent some time in England as a young man, and it is probably from those days that he acquired his understanding of, and liking for, Britain.

He speaks excellent English,

Western European Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

February 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

SÖTJE, PETER

Head of Senate Chancellery (SPD) since April 1979.

Born 1941 in Rendsburg. 1961-62 studied law and political science in Freiburg. 1962-66 studied political science in Free University, Berlin. 1967-71 Personal Assistant to Senator for Families, Youth and Sports. 1971-75 Councillor for Youth and Sport in the Borough of Neuköln. 1977-79 Senate Spokesman and Head of Senate Press Department. Co-Author of a widely publicised discussion paper (1976) on party theory and practice. Political right-hand man('Chefideologe') of the Governing Mayor.

A hard worker and intensely loyal. Happier and more successful in his present position than he was as Spokesman. Understanding and cooperative in his dealings with the Allies.

Married. Two children. Speaks some English.

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MEYN, DR HERMANN

Senate Spokesman (SPD) since May 1979.

Born 1934 in Bremervoerde. 1957-61 studied Political Science at Free University, Berlin. 1961-64 News Editor at Rias Radio Station. 1964-69 Research Assistant at Institute for Publicistics of Free University Berlin. 1969-72 Political Editor at the Spiegel in Hamburg. 1972-79 Chief Editor of the official organ of the German journalists' Union (DJV), 'Journalist'. Member of the SPD since 1964. Appointed to present post in the Senate reshuffle following the elections of 18 March 1979.

Married. One child.

CONFIDENTIAL

Germany

1 December 1980

Re 15.12.80

Thank you for your letter of 27 November to Michael Alexander about the visit of the Governing Mayor of Berlin.

As I told Chris Jebb this morning, the Prime Minister will see Herr Stobbe for half an hour at 0930 on 17 December. I should be grateful if you could let us have suitable briefing by close of play on 15 December.

M. A. PATTISON

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 December is a bad
day for you but you would
fit in the Mayor at 09.30
on 17 Dec. Alfa?

27 November 1980

Dear Michael,

Yes mt.
Paul 28/11

Visit by the Governing Mayor of Berlin

The Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Stobbe, has been invited to visit Britain as the guest of the Government from 15-17 December. It is customary for the Governing Mayor to pay fairly frequent visits to Allied capitals. On this occasion he will spend the first two days of his visit in Scotland and the North of England. On 17 December, he will call on the Lord Privy Seal at 12.15, and Sir Ian Gilmour will then host a lunch in his honour.

We also hope to arrange a call by him on the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.

During his last visit to London, on 25 May 1979, Herr Stobbe was received by the Prime Minister. This was in accordance with our practice of many years' standing whereby the Governing Mayor in office is received by the Prime Minister of the day when visiting London (he is also regularly received by US and French Presidents when visiting Washington and Paris).

Berlin has so far not been directly affected by the deterioration in East-West relations which followed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, nor by events in Poland. Nevertheless, Berliners are acutely aware of their vulnerable position, and demonstrations of support by the Protecting Powers will be particularly valued at the present time. Our role in Berlin gains us great credit with the Federal German Government, as was demonstrated most recently by the highly positive reaction in both Berlin and Bonn to the visit which the Lord Privy Seal paid to the City on 31 October.

Lord Carrington therefore hopes that the Prime Minister will be able to receive Herr Stobbe for a short talk. I understand that, despite the Prime Minister's heavy programme on 17 December, it might be possible to fit in a call. Could you please let me know whether this will, in fact, be possible and if so, at what time? Herr Stobbe would be accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador, by one or two of his senior officials, and by the Minister in the British Military Government, Berlin.

Yours etc

Paul

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

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Germany

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Copied to: BROADCASTING
Foreign Language
: BBC ~~Services~~ *Services*. May 1979
10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

25 May 1979

~~RF 8-6-79~~

Dear Paul,

Call on the Prime Minister by the Governing
Mayor of Berlin on 25 May 1979.

RF answered on
: Broadcasting; BBC
Foreign Language Services:
May 1979.

The Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Stobbe, called on the Prime Minister at No. 10 at 1015 this morning, accompanied by the FRG Ambassador and others.

I enclose a copy of my note of the Prime Minister's conversation with Herr Stobbe. I should be grateful if you would give it the restricted distribution appropriate to Prime Ministerial records.

