

Part 5

Box 443

MT

Confidential Filing

Internal Situation in East Germany  
Policy towards German Unification

GERMANY

Part 1: Oct 1979

Part 5: September 1990.

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>5.9.90</del>							
<del>19.9.90</del>							
<del>27.9.90</del>							
<del>28.9.90</del>							
<del>29.9.90</del>							
<del>4.10.90</del>							
<del>8.10.90</del>							
<del>15.10.90</del>							
<del>23.11.90</del>							
PART ENDS							

PREM 19/3002





## Foreign and Commonwealth Office document

Reference: FCO Despatch DD 1990/298

Description: UNITED GERMANY - Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bonn and East Berlin to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Date: 2 October 1990

The above FCO documents, which were enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed.

Such documents are the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. When released they are available in the appropriate FCO CLASSES.

Signed

J. Gray

Date

27/10/2016

PREM Records Team

DER BOTSCHAFTER  
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

Baron Hermann von Richthofen

London, 23 November 1990

EM

Dear Prime Minister

I have the honour to transmit the enclosed letter from Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, dated 9 November 1990.

A courtesy translation is attached.

I am, dear Prime Minister,

Yours sincerely

Hermann Richthofen

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



PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T249B/90

Courtesy Translation

SUBJECT cc MASTER  
cc OPS

9 November 1990

Letter  
from  
Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the  
Federal Republic of Germany  
to  
Her Excellency The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland

Dear Margaret,

I should like to thank you very much indeed for your good wishes on the occasion of German unification on 3 October 1990. I greatly appreciated this sign of solidarity and friendship with the German people

I should like to express my special gratitude for your personal support and the support of your Government on the way to German unity.

Yours sincerely,  
sgd.Helmut Kohl

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND  
DER BUNDESKANZLER

Bonn, den 9 . November 1990

CC. PCO  
L. von  
23/ki

Ihrer Exzellenz  
Frau Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Premierminister des  
Vereinigten Königreichs  
Großbritannien und Nordirland

London

Liebe Margaret,

für Ihre guten Wünsche zum Tag der deutschen Einheit am 3. Oktober 1990 danke ich Ihnen herzlich. Ich habe mich über dieses Zeichen der Verbundenheit und der Freundschaft mit dem ganzen deutschen Volk sehr gefreut.

Insbesondere danke ich Ihnen für Ihre persönliche Unterstützung und die Ihrer Regierung auf dem Weg zur deutschen Einheit.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

L. von



R 25/10

Sir Neil Macfarlane, M.P.



House of Commons  
London SW1A 0AA  
Telephone: 071-219 3404

Messages: 071-219 4343

25th October 1990

*7-7- very much  
for you letter 7 25 October  
I am sure the P-M will  
be very pleased to know that the  
negotiations have been successfully  
concluded.*

Dominic Morris Esq  
10 Downing Street

*Dominic Morris*

I thought you would like to know that we now look to have completed these prolonged negotiations and the East Berlin Court altered the injunction taken out by Alsen-Breitenburg against the Treuhandanstalt with the condition that Alsen-Breitenburg be given the opportunity to make a revised offer for Rudersdorf within three weeks. This period expired at midnight on the 17th of October and no revised offer was submitted. The injunction thereby expired, and our purchase agreement with the Treuhandanstalt became legally binding. This was confirmed to us by letter on the 22nd of October from the Treuhandanstalt. The court case against the Treuhandanstalt over a claim for damages by Alsen-Breitenburg continues, but this does not affect us. The purchase consideration of DM 220 million will be paid to the Treuhandanstalt by the 26th of October.

*Thank you very much  
Neil*

Sir Neil Macfarlane MP



KW

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

25 October 1990

Thank you very much for your letter of 25 October. I am sure the Prime Minister will be very pleased to hear that the negotiations have been successfully concluded.

DOMINIC MORRIS

Sir Neil Macfarlane, M.P.

A handwritten flourish or signature mark, possibly a stylized '6' or a similar symbol, located in the lower right quadrant of the page.



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INFO SAVING BERLIN AND CONSULATES-GENERAL IN THE FRG

FRAME GERMANY

THE FRG ECONOMY POST-UNIFICATION

SUMMARY

1. LATEST FORECAST OF ECONOMIC GROWTH NEXT YEAR LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE INTERNAL DEBATE ABOUT THE EFFECT OF UNIFICATION ON THE ECONOMY AND THE COST OF DEALING WITH IT HAS BEGUN TO HOT UP IN ANTICIPATION OF THE ELECTIONS.

DETAIL

2. ON 22 OCTOBER THE FIVE LEADING ECONOMIC INSTITUTES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC PUBLISHED THEIR BI-ANNUAL REPORT AND FORECAST ON THE GERMAN ECONOMY (DETAILS BY BAG TO FCO AND TREASURY). THE REPORT ACKNOWLEDGES THE DIFFICULTY OF FORECASTING THE ECONOMY IN THE FORMER GDR, BUT WARNS THAT THE FIVE EASTERN LAENDER WILL EXPERIENCE A NOMINAL DECLINE OF 16 PER CENT THIS YEAR AND HALF AS MUCH IN 1991. IT ALSO POINTS TO SIGNS OF AN ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN IN THE WESTERN PART OF GERMANY AND CLAIMS THAT ALL-GERMAN ECONOMIC GROWTH NEXT YEAR WILL BE ONLY 1.5 PER CENT IN REAL TERMS. IN ADDITION, IT FORECASTS THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE EAST WILL RISE TO 1.4 MILLION (NOT INCLUDING SHORT TIME WORKERS) WHICH, COMBINED WITH A SLIGHT INCREASE IN THE WEST, WILL PUSH UP THE ALL-GERMAN RATE FROM 6 PER CENT THIS YEAR TO 9.5 PER CENT IN 1991.

3. THE INSTITUTES ESTIMATE THAT DM 71 BILLION WILL NEED TO BE BORROWED ON THE CAPITAL MARKETS THIS YEAR, RISING TO DM 90 BILLION NEXT YEAR OR 3 PER CENT OF GNP. THEY ARGUE STRONGLY AGAINST THE USE OF TAX INCREASES TO LIGHTEN THE BURDEN, SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD LOOK FOR SAVINGS. THEY CALL FOR STRICT PUBLIC EXPENDITURE DISCIPLINE, CUTS IN SUBSIDIES AND TAX RELIEFS, PARTICULARLY TO FORMER BORDER AREAS, AND A REDUCTION IN DEFENCE SPENDING.

4. THE REPORT WAS CRITICISED BY THE FEDERAL ECONOMICS MINISTER, HAUSSMANN, WHO REPEATED THE GOVERNMENT'S FORECAST THAT GROWTH WOULD



BE BETWEEN 2.5 AND 3 PER CENT NEXT YEAR. HE RECEIVED SOME SUPPORT FROM FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS, WHICH SAID THAT THE INSTITUTES HAD EXAGGERATED THE PRESSURES OF UNIFICATION. BUT THE OPPOSITION AND THE TRADES UNIONS SAID THE REPORT VINDICATED THEIR CLAIM THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO POLICY ANSWER FOR THE ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND RISING UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FIVE EASTERN LAENDER. THE REPORT ALSO RECEIVED SOME INDIRECT SUPPORT FROM BUNDESBANK DIRECTOR, TIETMEYER, WHO YESTERDAY REPEATED THAT INCREASED BORROWING COULD DE-STABILISE CAPITAL MARKETS AND CALLED INSTEAD FOR RADICAL CUTS IN SPENDING.

## COMMENT

5. THESE REGULAR REPORTS USUALLY ATTRACT LITTLE INTEREST, BUT THIS IS THE FIRST TO APPEAR SINCE UNITY AND IT HAS RECEIVED FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT. IN TRUTH, THE DATA ON WHICH IT IS BASED (COLLECTED BY A WEST BERLIN INSTITUTE) ARE PROBABLY NO BETTER THAN THE OFFICIAL ESTIMATES, AND IT IS HARD TO KNOW WHICH ARE MORE ACCURATE, THOUGH UP TO NOW THE PESSIMISTS HAVE TENDED TO BE PROVED RIGHT BY EVENTS. IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THE OPPOSITION CAN BE EXPECTED TO MILK THE INSTITUTES' GLOOMY ANALYSIS FOR ALL IT IS WORTH.

6. THE INSTITUTES HAVE ADDED THEIR VOICES TO THOSE (INCLUDING THE BUNDESBANK) WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TURNED TOO QUICKLY AND TOO OFTEN TO THE CAPITAL MARKETS. THIS ISSUE IS ALSO LIKELY TO BE PROMINENT IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THOUGH AS YET THE OPPOSITION APPEARS TO HAVE NO CREDIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY.

MALLABY

BONN WILL PASS SAVING

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FRAME GERMANY

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ADDITIONAL 1

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R26/10


Sir Neil Macfarlane, M.P.



House of Commons  
London SW1A 0AA

Messages: 01-219 4343

Telephone: 01-219 3404

Amf: 

RMC & Berlin

The enclosed may be of  
interest. From the M.D.  
of RMC in Germany  
Berlin.

Sir Neil Macfarlane

Translation  
18.10.90/Lj

Letter from Mr. Hörstensmeyer of 17.10.1990 to Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl

Dear Mr. Chancellor,

supported by the British Government and with the personal encouragement from the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the international British building materials group "RMC Group p.l.c" under the chairmanship of Mr. John Camden will contribute to the building up of the construction industry in eastern Germany and invest there more than 1 billion DM over the next years. In my opinion this is a desirable and great thing.

As a first important step the Treuhandanstalt Berlin and the German Readymix Group have signed a contract relating to the acquisition of Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH. With a production of 2.5 million tonnes this company is one of the four big cement companies of eastern Germany.

The work of the Treuhandanstalt is attracting growing criticism. May I, therefore, dear Mr. Chancellor, make a comment which is based on experience from several months of practical cooperation. We feel that Dr. Rohwedder, his colleagues and staff deserve respect and appreciation for the work accomplished under the most difficult conditions. Not criticism, but understanding and support from all sides are needed.

I hope that this information will be of interest to you.

Yours faithfully,

signed Gerd Hörstensmeyer



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OF 151115Z OCTOBER 1990

AND TO DESKBY 151200Z FCO

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PS TO PRIME MINISTER  
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## ELECTIONS IN THE NEW LAENDER

## SUMMARY

1. LAND ELECTIONS IN THE NEW LAENDER TOOK PLACE ON 14 OCTOBER. PROVISIONAL RESULTS WHERE AVAILABLE OR LATEST FORECASTS SHOW CDU AS LARGEST PARTY IN THURINGIA, SACHSEN-ANHALT, MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN AND WITH AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IN SACHSEN. SPD LIKELY TO OBTAIN LARGEST NUMBER OF SEATS IN BRANDENBURG. CDU GOVERNMENT EXPECTED IN SACHSEN AND COALITIONS IN ALL OTHER LAENDER. PDS VOTE FALLS. FDP HOLDS UP WELL. DSU SQUEEZED NEAR TO EXTINCTION. SMALLER PARTIES AND GROUPS JUST HOLD THEIR OWN. DETAILED COMMENTS WILL FOLLOW IN SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

## DETAIL

2. TAKING EACH LAND SEPARATELY EARLY PROVISIONAL OR FORECAST RESULTS AT 0700 TODAY ARE AS FOLLOWS:-

## SACHSEN (160 SEATS)

CDU	53.4%
SPD	19.6%
PDS	9.9%
GREENS	5.6%
FDP	5.2%
DSU	4.0%
OTHERS	2.3%

## THURINGIA (88 SEATS)

CDU	45.4%
SPD	22.7%
PDS	9.7%
FDP	9.3%
GREENS	6.5%
OTHERS	6.4%

## SACHSEN-ANHALT (100 SEATS)

CDU	40.3%
-----	-------

SPD	25.9%
FDP	13.0%
PDS	11.0%
GREENS	5.0%
OTHERS	4.3%

## BRANDENBURG (88 SEATS)

SPD	39.5%
CDU	29.0%
PDS	13.1%
BUENDNIS 90	6.3%
FDP	6.0%
OTHERS	6.1%

VOTE FORECAST AT THIS STAGE.

## MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN (66 SEATS)

CDU	38.3%
SPD	27.0%
PDS	15.6%
FDP	5.5%
GREENS	4.2%
OTHERS	9.4%

3. THE RESULTS IN THURINGIA AND MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN ARE PROVISIONAL. THOSE IN OTHER LAENDER ARE ONLY THE LATEST FORECASTS. TURN-OUT PERCENTAGES ARE AVAILABLE SO FAR ONLY FOR THURINGIA (72.1%) AND MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN (65.2%) BUT WOULD INDICATE A SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER PARTICIPATION THAN VOLKSKAMMER ELECTION IN MARCH (93% GDR WIDE) AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IN MAY (75% GDR WIDE).

4. ON THESE PROVISIONAL OR FORECAST RESULTS A CDU GOVERNMENT CAN BE EXPECTED IN SACHSEN. CDU LED COALITIONS ARE LIKELY IN THURINGIA, SACHSEN-ANHALT AND MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN. AN SPD-LED COALITION (POSSIBLY WITH THE FDP AND BUENDNIS 90) IS EXPECTED IN BRANDENBURG. FURTHER ANALYSIS AND COMMENT BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM.


BURTON

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WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH TROOPS FROM GERMANY

1. OVER THE PAST 24 HOURS SENIOR FRENCH OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR DUFOURCQ HAVE TOLD US THAT WE SHOULD TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE LANGUAGE USED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH TWO GERMAN TELEVISION CHANNELS (ARD AND ZDF) OF 2 OCTOBER, AND ESPECIALLY HIS REFERENCE TO EUROPEAN DEFENCE.

2. OUR TRANSLATION OF THE RELEVANT PASSAGE OF THE FRENCH TEXT IS:  
''QUESTION: GERMANY WILL HAVE ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND THE TROOPS OF THE VICTORS OF THE SECOND WAR WILL LEAVE GERMANY. FRANCE IS IN A DIFFERENT SITUATION, SINCE IT HAS A JOINT BRIGADE WITH THE GERMANS. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ASKED YOU TO LEAVE A FEW TROOPS. WHY DID YOU NOT AGREE ?

MITTERRAND: ''REALLY, I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE I AM ENTIRELY READY TO ARRANGE A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TIMETABLE. IT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID THAT HALF OF THESE TROOPS WOULD BE BROUGHT BACK TO FRANCE IN THE COMING TWO YEARS. WE COULD PERFECTLY WELL LOOK TOGETHER AT THE TIMESCALE. ALL THIS MUST BE DECIDED IN HARMONY. I AM NOT LOOKING TO IMPOSE A DECISION. I SIMPLY WANT IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WOULD BE WISE. DOES A LARGE COUNTRY LIKE YOURS NEED FOREIGN TROOPS ON ITS SOIL, EVEN IF THESE ARE THE TROOPS OF FRIENDS ? IF IT (IE GERMANY) JUDGES THAT NECESSARY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EUROPEAN DEFENCE, THAT IS QUITE ANOTHER MATTER, (BUT) IT WOULD REQUIRE A NEW AGREEMENT, IT WOULD REQUIRE THAT ONE SPOKE CLEARLY ABOUT IT ... (REFERENCE TO MISREPRESENTATION OF FRENCH POSITION IN THE GERMAN PRESS) ... IF ONE WISHES TO BUILD TOGETHER THIS EUROPEAN SYSTEM, WE CANNOT LIVE WITH THE BALANCE OF FORCES OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD - THE VICTOR AND THE VANQUISHED - ONE MUST CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EQUAL FRIENDLY AND LINKED (ASSOCIES) COUNTRIES.''

COMMENT

MITTERRAND CLEARLY WISHED TO SHADE THE POSITION HE TOOK IN MUNICH LAST MONTH, AND NOW SEEMS TO HAVE OPENED UP THE WAY :  
(A) FOR FLEXIBILITY OVER THE INITIAL PERIOD OF WITHDRAWAL  
(B) FOR THE POSSIBLE LONGER TERM PRESENCE OF SOME FRENCH TROOPS IN



GERMANY, BUT UNDER A NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH MUST BE SEEN TO BE SET  
FIRMLY IN THE CONTEXT OF QUOTE EUROPEAN DEFENCE UNQUOTE

FERGUSSON

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MR GREENSTOCK  
MR MCLAREN  
MR TAIT

ADDITIONAL 16

NATO

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the department for Enterprise

~~CCPE~~

The Rt. Hon. Peter Lilley MP  
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AL

Department of  
Trade and Industry

1-19 Victoria Street  
London SW1H 0ET

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HX

Direct line 071-215 5621

Our ref PE10098

Your ref

Date 5 October 1990

*Dear Secretary of State*

**GERMAN UNIFICATION: DEROGATIONS FROM EC LAW**

*minutes attached*  
At OD in March it was agreed that my officials would investigate the need for safeguards to protect UK industry and commerce against any adverse effects of integration of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) into the European Community (EC). I am writing now to bring you up-to-date with that work and to inform you of the outcome I would like to see to the current discussions in Brussels.

On the basis of a paper endorsed by Nicholas Ridley in June, officials concluded in EQO discussion that EC competition rules should suffice in tackling most problems of distortions in trade such as unfair pricing. They also noted that the Treaty state aids regime would apply immediately on unification, and that the Commission would apply the rules informally as from German monetary union. Some attention would however need to be paid to the transitional measures proposed by the Commission to ensure that these created no special difficulties.

We have now assessed the Commission's proposals and believe that there is little risk of market distortions arising. Those allowing financial assistance to industry in the ex-GDR will be subject to Commission controls on state aids. The derogations on product standards and tariffs are unlikely to give a competitive advantage to the ex-GDR as goods benefiting from the measures will be limited to circulation in that territory. The derogations will in any case largely end in 1992.



Recycled Paper



We were however concerned to ensure that there should be no possibility of competitive advantage to GDR companies where they were granted a derogation from process-orientated standards. This might lead to cheaper production methods which could in turn be translated into low-priced end-products which were in free circulation in the Community because the products themselves complied with EC standards.

The only area where this appeared to be a possibility was in the environmental field where a dispensation for the GDR from introducing expensive pollution abatement technology could offer some potential pricing advantage. Closer examination of the proposals suggest that this is not the case. The derogations granted are sufficiently limited in duration to necessitate urgent and costly restructuring of ex-GDR industry to bring it up to EC standards in time. The parlous state of much of ex-GDR industry will in any event mean that many older factories will close. New plant is excluded from the derogations.