You will see that the Prime Minister expressed the view to Herr Stobbe that there should be no economies in UK or Western broadcasts to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. I should be grateful if you would let me know, for the Prime Minister's information, whether any cuts have recently been made in the BBC's service to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe or if any cuts are planned.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
Byzantine

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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RECORD OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONVERSATION WITH THE GOVERNING
MAYOR OF BERLIN, HERR DIETRICH STOBBE, AT 10 DOWNING STREET
ON 25 MAY 1979 at 1015

Present:

Prime Minister	Herr Dietrich Stobbe
Mr. F.R. MacGinnis (BMG Berlin)	H.E. the Ambassador of the FRG
Mr. B.G. Cartledge	Herr Gerhard Kunze (Senate Chancellery)
	Dr. Hermann Meyn (Senate Spokesman)
	Herr Jorg Henschel (Deputy Senate Spokesman)

When the Prime Minister had welcomed the Governing Mayor, Herr Stobbe said that he had spoken to Chancellor Schmidt about the Chancellor's recent talks with the Prime Minister; the Chancellor had told him that the commitment of the UK to defend the freedom of Berlin was absolute. The Prime Minister said that this was so: the UK's commitment to Berlin was total. Herr Stobbe explained that, since his city was so dependent on the policies of other countries, he was naturally anxious to know the position of the new British Government. The Prime Minister told Herr Stobbe that he need have no concern whatsoever.

After a discussion of the events which had been arranged to commemorate the 30th Anniversary of the end of the Berlin Blockade, Herr Stobbe said that all Berliners knew to whom they owed their freedom and their security. The Prime Minister said that the decision of the West to mount the airlift had been a decision to defend freedom against tyranny. The West should never be, and did not need to be, on the defensive: not only was the Western system the best but the moral case for freedom

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for which the West stood was incontestable. Herr Stobbe agreed and said that since Berlin lived within a framework of treaties, everything depended on the military balance between East and West; he would therefore be interested to hear the Prime Minister's view on the SALT II and SALT III negotiations.

The Prime Minister said that she had discussed the SALT treaty with Chancellor Schmidt. Like him, she hoped that the treaty would be ratified, since if it was not, the general uncertainty would be such as to produce damaging effects. The British Government was, of course, also deeply interested in SALT III since this negotiation would deal with the problem of the SS20 missile - a weapon which was tactical in name but not in fact. Herr Stobbe said that if SALT II were not ratified by the United States, the consequences for Berlin could be very serious. The Prime Minister said that she had found her discussions with Mr. Vance earlier in the week on these matters very helpful. She asked whether the forthcoming European elections would have an unsettling effect on the situation in Berlin.

Herr Stobbe explained that Berlin was the only region which, under the Treaty of Rome, would not directly elect representatives to the European Parliament. Instead, the House of Representatives in Berlin would send Deputies to the new Assembly, on the FRG list. This was not ideal, but Berlin had to live with realities. He hoped that the Soviet Union would recognise that the Western powers had handled the matter in such a way as to show respect for Berlin's special status; but the Soviet reaction remained uncertain. There could be minor disturbances around Berlin during the weeks ahead. The UK and the US had recently made diplomatic representations of the Soviet Union, to the effect that it would be better if nobody were to cause trouble in the period immediately prior to the US/Soviet Summit in Vienna.

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/Herr Stobbe

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Herr Stobbe said he was nevertheless apprehensive over the possibility that the Soviet Union might do nothing but leave it to the GDR to take such measures as they wished - for example, preventing Berlin's Parliamentary Deputies from crossing GDR territory. If this happened, he hoped that the three Western powers would make their views known unequivocally. The Bonn Group had drawn up a list of possible contingencies, one of which was the incorporation of the Eastern Sector of Berlin into the GDR. Meanwhile, Berlin could only wait upon events and keep calm.

Herr Stobbe went on to say that in all other respects Berlin was doing quite well; the last two years had been the calmest of the post-war period. In general, detente worked well for Berlin and the Quadripartite Agreements had helped the city a great deal in practical ways; for example, more than 25 million people had now crossed the wall which divided the city to visit friends or relatives. The overall policy of dealing with Eastern Europe by means of treaties had produced good results for Berliners.