It would seem therefore that there is very little likelihood of any problems in this area. I therefore propose that we should be prepared now to endorse the Commission's proposals for environmental derogations, without a fully-fledged dispute settlement procedure. It is important though that any extension of the derogations beyond 1995 should be subject to full Council procedure - which I believe we can achieve. I would also like to see a general safeguard mechanism, whereby member states can raise any problems through the Commission - but I do not believe this need be a sticking-point.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, OD(E) colleagues and to Sir Robin Butler.

*Yes much  
Pat G*

(Approved by the Secretary of State  
and signed in his absence.)





FILE

JT

c:/ Parly Macfarlane

10 DOWNING STREET . . .

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

4 October 1990

Thank you for your letter of 25 September about the injunction against RMC's offer for Rudersdorf Cement.

I agree that in the light of German unification it is important to lobby in Bonn as well as East Berlin in support of our Embassy's bid. We have been doing this. Peter Lilley raised the case during a meeting in Berlin on 10 September with his West German counterpart, Dr. Haussmann. He followed up this approach with a personal letter. Our Ambassador in Bonn has also raised the subject with the Minister of State at the Federal Chancellery, Dr. Stavenhagen. Our Embassy in East Berlin were also in close touch with the Treuhandanstalt itself.

We are seeking in Bonn and East Berlin confirmation of press reports suggesting that RMC may be on the point of succeeding with their bid. We shall continue to do all we can to secure a successful outcome.

DOMINIC MORRIS

Sir Neil MacFarlane, M.P.

52

R3110



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 October 1990

7

Dear Dominic,

Ready Mix Cement's Bid for Rudersdorf Cement:  
Letter from Sir Neal Macfarlane

Thank you for your letter of 28 September. I enclose a draft reply to Sir Neal Macfarlane MP's letter of 25 September about an injunction against Ready Mix Cement.

Yours ever,

*R. Howard Gozney*

(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

D C B Morris Esq  
10 Downing Street



Draft Reply from Private Secretary

SCANNED

To: Sir Neil Macfarlane MP  
54 Marsham Court  
Marsham Street  
London  
SW1P 4JY

Thank you for your letter of 25 September about the injunction against RMC's offer for Rudersdorf Cement.

1  
~~We~~ agree that in the light of German unification it is important to lobby in Bonn as well as East Berlin in support of our Embassy's bid. We have been doing this. Peter Lilley raised the case during a meeting in Berlin on 10 September with his West German counterpart, Dr Haussmann. He followed up this approach with a personal letter. Our Ambassador in Bonn has also raised the subject with the Minister of State at the Federal Chancellery, Dr Stavenhagen. Our Embassy in East Berlin were also in close touch with the Treuhandanstalt itself.

We are seeking in Bonn and East Berlin confirmation of press reports suggesting that RMC may be on the point of succeeding with their bid. We shall continue to do all we can to secure a successful outcome.



CONFIDENTIAL



MEETING RECORD  
SUBJECT CC MASTER

Shtr  
bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

3 October 1990

**GERMAN UNIFICATION: PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING  
WITH GERMAN AMBASSADOR**

The Prime Minister received the German Ambassador for a call this afternoon to mark the day of German unification.

The Prime Minister and the Ambassador exchanged a few words in front of the cameras. The Prime Minister handed over her message to Chancellor Kohl. The German Ambassador handed over a message from the Chancellor to the Prime Minister, of which I enclose a copy.

In a subsequent conversation, the Prime Minister emphasised what a great day it was for Germany. She had watched the midnight celebrations on television. We welcomed the new beginning which unification marked. We would work with Germany as an Ally in NATO, a partner in the European Community and a friend. The German Ambassador spoke of the enormous significance of the day for German people. He went on to talk of the pitiful dilapidation which was being uncovered in Eastern Germany. Huge resources would be required to rebuild the country.

The Prime Minister said she assumed the first task would be to conclude the Treaty with Poland. The German Ambassador confirmed this.

The Prime Minister referred to the recent judgement of the Federal Constitutional Court ruling the election law of 23 August on constitutional law. The Ambassador said that the Government hoped to secure the passage of a new law by 16 October so that elections could take place on 2 December as planned.

The Prime Minister said that she was glad Chancellor Kohl had, in his remarks, paid tribute to the contribution of President Gorbachev. He had played a great role but faced many problems at home. The Prime Minister and the Ambassador agreed that Mr. Gorbachev's contribution had been crucial. Germany was intending to send surplus agricultural produce from the former GDR to relieve shortages in the Soviet Union.

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL



DER BOTSCHAFTER  
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND  
Baron Hermann von Richthofen

London, 03 october 1990

*Dear Prime Minister*

I have the honour to transmit the enclosed message, which the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany addresses to you on the day of the achievement of German Unification.

Courtesy translation is attached.

With the renewed assurance of my highest consideration,  
I am, dear Prime Minister,

*Yours sincerely*

*Hermann Richthofen*

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

courtesy translation

The Federal Republic of Germany  
THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR

Bonn, 3 October 1990

Message on 3 October 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T225/90  
SUBJECT CC MASTER  
CC OPS.

Dear Prime Minister,

The German Nation has reunited in peace and freedom today. Forty-five years after the end of the Second World War, which originated from German soil and caused untold suffering in Europe and throughout the world, the painful separation of the German people has come to an end.

In exercising our right to free self-determination, in harmony with our neighbours and on the basis of the treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany, we Germans have today united to form a single state - the Federal Republic of Germany - with complete sovereignty over its internal and external affairs.

On behalf of the German people I would like to thank all those who stood up for our right of self-determination and smoothed our path towards unity. Conscious of the continuity of German history, we particularly appreciate this contribution.

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



## I.

Our country wants to serve the cause of global peace and advance the unification of Europe through its regained national unity. That is the mandate of our constitution, the basic law, which has stood the test of time and which will also apply to the united Germany.

At the same time, we stand by our moral and legal obligations resulting from German history. We know that upon unification we will also assume greater responsibility within the community of nations as a whole. Our foreign policy will therefore remain directed towards global partnership, close cooperation and a peaceful reconciliation of interests.

In future, German soil will be a source of peace only. We are aware that the inviolability of the borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe is a basic precondition for peace. That is why we have confirmed the final character of the United Germany's borders, including the border with the Republic of Poland. At no time in the future will we make territorial claims on any other country. Now that German unity has been established, we shall discuss with the contracting parties concerned the international treaties of the German Democratic Republic with a view to regulating or confirming their continued application, adjustment or expiry, taking into account protection of confidence, the interests of the states concerned and the contractual obligations of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the principles of a free, democratic basic order governed by the rule of law, and respecting the competence of the European Community.

## II.

The unification of Germany is inextricably linked with that of Europe. We will resolutely continue to strive for European unification with the same determination with which we worked towards German unity.



Important steps lie immediately before us. Together with our partners in the European Community, we want to complete the Single European Market by 1992. We are steadily moving towards Economic and Monetary Union. The united Germany will play an active part in the development of Political Union.

The European Community will be ready to cooperate closely with the other countries in Europe. In particular, we intend to contribute to the development of closer ties between the European Community and the countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe which have won their freedom and set out on the path towards political, economic and social reform.

We are convinced that the countries of Europe can best safeguard and strengthen their independence and their citizens' human rights and fundamental freedoms if they work together.

For this reason, an important forum for our cooperation is and remains the Council of Europe.

We are committed to the process of security and cooperation in Europe as a source of hope for the European nations and as a steppingstone towards their future unity. We are therefore strongly in favour of this process being intensified and institutionalized.

### III.

The community of free western democracies based on shared values and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have preserved peace and freedom on our continent during difficult decades. For this reason, the united Germany will continue to be a member of this alliance.

Together with our allies, we also want to further develop this successful alliance in line with the progress made in East-West relations and the changing demands of our time, as well as to preserve its role as the basic pillar of new, overarching security structures in Europe.



We advocate a joint declaration by the members of the two Alliances in Europe, reaffirming their intention to refrain from the threat or use of force and establishing a new partnership in the development of a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe.

Disarmament and arms control remain key elements of our security policy.

In the context of German unification we have reaffirmed our renunciation of the manufacture, possession and control of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The united Germany remains committed to the non-proliferation treaty.

Our willingness to reduce the united Germany's armed forces to 370.000 is contribution to the success of the negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. We assume that in the follow-on negotiations the other participating countries, too, will play their part in consolidating security and stability in Europe, not least through measures to reduce force levels.

On the global level, too, we shall seek disarmament agreements that will increase stability and security. The principle of basing the level of forces only on self-defence requirements must apply throughout the world.

An agreement on reductions in strategic nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union, negotiations on reducing American and Soviet short-range nuclear weapons and, not least, a global ban on chemical weapons are still urgently required.

#### IV.

The countries of Africa, Asia and America can continue to count on the solidarity of the united Germany. We will not invest in German unity at their expense.



On the contrary; the end of the conflict in Europe will free intellectual and material resources to tackle the fundamental tasks for peace which are now facing us: the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment and the preservation of our natural environment.

Terrorism and drug abuse are challenges to all states throughout the world, which call for joint action. We will shoulder our share of the responsibility.

#### V.

The elimination of the East-West conflict has also opened up new avenues for fully implementing the high goals of the United Nations Charter. At the same time, the events of the last few weeks have demonstrated the extent to which world peace is still endangered by disregard for the principles of the UN Charter.

The Federal Republic of Germany wishes to play a part in ensuring that the United Nations fulfils its indispensable role in the process of building a peaceful world and meeting the global challenges we face.

As German unity with complete sovereignty has been achieved, the Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to participate in UN measures aimed at preserving and restoring peace through the development of its forces, too. We will create the necessary internal conditions for this.

#### VI.

At the beginning of the last decade of this century, we see new opportunities for a world which solves its problems through reconciliation and understanding, and remains committed to the principles of international law. Our country stands shoulder-to-shoulder with all those who are committed to peace, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as individual well-being.

Now that the burden of division has been lifted from us, we are



prepared to redouble our efforts towards shaping a common peaceful future in trust and cooperation with all countries and peoples who share these worthy objectives.

Please accept, dear Prime Minister, the assurance of my highest consideration.

sgd. Helmut Kohl

Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

Bonn, den 03. Oktober 1990

Sehr geehrter Frau Premierministerin,

mit dem heutigen Tage ist das deutsche Volk in Frieden und Freiheit wiedervereint. 45 Jahre nach dem Ende des 2. Weltkriegs, der von deutschem Boden ausging und unendliches Leid in Europa und in der Welt verursacht hat, endet die schmerzliche Trennung der Deutschen.

In Ausübung ihres Rechts auf freie Selbstbestimmung, im Einvernehmen mit ihren Nachbarn und auf der Grundlage des Vertrages über die abschließende Regelung in Bezug auf Deutschland haben sich heute die Deutschen in einem Staat - der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - in voller Souveränität in seinen inneren und äußeren Angelegenheiten vereint.

Im Namen des deutschen Volkes möchte ich allen danken, die sich für das Recht der Deutschen auf Selbstbestimmung eingesetzt und unseren Weg zur Einheit erleichtert haben.

Im Bewußtsein der Kontinuität deutscher Geschichte wissen wir dies besonders zu würdigen.

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



Unser Land will mit seiner wiedergewonnenen nationalen Einheit dem Frieden in der Welt dienen und die Einigung Europas voranbringen: das ist der Auftrag des Grundgesetzes, unserer bewährten Verfassung, die auch für das vereinte Deutschland gilt.

Zugleich stehen wir zu den moralischen und rechtlichen Verpflichtungen, die sich aus der deutschen Geschichte ergeben.

Wir wissen, daß wir mit der Vereinigung auch größere Verantwortung in der Völkergemeinschaft insgesamt übernehmen. Unsere Außenpolitik bleibt deshalb ausgerichtet auf weltweite Partnerschaft, enge Zusammenarbeit und friedlichen Interessenausgleich.

Von deutschem Boden wird in Zukunft nur Frieden ausgehen. Wir sind uns bewußt, daß die Unverletzlichkeit der Grenzen und die Achtung der territorialen Integrität und der Souveränität aller Staaten in Europa eine grundlegende Bedingung für den Frieden ist. Deshalb haben wir den endgültigen Charakter der Grenzen des vereinten Deutschland bestätigt, darunter der Grenze mit der Republik Polen. Wir werden in Zukunft keinerlei Gebietsansprüche gegen irgend jemand erheben.

Wir werden im Zuge der Herstellung der deutschen Einheit die völkerrechtlichen Verträge der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik unter den Gesichtspunkten des Vertrauensschutzes, der Interessenslage der beteiligten Staaten und der vertraglichen Verpflichtungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland sowie nach den Prinzipien einer freiheitlichen, demokratischen und rechtsstaatlichen Grundordnung und unter Beachtung der Zuständigkeit der Europäischen Gemeinschaft mit den Vertragspartnern erörtern, um ihre Fortgeltung, Anpassung oder ihr Erlöschen zu regeln bzw. festzustellen.



II.

Die Einigung Deutschlands ist untrennbar verbunden mit der Europas. Mit der gleichen Beharrlichkeit, mit der wir unsere Einheit angestrebt haben, werden wir uns weiterhin entschlossen für die europäische Einigung einsetzen.

Wichtige Schritte liegen unmittelbar vor uns. Mit unseren Partnern in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft wollen wir bis 1992 den Binnenmarkt vollenden. Wir schreiten entschlossen auf die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion zu. Das geeinte Deutschland wird tatkräftig mit-helfen, die politische Union zu bauen.

Die Europäische Gemeinschaft wird offen sein für enge Zusammenar-beit mit den anderen Staaten Europas. Insbesondere wollen wir dazu beitragen, für die Länder Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropas, die ihre Freiheit errungen und sich auf den Weg politischer, wirt-schaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Reformen begeben haben, engere Bindungen mit der europäischen Gemeinschaft zu entwickeln. Wir sind der Überzeugung, daß die Europäer ihre Unabhängigkeit und die Menschen- und Freiheitsrechte ihrer Bürger gemeinsam am besten wahren und stärken können.

Ein wichtiges Forum unserer Zusammenarbeit wird deshalb der Europarat sein und bleiben.

Wir bekennen uns zum Prozeß der Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa als Hoffnung der Völker Europas und als Wegweiser zu seiner zukünftigen Einheit. Wir treten deshalb nachdrücklich für seine Intensivierung und Institutionalisierung ein.

III

Die Wertegemeinschaft der freiheitlichen westlichen Demokratien und das nordatlantische Verteidigungsbündnis haben in schwierigen Jahrzehnten auf unserem Kontinent Frieden und Freiheit bewahrt. Der Platz des vereinten Deutschland wird deshalb auch in Zukunft in diesem Bündnis sein.



Zugleich wollen wir gemeinsam mit unseren Verbündeten diese erfolgreiche Allianz entsprechend den Fortschritten im West-Ost-Verhältnis und den sich wandelnden Anforderungen der Zeit fortentwickeln und als Grundpfeiler einer neuen übergreifenden Sicherheitsarchitektur in Europa erhalten.

Wir setzen uns ein für eine Grundsatzerklärung der Mitglieder der beiden Bündnisse in Europa, mit der sie ihre Verpflichtung zum Gewaltverzicht bekräftigen und eine neue Partnerschaft beim Aufbau einer dauerhaften und gerechten europäischen Friedensordnung begründen.

Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle bleiben zentrale Elemente unserer Sicherheitspolitik.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Herstellung der deutschen Einheit haben wir unseren Verzicht auf Herstellung und Besitz von und auf Verfügungsgewalt über atomare, biologische und chemische Waffen bekräftigt. Das vereinte Deutschland bleibt dem Nichtverbreitungsvertrag verpflichtet.

Mit unserer Bereitschaft, die Streitkräfte des vereinten Deutschland auf 370.000 Soldaten zu vermindern, leisten wir zugleich einen Beitrag zum Erfolg der Verhandlungen über die Reduzierung konventioneller Streitkräfte in Europa. Wir gehen davon aus, daß in Folgeverhandlungen auch die anderen Verhandlungsteilnehmer ihren Beitrag zur Festigung von Sicherheit und Stabilität in Europa, einschließlich Maßnahmen zur Begrenzung der Personalstärken leisten werden.

Auch weltweit werden wir uns für Abrüstungsvereinbarungen einsetzen, die zu einer Erhöhung von Stabilität und Sicherheit beitragen. Das Prinzip, wonach sich der Umfang der Streitkräfte ausschließlich an den Bedürfnissen der Selbstverteidigung ausrichten soll, muß weltweit Geltung erlangen.

Ein Abkommen über die Reduzierung der strategischen Nuklearwaffen der USA und der Sowjetunion, Verhandlungen über die Verminderung der amerikanischen und sowjetischen nuklearen Kurzstreckenraketen



und nicht zuletzt das weltweite Verbot chemischer Waffen haben an Dringlichkeit nichts eingebüßt.

IV

Die Länder Afrikas, Asiens und Amerikas können auch künftig auf die Solidarität des geeinten Deutschland zählen. Was wir in die deutsche Einheit investieren, geht nicht zu ihren Lasten.

Im Gegenteil: die Überwindung der Konfrontation in Europa macht geistige Kräfte und materielle Ressourcen frei für die zentralen Friedensaufgaben unserer Zeit: für den Kampf gegen Armut und Unterentwicklung und für den Erhalt unserer natürlichen Umwelt.

Terrorismus und Drogenmißbrauch sind Herausforderungen an alle Staaten der Welt und verlangen gemeinsames Handeln. Wir werden unseren Teil der Verantwortung tragen.

V

Die Überwindung der Ost-West-Konfrontation hat auch neue Wege eröffnet, die hohen Ziele der Charta der Vereinten Nationen umfassend zu verwirklichen. Zugleich haben die Ereignisse der letzten Wochen gezeigt, wie gefährdet der Friede in der Welt bleibt, wenn die Prinzipien der Charta der Vereinten Nationen mißachtet werden.

Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland will dazu beitragen, daß die Vereinten Nationen ihre unverzichtbare Rolle beim Aufbau einer friedlichen Welt und bei der Lösung der globalen Herausforderungen ausfüllen können.

Nach Wiedererlangen der deutschen Einheit in voller Souveränität ist die Bundesrepublik Deutschland bereit, sich künftig an Maßnahmen der Vereinten Nationen zur Wahrung und zur Wiederherstellung des Friedens auch durch den Einsatz ihrer Streitkräfte zu beteiligen. Wir werden hierfür die erforderlichen innerstaatlichen Voraussetzungen schaffen.