The Prime Minister said that this policy was fine so long as the West did not retreat. The British Government favoured detente, so long as it was two way and backed by a strong defence. The West must always be in a position to negotiate from strength. The Eastern bloc had an advantage in the diversity of means by which it pursued its objectives, for example by using proxies such as the Cubans and the East Germans in Africa and the Middle East. The West had to keep a very close watch on these tactics. There was now great uncertainty as to what would happen in the Soviet Union after Brezhnev's departure: it would be important to keep the process of detente going during this period.

/Herr Stobbe

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Herr Stobbe said that he was particularly concerned about the situation in the GDR itself and by, for example, the action which had recently been taken against journalists there. The GDR regime was nervous, especially about the activities of the intellectuals and the position was not stable. The Prime Minister commented that the activities of the so-called dissidents in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were very encouraging for those who believed that the human spirit would ultimately survive in adversity. Herr Stobbe agreed. The Prime Minister went on to say that the weakness of the Soviet system was the lack of any provision for proper succession to the leadership - there were no elections, just a power struggle. Even if a collective leadership were to take over from Brezhnev, it would not last but would end in the victory of the strongest.

Herr Stobbe said that Berliners hoped that the UK, the United States and France would maintain their presence in Berlin and their commitment to their own rights which derived from the war period; this was the only effective response to the Soviet Union. He thanked the Prime Minister for the UK's commitment and support. The Prime Minister said that the commitment was to freedom as well as to Berlin: the position had held much longer than anyone would have expected thirty years ago. The Prime Minister went on to say that she thought it wrong to make any economies in UK or Western broadcasts to the countries of the Warsaw Pact. Technological improvements now made it possible to beam Western ideas to the East more effectively than before and Western Governments must never economise on this. Dissidents from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who had visited her had always urged that Western broadcasts should concentrate on serious discussion - they did not like too much valuable broadcasting time to be taken up by music.

/Herr Stobbe

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- 5 -

Herr Stobbe asked the Prime Minister if there would be any changes in the UK's bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister repeated that the UK favoured detente, so long as it was two way, and would judge by the actions of the Soviet Government rather than by its words. The next CSCE meeting would have to be tackled seriously and the Soviet Union taken up on the question of freedom of movement. The Belgrade meeting had been important as it was the first time that the other Warsaw Pact countries had seen the Soviet Union to be in the dock for its policies. Herr Stobbe agreed that the CSCE meeting in Madrid would be very important for Berlin.

In conclusion, Herr Stobbe wished the Prime Minister every success for her Government and for the UK. He greatly hoped that the Prime Minister would be able to visit Berlin. The Prime Minister replied that she would very much like to do so, although it might not be possible in the immediate future.

The conversation ended at 1050.

Byrd.

25 May 1979

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

CALL BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN ON
FRIDAY, 25 MAY, AT 1000

I attach briefs for your meeting with the Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Stobbe, whom you have agreed to receive at 1000 on Friday, 25 May. Herr Stobbe will be accompanied by Herr Gerhard Kunze (Berlin Senate Chancellery) and by a Counsellor from the FRG Embassy.

If you agree, Mr. Francis McGuinness, the Political Minister in the British Military Government, Berlin, will attend on our side.

You will remember that Chancellor Schmidt, during his talks with you, stressed the symbolic value to the people of West Berlin of a photograph of you and Herr Stobbe at No. 10. In view of this, would you be prepared to have a photocall with Herr Stobbe on the front step when he arrives? *Yes Mr*

I have attached to the briefs the texts of Chancellor Schmidt's message to you about the 30th anniversary of the Berlin airlift and of your reply - you may like to refer to this exchange during your talk with Herr Stobbe. *B.M.*

23 May 1979



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 May 1979

Dear Bryan,

Visit of the Governing Mayor of
Berlin


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Thank you for your letter of 16 May.

A brief for the Prime Minister's use is attached.

Herr Stobbe will be accompanied by the Federal German Ambassador, by Herr Gerhard Kunze (a senior official in the Senate Chancellery) and by Herr Dietrich Lincke (Counsellor, FRG Embassy). I suggest that from the British side, Mr Francis MacGinnis (Minister, British Military Government Berlin) should also attend.

Personality notes on Herr Stobbe, Herr Kunze and the FRG Ambassador are also attached.