VI

Am Beginn des letzten Jahrzehnts unseres Jahrhunderts sehen wir neue Möglichkeiten für eine Welt, die ihre Probleme durch Ausgleich und Verständigung löst und den Prinzipien des Völkerrechts verpflichtet bleibt. Unser Land steht in einer Reihe mit allen, die sich dem Frieden, der Achtung der Menschen- und Freiheitsrechte und dem Wohlergehen der Menschen verpflichtet fühlen.

Nachdem die Bürde der Teilung von uns Deutschen genommen ist, sind wir bereit, mit neuer Kraft und in vertrauensvoller Zusammenarbeit mit allen Ländern und Völkern, die diese hohen Ziele teilen, eine gemeinsame friedliche Zukunft zu gestalten.

Genehmigen Sie, sehr geehrte Frau Premierministerin, die Versicherung meiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung.

gez. Helmut Kohl

Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland



Fl  
MCM

cc FLO

10 DOWNING STREET -  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

3 October 1990

*Dear Helmut-*

I offer you my warmest congratulations on this special day when your country is once again united. The unification of Germany represents an important step in overcoming the division of our continent. Together with our Allies, we withstood the difficult period of the Cold War. Now Germany is to be united in peace and freedom. A united Germany will have a profoundly important role in Europe as we face the future as friends, allies and partners.

*Warm regards,*

*Yours ever*

*Raymond*

His Excellency Dr. Helmut Kohl

EA



RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR

You are seeing the German Ambassador tomorrow to mark the day of German unification. You have sent Chancellor Kohl a message, which will be delivered by our Ambassador in Bonn.

Press and television will be present when you receive the Ambassador. I attach a note from Bernard which suggests that you say a few words in front of the cameras as you stand with the Ambassador.

In any subsequent conversation, which need only be brief, you might:

- ask about the judgement of the Constitutional Court and its implications (telegram attached);
- sound a warning about attempts to use the forthcoming European Council to force through premature decisions on EMU (there is a relevant report in the hot box);
- suggest that you and Chancellor Kohl might meet in Rome on Saturday, 27 October before the Council starts (you have not had a bilateral for several months).

C.D.P.  
C. D. POWELL  
2 OCTOBER 1990

c:\wpdocs\foreign\Germany.MRM

RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

Prime Minister  
The key is to get in  
the words  
"friend, ally & partner"

STATEMENT ON THE RE-UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

(if you can bear it). Otherwise  
a message risks being

You agreed to say a few words on the re-unification of  
Germany during the photocall when the West German Ambassador calls  
on you on Wednesday at 14.30.

judged negatively, which

I attach a draft which you may care to draw on. We will  
ensure that no questions are asked (ie that it is a  
straight-forward photocall). Representatives of the German and  
British media will be present.

underlines the only purpose  
of the exercise.

Alan Stan

CAP  
4x

ms

for BERNARD INGHAM  
October 2, 1990



STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER FOR GERMAN TELEVISION

- We welcome the fact that Germany is being unified in the best possible way: democratically, in freedom, and as a member of the Western Alliance and European Community.
- Britain is glad to have played a full part in the 2+4 negotiations which resolved the external aspects of German unification and paved the way for full German sovereignty.
- This was the culmination of our role as one of the Four Powers in the post-War period, helping to reconstruct and defend a free, democratic Germany. We are particularly proud of our role in defending Berlin. At the request of the German Government, we are maintaining a British military presence in Berlin, while Soviet forces remain on German soil.
- German unification takes place in a Europe that is rapidly changing for the better. A unified Germany will have an important role to play in this new Europe and in the wider world. We will be working with Germany as a friend, ally and partner, as we have with the Federal Republic for over 40 years.
- We pay tribute to the people of Eastern Germany, who demanded and won freedom and democracy, and to the people of West Germany, who have helped them to achieve it.



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FM BONN

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BONN TELNO 922 : GERMAN ELECTIONS

## SUMMARY

1. FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT RULES THAT THE ELECTION LAW OF 23 AUGUST IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. A BLOW FOR THE SPD AND CSU. CONFIDENCE HOWEVER THAT A NEW LAW CAN BE PASSED QUICKLY AND THAT GERMAN FEDERAL ELECTIONS WILL STILL BE HELD ON 2 DECEMBER.

## DETAIL

2. ON 29 SEPTEMBER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ANNOUNCED ITS DECISION THAT THE LAW GOVERNING ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS PASSED BY THE BUNDESTAG ON 23 AUGUST (TUR) WAS CONTRARY TO THE BASIC LAW. THE LAW HAD BEEN CHALLENGED BEFORE THE COURT BY THE GREENS, THE PDS, THE REPUBLICANS AND OTHER SMALL EAST GERMAN PARTIES - ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT INFRINGED THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE THAT ALL PARTIES SHOULD HAVE EQUALITY OF ELECTORAL OPPORTUNITY. THE COURT RULED THAT IN THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE FIRST ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS THE APPLICATION OF A FIVE PERCENT HURDLE TO GERMANY AS A WHOLE WOULD NOT GIVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO THE SMALLER GDR PARTIES, WHO HAD HAD NEITHER TIME NOR RESOURCES TO ORGANISE NATIONALLY. IT ALSO CONSIDERED THAT THE 'PIGGY BACK' SYSTEM, WHEREBY DIFFERENT PARTIES WHICH WERE NOT IN DIRECT COMPETITION WITH ONE ANOTHER LOCALLY COULD SHARE A COMMON LIST OF CANDIDATES, DID NOT PROVIDE ADEQUATE COMPENSATION. NOT ONLY WERE THERE MANY PARTIES THAT WOULD BE UNABLE TO FIND PARTNERS BUT ALSO THIS SYSTEM COULD LEAD TO A VOTE FOR ONE LIST BEING TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER LIST WHOSE POLICIES THE VOTER DID NOT SUPPORT.

3. SCHAEUBLE, THE FEDERAL INTERIOR MINISTER, PLANS TO DISCUSS A NEW LAW WITH THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES IMMEDIATELY AFTER UNIFICATION. ENGELHARD, THE FEDERAL JUSTICE MINISTER, HAS SAID THAT SUCH A BILL COULD BE PASSED BY THE BUNDESTAG ON 4 OCTOBER AND THE BUNDESRAT ON 5 OCTOBER. HANS-JOCHEM VOGEL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPD, HAS INDICATED HOWEVER THAT HIS PARTY WILL NOT BE RUSHED, AND HAS URGED THE NEED FOR A CAREFUL ANALYSIS TO GUARANTEE THAT THE NEW LAW IS IN HARMONY WITH THE CONSTITUTION. THE GOVERNMENT ARE CONFIDENT THAT A NEW



ELECTION LAW CAN BE DRAFTED AND PASSED BEFORE 16 OCTOBER, THE DEADLINE IF ELECTIONS ARE STILL TO BE HELD ON 2 DECEMBER.

## COMMENT

4. THE MOST LIKELY BASIS FOR A NEW LAW IS THAT RECOMMENDED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AND ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY SCHAUEBLE: SEPARATE FIVE PERCENT HURDLES IN WESTERN AND EASTERN GERMANY. IF THAT ARRANGEMENT WERE AGREED THE LOSERS WOULD BE THE SPD (WHO WOULD STAND TO LOSE VOTES TO THE PDS) AND THE CSU (WHOSE PARTNERS IN THE GDR, THE DSU, MAY WELL NOW FACE EXTINCTION). THE NET GAIN WOULD BE TO THE PDS (WHO NOW HAVE A REAL CHANCE OF GETTING INTO THE BUNDESTAG ON 2 DECEMBER) AND, THROUGH THE IMPLIED WEAKENING OF THE SPD, THE COALITION PARTIES.

5. ANOTHER OPTION BEING CANVASSED IS THAT THERE SHOULD BE A LOWER HURDLE (TWO OR THREE PER CENT) APPLICABLE THROUGHOUT GERMANY. THIS WOULD STILL BENEFIT THE PDS, AND MIGHT ALSO HELP THE REPUBLIKANER (AND CONCEIVABLY THE DSU).

MALLABY

YYYY

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7/10.

Mr. Symant  
Mr. Cox  
Mr. Sabherer

Mr. Rumsfeld, News 1 (b)  
PS/PVS  
Mr. Greenstock

- seems to have had no distribution

Dennis Keef  
7/10.

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GERMAN UNIFICATION: MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

1. PLEASE DELIVER ON 3 OCTOBER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR KOHL FROM THE PRIME MINISTER.  
BEGINS  
I OFFER YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS SPECIAL DAY WHEN YOUR COUNTRY IS ONCE AGAIN UNITED. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF OUR CONTINENT. TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, WE WITHSTOOD THE DIFFICULT PERIOD OF THE COLD WAR. NOW GERMANY IS TO BE UNITED IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. A UNITED GERMANY WILL HAVE A PROFOUNDLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN EUROPE AS WE FACE THE FUTURE AS FRIENDS, ALLIES AND PARTNERS.  
ENDS

HURD

OCMIAN 4433

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T223/90.

SUBJECT cc MASTER  
ops



~~MACFARLANE MP~~

5/10



no ack

[cf have  
pps on

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

Ready mix]

From the Private Secretary

28 September 1990

Dear Richard

I attach a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Neil Macfarlane, M.P.

I should be grateful if you could provide immediate advice on this letter, to reach me no later than 5 October.

Yours etc

Dominic

DOMINIC MORRIS

(I am not sure whether it is affected by re-imposition day - if so can you take that into account in your

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

speed of response!)

DM  
10



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

28 September 1990

**GERMAN UNIFICATION ON 3 OCTOBER**

RF ✓  
Thank you for your letter of 27 September with the Foreign Secretary's recommendation that the Prime Minister should send a message to Chancellor Kohl on the occasion of German unification. The Prime Minister is willing to do this, and I enclose a revised text which can be despatched for delivery on 3 October.

The Prime Minister does not think it necessary to make a public statement on 3 October. However, she is considering recording a brief television message that day.

**CHARLES POWELL**

R H T Gozney Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



# OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	Caveat	Precedence <b>IMMEDIATE</b>
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ZCZC	1	ZCZC	
TC	2	UNCLASSIFIED	
CAVEAT	3		
FM	4	FM FCO	
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OF	7	OF	SEPTEMBER 90
AND TO	8		
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	11		
	12	GERMAN UNIFICATION: MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR KOHL	
	13	1. Please deliver on 3 October the following message to	
	14	Chancellor Kohl from the Prime Minister.	
	15	BEGINS	
	16	I offer you my warmest congratulations on this special day	
	17	when your country is once again united. The unification	
	18	of Germany represents an important step in overcoming	
	19	the <u>division</u> of our continent. Together with our Allies,	
	20	we withstood the difficult period of the Cold War. Now	
	21	Germany is to be united in peace and freedom. A united	
	22	Germany will have a profoundly important role in Europe	
	23	as we face the future as friends, allies and partners.	
	24	ENDS	
	25		
///	26	HURD	
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/	28	NNNN	
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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 September 1990

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister  
Agree to this  
message, & the statement  
to be issued by the  
No. 10 Press Office?

German Unification on 3 October

The Foreign Secretary considers that it would serve our interests if the Prime Minister were to send a message to Chancellor Kohl on the occasion of German unification. I enclose a draft, which we would ask Sir C Mallaby to deliver. We understand that the Federal German Ambassador will be instructed to deliver a message from Chancellor Kohl to the Prime Minister on 3 October.

COO  
20/9

The Foreign Secretary plans to send a message to Herr Genscher, and we are recommending that HM The Queen and Mr Speaker also send messages.

The Prime Minister might also make a public statement on 3 October. This would provide the authoritative British reaction and could be used to deflect requests for interviews. I enclose a draft.

Yours ever,  
Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street



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GERMAN UNIFICATION: MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

1. Please deliver on 3 October the following message to  
Chancellor Kohl from the Prime Minister.

BEGINS

I offer you my warmest congratulations on this special day when  
your country is once again united.

The unification of Germany represents an important step in  
overcoming the ~~division of~~ our continent. Together ~~with our~~  
~~Allies, we~~ <sup>walked</sup> ~~stood with you~~ through the difficult period of the  
Cold War. Now Germany is to be united in peace and freedom.

~~That is a remarkable achievement for the Western alliance.~~

A united Germany in ~~Europe~~ will have a profoundly important  
role in Europe. ~~We look forward to working with you as a~~  
~~friend, ally and partner.~~ *as we face the future as friends, allies & partners*

ENDS

2. ~~There is no signed original.~~

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STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON GERMAN UNIFICATION

1. The unification of Germany on 3 October marks a decisive step in overcoming the division of Europe. It is a vindication of the Western Alliance's steadfastness over the last 40 years that Germany should now be united in peace and freedom.

2. We look forward to working with the united Germany as a friend, ally and partner in the new Europe. A united Germany will have a great contribution to make to the security and prosperity of both Europe and the wider world.



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 September 1990

German Unification

The Prime Minister has agreed to see the German Ambassador briefly at 1430 on 3 October, to enable him to hand over a letter from Chancellor Kohl and to mark German unification.

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



SIR NEIL MACFARLANE MP

2879

54 Marsham Court  
Marsham Street  
London SW1P 4JY

071-834 7916

Mr Dominic Morris  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

25 September 1990

CONFIDENTIAL

*Dominic Morris*

RMC - Berlin

I enclose a copy of a letter sent last week to the Treuhandanstalt, from which you will note that they are the recipients of an injunction against them from a dispirited competitor of RMC. The entire transaction is now in the hands of lawyers but delay is clearly very disadvantageous for RMC.

As October 3rd is approaching fast and if the issue becomes further enmeshed in legal dispute, it may be necessary for some gentle enquiry on progress via Chancellor Kohl's office. Might that be possible in due course?

*Neil Macfarlane*



*Ms. Citrin*

READYMIX AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT FÜR BETEILIGUNGEN

VORSTAND

TRANSLATION

To the Vorstand of the  
Treuhandanstalt  
Alexanderplatz 6

Berlin  
1 0 2 6

14th September 1990

Dear Sirs,

The Treuhandanstalt informed the Vorstand of Readymix AG on the 16th of August 1990 in Berlin that they had decided to accept our purchase offer dated 7th August 1990 for the shares in the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH. The management and the workers' representatives of the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH were also informed. The takeover was to be effected quickly. The decision of the Treuhandanstalt was blocked on the same day through an injunction issued by the company Alsen-Breitenburg. Due to the time that has been lost, the economic consequences for both the employees and the new owners of Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH are worsening day by day.

The necessary support for the Rüdersdorfer Group, especially in sales and in technical engineering, can not, at the present time, be given. Due to this vacuum, cement imports are coming from Poland and West-Germany. The necessary investment to ensure that the range of products is adapted and to rationalise the plant are not taking place. The utilisation of the factory is falling dramatically. Short time work has already been introduced in Eisenhüttenstadt and it is only a matter of time before it is also introduced in Rüdersdorf.

In order to minimise the continuing fall in the value of the company and to try and cope with the employment problems, we have come to an agreement with the



representatives of the Treuhandanstalt that we should conclude a management contract with the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH. In addition the purchase contract is ready in every aspect, except with regard to the grinding plant at Rummelsburg in Berlin.

One of the greatest risks associated with the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH relates to the production of blast-furnace-cement. From a total production of 2.5 Mill tonnes/year around 800,000 tonnes/year blast-furnace-cement are produced in Eisenhüttenstadt. The use of blast-furnace-slag helps to lengthen the useful life of the restricted limestone reserves in Rüdersdorf. It can be that the uncertain future of the raw iron and steel location at Eisenhüttenstadt will lead to volume losses, and that a new plan for the production location of 2.5 Mill tonnes cement will be called for. It is possible that the grinding capacity in Rummelsburg, which is in the centre of our main delivery area, may become more significant.

In addition, the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH is in savage competition with cement producers from east and west. The disposal of the grinding works at conditions which are in comparison with the price that we are paying for Rüdersdorf very favourable could lead or could bring into question the success of our capital expenditure in Rüdersdorf. Our attempts to create new jobs may be hindered. In total, we intend to invest 820 Mill. DM in this project of which 320 Mill DM relate to the purchase price and the takeover of the interest bearing liabilities.

Readymix has not once during the negotiations deviated from its position concerning Rummelsburg nor from its original offer. We are, as we previously stated, willing to accept that the Kartellamt may impose conditions resulting in the sale of this factory in an acceptable period. In addition we have guaranteed that the sale proceeds should be given to the Treuhandanstalt.

We also accept the proposition that medium sized companies should have a participation in the East-German cement industry. On the other hand, it is only right

that these companies enter the market on the same conditions as we do and must develop their own competitive advantages. We are prepared to offer a participation to medium sized companies in the Rüdersdorfer Zement GmbH or in Rummelsburg or we are willing to offer them a production location in Rüdersdorf itself.

In respect of Rummelsburg, the negotiations are already very advanced. We believe that an urgent discussion should take place at Vorstand level concerning the negotiations about the sale of Rummelsburg. We understand that the next negotiations are planned for Tuesday the 18th of September 1990. If this is the case than we would be pleased to discuss the subject with you on Monday the 17th of September 1990.

Kind regards

READYMIX AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT  
FÜR BETEILIGUNGEN, RATINGEN

signed:

Hörstensmeyer

Dr. Schübel

Dr. Vogt

Walker



1430?

AMANDA

~~confirmed~~ for 1430

~~but~~ have put in diary

power

The Prime Minister has agreed to a brief meeting with the German Ambassador on 3 October. Could you please find 15-20 minutes, and let his office know.

Thank  
you

AD

26/9

CDD

C. D. POWELL

25 September 1990

1

PRIME MINISTER

cc Mrs. Ponsonby

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

The Germans have asked whether you could receive their Ambassador for a few moments on 3 October, the day of German reunification, to hand over a letter from Chancellor Kohl (and be photographed doing so). This is probably the simplest way of making the day and I suggest that you agree. Content?

C.D.?

Yes - briefly

C. D. POWELL

mb

24 September 1990





*File*

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

19 September 1990

*Dear Richard,*

GERMAN UNIFICATION: MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO  
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (FAZ)

Thank you for your letter of 18 September enclosing a draft message from the Prime Minister to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. I enclose a slightly revised version which the Prime Minister has signed. I should be grateful if No. 10 could speak to Gina Thomas of the FAZ office in London, and arrange for her to pick it up.