Yours truly

P Lever

B G Cartledge Esq
10 Downing Street

VISIT OF THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN,
HERR DIETRICH STOBBESpeaking Notes

1. Very pleased to welcome you to London. Congratulations on the outcome of the recent Berlin Elections, and on your own re-election as Governing Mayor.
2. I am glad of this opportunity to renew the assurances which successive British Governments have given that Britain remains firmly committed to the maintenance of Berlin's security and viability. As Her Majesty The Queen said in Berlin last summer, the presence of British troops embody the British commitment to defend the freedom of Berlin until the division in Europe, and in your city, can be healed.
3. In general, the Quadripartite Agreement seems to be working well. The British Government welcomes the contribution which your own statesmanlike approach to Berlin problems has made to this state of affairs; we also appreciate the excellent relations you have established with the Allies in Berlin. We are grateful for the understanding you show of the difficulties faced by the Allies in carrying out their responsibilities in Berlin.
4. But despite the generally calm situation, friction continues between the Allies and the Russians over the interpretation of the Quadripartite Agreement. The future is not entirely unclouded. We cannot exclude the possibility that Eastern reactions to Berlin's qualified participation in Direct Elections on 10 June may go beyond verbal protests. If so, we must react firmly but non-provocatively. And, despite the many successes the Federal Government has had in

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its policy towards the GDR in recent years, there have also been setbacks. The British Government were concerned by the restrictions recently imposed by the GDR on journalists' activity. Such actions seem to demonstrate a lack of self-confidence in the GDR Government. We made it clear to the GDR Ambassador that the measures ran counter to the relevant sections of the Helsinki Final Act. How do you see the future of Inner-German relations?

5. I am impressed by the energy you have shown in tackling Berlin's economic problems. Your exertions now seem to be bearing fruit. Berlin's political future can be assured only on the basis of a healthy economy. I appreciate the importance in this respect of ensuring that Berlin is able to play its full part in the life of the EEC. The main contribution that the Allies have made is by working to maintain a political situation in which the City is able to flourish. How do you assess future economic trends in Berlin, in such fields as the attraction of investment and the maintenance of jobs? I am aware that in terms of the quality of life, Berlin leaves very little to be desired.

Background

The Quadripartite Agreement

6. Berlin has been quiet recently. The Russians seem to have no interest in provoking a general crises in and around the City. But they have continued to protest at alleged violations of the Quadripartite Agreement (QA). These protests, in the main, focus on the provision in the QA that "the ties between the Western Sectors of Berlin and the FRG will be maintained and developed, taking into account that these Sectors continue not to be a constituent part of the FRG and not to be governed by it". The Allies and the Russians interpret this provision very differently. The majority of Soviet /protests

protests are directed at practices, often involving Federal presence in the City and visits there by Federal Ministers, which the Allies defend as consistent with the QA.

7. The Soviet Union has never accepted Berlin's inclusion within the ambit of the EEC, and has recently shown particular hostility to the prospect of Berlin's participation, in accordance with a special procedure, in Direct Elections to the European Parliament. Expressions of Soviet displeasure have not so far proceeded beyond diplomatic exchanges. But there is a major point of principle at stake here for both the Soviet Union and the Allies; and there have been indications from the East that their reactions to Direct Elections on 10 June may not be confined to verbal protests. The Allies are considering contingency plans; these may involve making it clear to the East that measures such as the harassment of transit traffic would cause Western governments great concern.

Internal Political

8. The Berlin elections in March brought no significant change. The FDP and the Opposition CDU slightly increased their share of the vote at the expense of minority parties; the SPD (Herr Stobbe's party) share was the same as at the last elections in 1975. The SPD/FDP Coalition will continue to govern the City. But since the election, Herr Stobbe has shown a lack of sensitivity to grass-roots party opinion and has suffered some reverses in the construction of his Administration. His authority over his own Party and within the Coalition has been, to some extent, brought into question.

9. But the picture is by no means all black. Herr Stobbe is still very much in the driving seat. The economy is doing reasonably well. The psychological mood in the City is at a post-war high. Herr Stobbe's
/overall

overall approach is sober and sensible. He is sound on inner-German policy and attaches importance to close co-operation with the Allies.

FRG/GDR Relations

10. In November 1978 the two German States reached agreement on a package of measures designed mainly to improve surface access to Berlin. Among other things, a new autobahn will be constructed between Berlin and Hamburg, and a canal in the south-west of Berlin will be reopened, thus reducing journey time for barges in transit. The advantage for the FRG will be improved access to Berlin; for the GDR it will be a substantial injection of hard currency, as the projects will largely be FRG-financed. The package is the most recent fruit of an FRG policy aimed at securing the position of Berlin, promoting inner German human contacts and - with eventual reunification in mind - generally preventing the two countries drifting apart. This policy has always been attended by setbacks. The most recent of these took place in April 1979, when the GDR authorities imposed new restrictions on the activities of foreign (mainly FRG) journalists in the GDR. The reason for the restrictions was probably reporting by FRG journalists, including interviews with GDR citizens, on reactions to measures by the GDR authorities to control the use of hard currency shops. The FRG protested strongly but refrained from countermeasures against GDR journalists which would infringe the principle of freedom of movement within Germany. The FRG asked its Allies for support; in London the GDR Ambassador was summoned and told that his Government's action ran counter to the relevant Section of the Helsinki Final Act.

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5.

11. On 18 May there were indications in Berlin that the GDR intended to refuse entry permits for East Berlin and the GDR between 30 May and 5 June. Such GDR action could have constituted a breach of agreements reached by the two German States under 4-Power aegis. The latest indications are that application for permits are being processed normally.

12. In future it seems likely that inner German relations will continue to be uneasy, while neither side will risk a serious deterioration. The GDR has an over-riding interest in promoting inner German trade, through which it gains customs-free access to the EEC; the FRG attaches great importance to the viability of Berlin, and to the continuation of the present relatively liberal conditions governing access to East Berlin and the GDR by FRG citizens and West Berliners.

The Economy of West Berlin

13. The Berlin economy is characterised by:

- a) near total dependence on supplies and raw materials imported from the West, and hence on the access routes;
- b) dependence on enormous Federal subsidies; about DM 8,500 m. in direct subventions, and the same again in indirect subsidies;
- c) complete integration with the economy of the Federal Republic.

14. Concern about the long-term future springs not only from the City's political and geographical position, but from special factors such as:

- a) a declining population;
- b) inadequate investment;
- c) a loss of jobs as industries are modernised or overtaken.

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15. Since he took Office in 1977, the Governing Mayor has maintained the restoration of business confidence and the attraction of new job-creating investment as major policy objectives. Confidence has improved, and so has the rate of investment, although it is not yet adequate. In 1978, a Commission consisting of representatives of all the Parties in the Bundestag in Bonn, made a series of proposals to stimulate the Berlin economy. Some of these have already taken effect, and has helped to generate cautious optimism. In 1979 a growth rate of 4% in the economy is expected.

STOBEE, DIETRICH

Governing Mayor (SPD), Berlin since May 1977.

Born in Weepers, East Prussia in 1938. Grew up in Stade, North Germany, before studying politics at the Free University in Berlin. Joined the SPD in 1969, a step which he claims was motivated by his admiration for Willy Brandt and the Bad Godesberg programme. 1961 and 1965 worked in Brandt's election campaign team in West Germany. 1962 Constituency Business Manager of the SPD in the Borough of Charlottenburg. 1963-66 Personal Assistant and Press Secretary to the then Senator for Youth and Sport, Neubauer. 1966-67 spent a year in business at the Kindle Brauerei. Since 1967 member of House of Representatives. 1967-73 Business Manager of Parliamentary Party. Senator for Federal Affairs 1973-77.

Throughout his career Stobbe has displayed intelligence, consistency and fairness. Although he stands squarely on the right of the SPD he has worked consistently for integration within the party. His nomination (rather against the odds) as Governing Mayor on the resignation of Klaus Schütz in 1977 reflected his acceptability to all factions of the party. It was also the early but logical culmination of his own unostentatious career planning and ambition. As Senator for Federal Affairs he was notably successful in furthering the close degree of cooperation necessary between the Senate and the Federal Government and he established an exceptionally good relationship with the Federal Chancellor as well as with the Allies in Berlin and Bonn.

Speaks French and English. Visited UK as guest of HMG in 1972 and annually after his appointment as Senator for Federal Affairs as part of a working tour of the three Allied capitals. Visited UK as Mayor in November 1977.

Married with two children.

CONFIDENTIAL

KUNZE, GERHARD

Senior Official in the Senate Chancellery responsible for relations with the Allies and since 1973 West Berlin Representative for negotiations with the GDR in the framework of the Visits Arrangement.

Born 1926. Educated in Dresden. 1947-51 studied law at Humboldt University, East Berlin. 1952 escaped to West Berlin. 1957 joined the staff of the Senate Chancellery.