*Yours sincerely,*

CHARLES POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

This is an historic day for the German people and for all Europeans. The unification of Germany represents a most important step in overcoming the division of our continent. The United Kingdom looks forward to working with united Germany as a friend, ally and partner in the new Europe.

*Narganshaliba*

3 October 1990





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 September 1990

Dear Charles,

German Unification: Message from Prime Minister to  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)

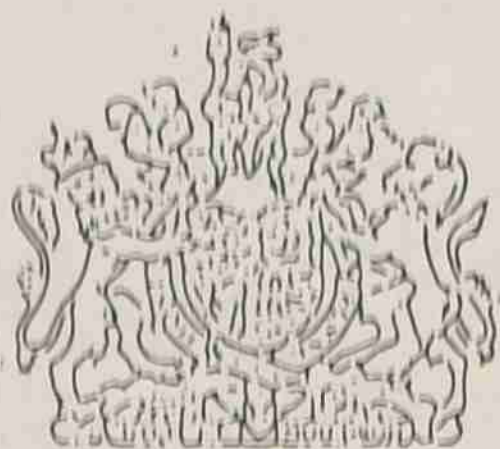
Thank you for your letter of 15 September about a short message from the Prime Minister to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), for publication in their special edition on German unification on 3 October. I enclose a draft, which we understand is needed today, 18 September, for you to fax to Budapest.

Yours ever,

*R. H. T. Gozney*

(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street



CABINET OFFICE

70 WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1 2AS

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GERMAN UNIFICATION: MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO  
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

DRAFT

This is an historic day for the German people and for all Europeans. The unification of Germany represents the single most important step in overcoming the division of our continent. The United Kingdom has long been committed to German unity, and is proud to have played a part in making it possible. We look forward to working with united Germany as a friend, ally and partner in the new Europe.

HS4ACI/1



FILE  
cuf

10 DOWNING STREET . .  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

15 September 1990

**GERMAN UNIFICATION: FAZ**

BF 11  
Gina Thomas, one of the FAZ's London correspondents, has asked whether the Prime Minister would send them a short message for a special edition to be published on 3 October on German unification. Three or four sentences is all that is required. They would need it by Monday 24 September, because they go to print later that day.

I would be most grateful if the Department could do a draft and fax it out to us in Eastern Europe for the Prime Minister's approval.

(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

N

D



KW



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

13 September 1990

BRITISH FORCES IN GERMANY

I enclose a translation of a letter to the Prime Minister from Chancellor Kohl about our defence options for change exercises and the question of British troops in Berlin. I think we have already had an advance copy of this, but have not had time to check.

I am copying this letter, and translation, to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence).

CHARLES POWELL

Simon Gass Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

A handwritten mark, possibly initials or a signature, consisting of a loop and a diagonal stroke.

R13/9

CCP

DER BOTSCHAFTER  
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND  
Baron Hermann von Richthofen

London, 12 September 1990  
Sp/sa

Dear Prime Minister,

dated  
22.8.90  
(pre)

I have the honour to transmit the enclosed message of Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A courtesey translation is attached.

I am, dear Prime Minister,

Yours sincerely  
Hermann Richthofen

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





File

c:/foreign/gass(dt)

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

12 September 1990

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Herr Teltschik telephoned this morning to say that President Bush had now let Chancellor Kohl know that he would not be able to attend a ceremony in Berlin on 3 October to mark German unification. The Chancellor had therefore decided to make it a purely German occasion.

CHARLES D POWELL

Simon Gass, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



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FM MOSCOW

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2 + 4 MINISTERIAL MEETING, MOSCOW, 12 SEPTEMBER *mt*

## SUMMARY

1. FINAL SETTLEMENT ON GERMANY SIGNED. TEXTS ON POLMIL ASPECTS ADEQUATE. SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES DUE TO OCCUR IN NEW YORK ON 1 OCTOBER. TWO PLUS FOUR WORK THUS COMPLETE.

## DETAIL

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FRG AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE GDR SIGNED THE QUOTE TREATY ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT IN RESPECT OF GERMANY UNQUOTE IN THE OCTOBER HOTEL IN THE PRESENCE OF GORBACHEV. THE TREATY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN AGREED MINUTE WHICH WAS ALSO SIGNED. FULL TEXTS FOLLOW TO THE DEPARTMENT.

3. POLITICAL DIRECTORS IRONED OUT MOST OF THE REMAINING PROBLEMS ON 11 SEPTEMBER, HAVING ARRIVED AT SOVIET REQUEST A DAY EARLIER THAN PLANNED. THE RUSSIANS CONCEDED THAT DUAL CAPABLE WEAPONS SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PRESENT GDR AND LANGUAGE WAS FOUND TO EXPRESS THIS. FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD NO FOREIGN MILITARY ACTIVITY IS TO BE ALLOWED IN EAST GERMANY. BUT THE THORNY ISSUE OF MOVEMENT BY NON-GERMAN ARMED FORCES INTO EAST GERMANY AFTER SOVIET WITHDRAWAL HAD TO BE RESOLVED PERSONALLY BY FOREIGN MINISTERS THROUGH A SERIES OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL SESSIONS. THE UK AND US ARGUED STRONGLY AGAINST ACCEPTING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD EXTEND LIMITATIONS ON EAST GERMANY BEYOND NON-STATIONING AND THUS CONSTRAIN ALLIANCE OPTIONS. WITH THE PLENARY MEETING DELAYED BY AN HOUR, SHEVARDNADZE WAS FINALLY BROUGHT TO AGREE THAT, ALTHOUGH AFTER SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FOREIGN FORCES WOULD NOT BE STATIONED OR DEPLOYED IN EAST GERMANY, QUESTIONS REGARDING THE APPLICATION OF THE WORD QUOTE DEPLOYED UNQUOTE WOULD BE DECIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY. THIS IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION IS CONTAINED IN A MINUTE ATTACHED TO THE TREATY WHICH WAS ALSO SIGNED BY THE SIX FOREIGN MINISTERS. THE FACT THAT GERMANY'S RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS FLOWING FROM ALLIANCE



MEMBERSHIP ARE ALSO UNAFFECTED BY THIS TREATY IS ALSO CLEARLY STATED IN THE TREATY.

4. THE FORMAL PLENARY ITSELF WAS QUITE BRIEF, AND CONSISTED MAINLY OF STATEMENTS BY EACH OF THE SIX WELCOMING THE AGREEMENT.

5. ON SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWERS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN PERIOD BETWEEN UNIFICATION AND THEIR FINAL TERMINATION ON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE SETTLEMENT, THE RUSSIANS TOOK THE LINE THAT OTHER, BILATERAL, ARRANGEMENTS HAD TO BE SETTLED WITH THE GERMANS FIRST. BUT THEY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO CONSIDER AGAIN THE BRITISH DRAFT DECLARATION SUSPENDING FOUR POWER RIGHTS, WITH A VIEW TO IT BEING SIGNED BY THE SIX FOREIGN MINISTERS ON 1 OCTOBER, TWO DAYS BEFORE UNIFICATION, IN NEW YORK BEFORE THE CSCE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE. THIS OUTCOME SEEMS VIRTUALLY ASSURED.

COMMENT

6. A RANGE OF BILATERAL ISSUES, MAINLY ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES ON GERMAN SOIL REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE UNIFICATION, IN ORDER FIRMLY TO ELIMINATE THE LAST VESTIGES OF OCCUPATION RIGHTS (PROGRESS ON THIS IS, OF COURSE, WELL ADVANCED IN NEGOTIATIONS IN BONN). BUT SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT EFFECTIVELY RESOLVES THE FOUR POWER AND OTHER QUOTE EXTERNAL UNQUOTE ASPECTS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION. ON MOVEMENT OF FOREIGN FORCES INTO EAST GERMANY (CROSSING THE LINE), THE GERMANS PROVED VERY WOBBLY UP TO THE LAST MOMENT, BUT WERE PREVENTED BY THE FIRMNESS OF THEIR THREE ALLIES FROM COMPLETELY CONCEDED THE POINT TO THE RUSSIANS. FACED, ULTIMATELY, WITH A UNITED POSITION, SHEVARDNADZE SETTLED FOR A SIGNED DOCUMENT WHICH DOES NOT RULE OUT ANYTHING A PRIORI AFTER SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL EXCEPT STATIONING AS SUCH, AND LEAVES IT CLEAR THAT IT IS FOR SOVEREIGN GERMANY TO SAY WHETHER ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR NATO MILITARY ACTIVITY IN EAST GERMANY IN YEARS TO COME WOULD CONSTITUTE DEPLOYMENT OR NOT. THIS IS AS MUCH AS WE COULD HOPE FOR IN THE HIGHLY CHARGED ATMOSPHERE TODAY, BOTH IN THE GERMAN AND THE RUSSIAN CAMP.

BRAITHWAITE

YYYY



CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2) FILE Slv  
c/c  
Prime Minister

Teltschik telephoned  
this morning to say

11 September 1990

Mr President Bush  
will NOT attend,  
e Kohl has therefore  
cancelled the event

Dear Simon,

ms

GERMAN UNIFICATION

I should recall that, at the Prime Minister's request, I telephoned Bob Gates at the White House today to say that we understood the German Government's decision whether to hold celebrations of German unification on 3 October at Head of State/Government level would depend on President Bush's availability. The Prime Minister wanted the President to know that 3 October would be very difficult for her and she would not at all mind if the President found that he could not attend. We understood that the dates were, in fact, difficult for him. I added that the Prime Minister thought that the celebrations were in any case more appropriate for Foreign Ministers to attend.