From the time of his entry in the Senate Chancellery Herr Kunze has been closely concerned with the problems arising from the legal and constitutional position of Berlin and consequently with cooperation between the Senate and the Allies. He is also the leading expert at official level on relations with the GDR. He is now Head of the Section "Berlin Politik" reporting direct where appropriate to the Governing Mayor. He is held in great respect by both his superiors and his juniors as well as by the Allies for his long experience and sound judgement. His approach is legalistic and bureaucratic (in the good sense). At the same time he has always been cooperative and shown understanding for the Allied position.

Married. Two children.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

HERR HANS HELLMUTH RUETE

Federal German Ambassador to London since 22 April 1977.

1. Herr Ruete was born in 1914 in St Petersburg and studied law at the Universities of Kiel, Marburg, Lausanne and Tokyo. He did Doctoral work on the Extra-territorial rights of the European powers in China and Japan. During the war he served in North Africa and the Soviet Union. He completed his studies after the war and joined the Federal Ministry of Justice in 1950.
2. In 1952 he transferred to the Foreign Ministry and served successively as Counsellor in Tokyo (1952-56); Head of the Soviet Department in the Foreign Ministry (1956-60); Harvard Center for International Affairs (1960-61); Consul-General Calcutta (1961-64). From 1964-66 he was Assistant Under Secretary in charge of East/West relations. From 1966-70 he was Deputy Under Secretary and Head of the Second Political Department at the Foreign Ministry. From 1970-72 Herr Ruete was Federal German Ambassador in Paris, and from 1972-77 Ambassador in Warsaw.
3. Herr Ruete is married with three children. He speaks good English as well as French, Russian and Japanese, and is reported to have English ancestors. His interests are listed as music, literature and theatre. His wife Ruth speaks French and English but is not yet completely at home in English.
4. Herr Ruete has a wooden leg, and looks his age. He has the manner - and the wisdom - of an old-fashioned family doctor. He and his wife did not find it altogether easy to follow in the footsteps of their dynamic and publicity-conscious predecessors, the von Hases. But he has an affection and admiration for Britain and warms up in response to friendliness.

CONFIDENTIAL



cc CO JS

Germany

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 May 1979

BF 22/5/79

VISIT BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 14 May about the forthcoming visit to the UK by the Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Stobbe.

The Prime Minister has seen your letter and has agreed to receive Herr Stobbe at 10 Downing Street on Friday, 25 May, at 1000. I should be grateful if you would so inform the FRG Embassy.

I should be grateful if briefing could be prepared for the Prime Minister's talk with Herr Stobbe, in time to reach me by 1700 on 22 May. It would be helpful if you could also let me know at the same time who will be accompanying Herr Stobbe when he calls (I should be grateful if the entourage could be kept to a minimum). Would you suggest that an FCO Minister or senior official should also be present?

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile in the Cabinet Office.

B. G. CARTLEDGE

P. Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

cc Miss Stephens
cc Press Office

re Miss Steiner.



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

You indicated to
Chancellor Schmidt that you
might be able to see Herr Stobbe.

14 May 1979

Could you do so at 1000

Dear Bryan,

on Friday, 25 May?

Yes
Bryan 14/5

Visit by the Governing Mayor of Berlin

The Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Stobbe, has been invited to pay a visit to this country as the guest of the Government from 24-26 May. He will be calling on the Lord Privy Seal at 12.15 on 24 May, and Sir Ian Gilmour will then host a lunch in his honour. Herr Stobbe will call on the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary at 17.00 on 24 May. On 25 May, Herr Stobbe will open an exhibition at the RAF Museum at Hendon to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Berlin air-lift at 12.30, and he will attend a reception at the Federal German Embassy at 18.00 hours on that day.

The responsibilities of Herr Stobbe's office are, because of Berlin's special circumstances, wider than his title suggests. He equates in importance with a senior minister in the Federal German Government. Herr Stobbe's visit to London will be his first after resuming office after the Berlin elections which took place in March. Since taking over from his predecessor, Herr Schuetz, in mid 1977, Herr Stobbe has had much success in bolstering confidence in the City and enhancing its economic prospects. His working relationship with the Allies is excellent.

Herr Stobbe is expected to visit Paris and Washington as well as London. In both these capitals he is likely to be given high level treatment (in Paris he will be received by President Giscard). During his last visit to London, in November 1977, Herr Stobbe was received at 10 Downing Street; and his predecessor was received by the Prime Minister of the day on three out of four occasions when he paid official visits to London. Herr Stobbe is therefore likely to attach particular importance to meeting the Prime Minister; and Chancellor Schmidt made a point of asking the Prime Minister to see Herr Stobbe at their recent talks. Lord Carrington hopes, therefore, that the Prime Minister will be able to agree to receive Herr Stobbe for a short talk. Could you let me know whether this will be possible and, if so, the date and time?

Yours etc

(P Lever)

Original on
JC filing
Germany, Sept. 77.



Germany 77

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 March, 1979.

PE 30/4/79

Visit by the Governing Mayor of West Berlin

Thank you for your letter of 1 March about the visit which the Governing Mayor of West Berlin is due to pay to the UK from 24 to 26 May.

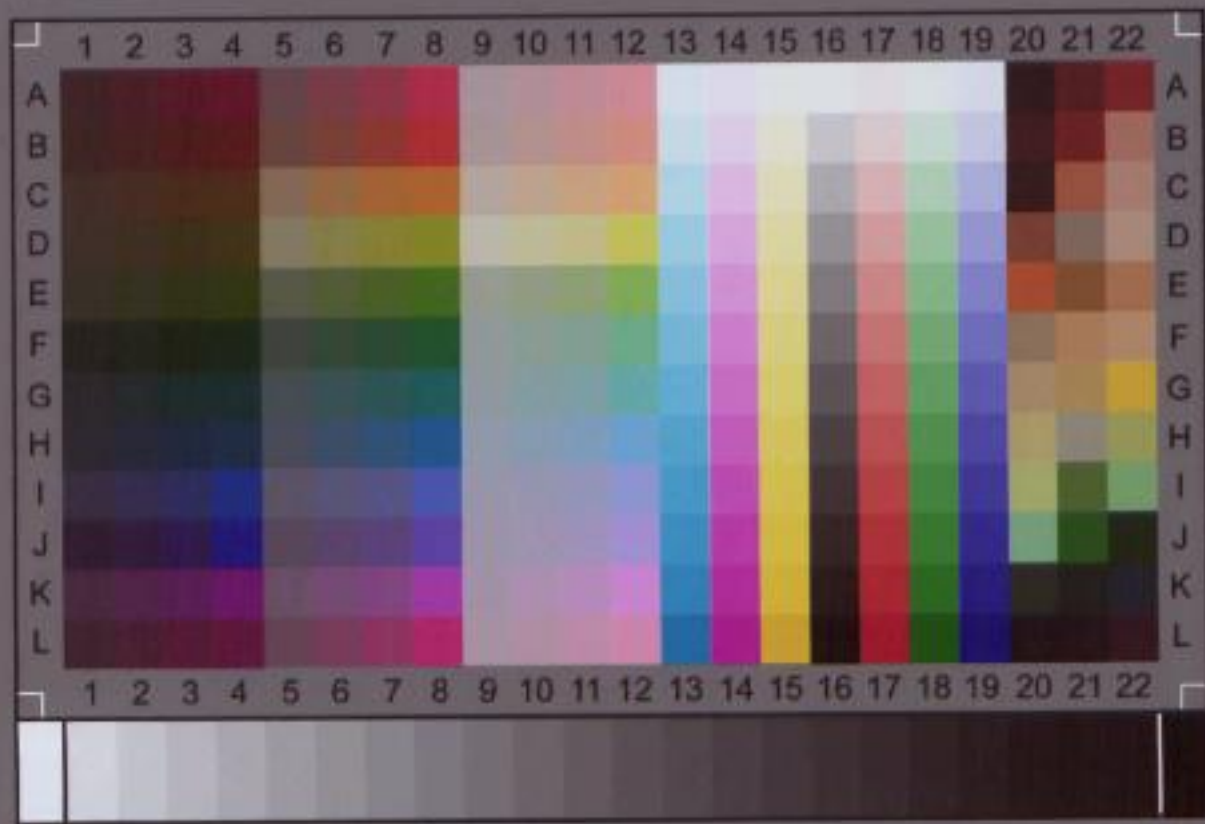
The Prime Minister has seen your letter. He does not exclude the possibility that he may be able to receive Herr Stobbe, as he did during Herr Stobbe's last visit to London; but he cannot give a firm commitment to do so at this stage. I should be grateful if you would write to me again, with an outline of the programme which will then have been arranged for Herr Stobbe, at the end of April.

(1

BCC

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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