CBM  
12/9

Bob Gates said that the Americans had given a discouraging signal to the Germans but had not yet pronounced a firm yes or no. The President had a very heavy domestic agenda, particularly after the events of the last month, and he thought it unlikely he could get away on 3 October. But you never knew what he might commit himself to on the telephone. He would feed in the Prime Ministers view and let us know the outcome.

Yours sincerely,  
Charles Powell

(C. D. POWELL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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P/



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MODUK PLEASE PASS TO CICC(G)

SIC ECA  
TOKYO FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY

TWO PLUS FOUR TALKS: BRIEFING OF NAC MINISTERIAL

SUMMARY

1. AT THE END OF TODAY'S MINISTERIAL NAC ON THE GULF CRISIS, GENSCHER GAVE A SHORT BRIEF ON THE PROSPECTS FOR CONCLUDING THE TWO PLUS FOUR PROCESS AT THIS WEEK'S MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MOSCOW: ADMITTING THAT THERE ARE STILL UNRESOLVED ISSUES.

DETAIL

2. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FINAL ROUND OF TWO PLUS FOUR TALKS WOULD TAKE PLACE THIS WEEK. THE MAIN OBJECTIVES WERE:

- TO RETURN FULL SOVEREIGNTY TO A UNITED GERMANY, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO DECIDE ON MEMBERSHIP OF AN ALLIANCE.
- TO AGREE THE SCHEDULE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM GERMAN SOIL BY 31 DECEMBER 1994.

3. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE AGREEMENT TO BE SIGNED WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A PEACE TREATY. THE NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS FOR AGREEMENT AT THIS TIME HAD BEEN:

- THE RESOLVE TO INSTITUTIONALISE THE CSCE PROCESS AND CREATE A PAN-EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK.
- THE LONDON DECLARATION.
- THE DECLARATION IN CFE BY THE TWO GERMAN STATES ON THE LIMITATION OF GERMAN FORCES TO 370,000.
- CONFIRMATION OF GERMANY'S RENUNCIATION OF ABC WEAPONS.

GENSCHER SAID THE PREAMBLE WOULD INTER ALIA REFER TO THE BORDER



QUESTION. THE AGREEMENT WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT GERMAN POLICY WOULD IN FUTURE BE EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL. IT WOULD ALSO CONTAIN PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE SECURITY POLICY STATUS OF THE PRESENT GDR.

4. GENESCHER SAID THAT THERE WERE TWO QUESTIONS WHICH REMAINED UNSETTLED: THESE RELATED, FIRST, TO THE POSSIBLE MOVEMENT OF ALLIED FORCES INTO THE FORMER GDR, AND SECOND, TO THE QUESTION OF DUAL CAPABLE SYSTEMS.

5. GENESCHER REPORTED ALSO ON BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS. FOUR AGREEMENTS WERE INVOLVED. THE FIRST DEALT WITH LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TEMPORARY STATIONING OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE PRESENT GDR. THIS AGREEMENT WAS 90 PERCENT COMPLETE. SOVIET FORCES WOULD LEAVE IN STAGES. THE MAIN MOVEMENTS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN 1992: THERE WOULD BE FEWER IN 1991 BECAUSE OF THE SEVERE RELOCATION PROBLEMS CURRENTLY BEING EXPERIENCED IN THE SOVIET UNION AS A RESULT OF THE WITHDRAWALS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY. SOVIET FORCES REMAINING IN GERMANY WOULD CONDUCT NO LARGE SCALE EXERCISES. PROBLEMS REMAINING TO BE RESOLVED RELATED TO THE USE OF AIR SPACE AND TO REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS.

6. GENESCHER SAID THAT THE SECOND AGREEMENT, WHICH HAD BEEN FINALISED, CONCERNED GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS. THE THIRD COVERED ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC CO-OPERATION.

7. THE FOURTH AGREEMENT DEALT WITH PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION. TWO ASPECTS HAD FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS:

- THE EFFECT ON SOVIET FORCES OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DEUTSCHMARK IN THE GDR.
- FINANCIAL AID TO THE SOVIET UNION IN CONNECTION WITH FORCE WITHDRAWAL (EG ASSISTANCE IN BUILDING ACCOMMODATION AND RETRAINING SOLDIERS).

GENSCHER SAID THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE RELEVANT ARTICLES HAD BEEN FINALISED: THE SUMS OF MONEY INVOLVED HAD NOT YET BEEN AGREED. KOHL AND GORBACHEV WOULD DISCUSS THE MATTER BY TELEPHONE TODAY.

8. GENSCHER SAID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS CONFIDENT THAT OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED BY 12 SEPTEMBER, THUS ENABLING THE TWO PLUS FOUR PROCESS TO BE COMPLETED. RATIFICATION IN THE (AFTER 3 OCTOBER) FIVE STATES CONCERNED WOULD THEN BE NECESSARY.

*[The sum is removed to be \$8bn]*



9. IN CONCLUSION, GENSCHER PAID TRIBUTE TO THE SUPPORT GERMANY HAD RECEIVED FROM THE ALLIES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED. IN THE BROADER CONTEXT, THE MORAL STRENGTH AND FIRM POLITICAL POSITION ADOPTED BY THE ALLIANCE FOR MANY YEARS (EG INSUCCESSIVE COMMUNIQUES) HAD BEEN DECISIVE IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE HISTORIC CHANGES WHICH WERE NOW OCCURRING.

10. BECAUSE OF TIME PRESSURE, THE CHAIRMAN GAVE NO OPPORTUNITY FOR MINISTERS TO COMMENT OR TO PUT QUESTIONS TO GENSCHER.

BEATTIE

YYYY

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10 DOWNING STREET - -  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

10 September 1990

*Dear Simon,*

**GERMAN UNIFICATION**

Herr Teltschik telephoned me this afternoon to explain the position over the celebrations of German unification on 3 October. Chancellor Kohl had not yet invited anyone formally. He had sounded out President Bush to see whether 3 October would be convenient for him. There was no point in issuing invitations if it turned out that the President could not come. The first soundings had not been very promising: the President expected to be involved in the mid-term election campaign. He had also wanted to discuss the matter with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. Chancellor Kohl was due to speak to the President tomorrow and hoped to hear his decision then. In the light of that, he would either invite the Prime Minister and President Mitterrand or abandon the idea of celebrations at Head of State/Government level. We should therefore know the position by tomorrow evening or the following day at the latest.

I said we were quite relaxed about this. Purely on diary grounds, the Prime Minister would probably find it rather easier if President Bush found that he could not manage 3 October. But if others could be present, I had no doubt that she would be too.

*Yours sincerely,*  
  
C. D. POWELL

Simon Gass, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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165160  
MDHIAN 7511

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TELNO 67

OF 061915Z SEPTEMBER 1990

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FCO: PLEASE PASS TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE

TWO PLUS FOUR: STATE OF PLAY IN PREPARATION FOR MINISTERIAL MEETING  
IN MOSCOW

FROM WESTON

SUMMARY

1. AFTER THREE DAYS HARD SLOG, GOOD PROPORTION OF FINAL SETTLEMENT TEXT AGREED, BUT SOME POL-MIL ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED, IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION OF WHETHER DUAL CAPABLE SYSTEMS CAN BE STATIONED IN THE FORMER GDR. SO DOES QUESTION OF SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN GERMAN UNITY AND ENTRY INTO FORCE OF FINAL SETTLEMENT. FULL FORMAL SIGNATURE OF COMPLETED TREATY TEXT BY FOREIGN MINISTERS IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER STILL NOT ASSURED, AS OF TODAY.

DETAIL

2. THREE DAYS OF DISCUSSION AMONG TWO PLUS FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS, PRECEDED BY A MEETING OF THE WESTERN FOUR, HAVE PRODUCED TEXTS ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT: PREAMBLE, AND ARTICLES ON BORDERS, TERMINATION OF QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRRS), GERMANY'S RIGHT TO MEMBERSHIP OF ALLIANCES, GERMAN STATEMENTS ON NBC WEAPONS AND LIMITS ON THE BUNDESWEHR, NON-STATIONING OF OTHER NATO FORCES IN EAST GERMANY, STATIONING OF FORCES IN BERLIN, AND PROCEDURES RELATING TO RATIFICATION AND ENTRY INTO FORCE.

3. THESE TEXTS, ON THEIR OWN, LARGELY MEET WESTERN CONCERNS (AND REFLECT STAVROPOL) AND WOULD THUS ALLOW US TO DISPOSE OF THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION. THE REMAINING PARTS OF THE DRAFT STILL TO BE NEGOTIATED REFLECT SOVIET CONCERNS. THE POSSIBILITY OF MINISTERS SIGNING IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER WILL HINGE UPON THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE RUSSIANS ARE PREPARED TO MOVE EITHER AT THE ONGOING OFFICIAL

PAGE 1  
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TALKS OR AT HIGHER LEVEL. MAIN CONTENTIOUS POINTS ARE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO EXCLUDE DUAL CAPABLE WEAPONS FROM EAST GERMANY: THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO PRECLUDE ANY MOVEMENT INTO EAST GERMANY BY NATO ARMED FORCES (EG FOR EXERCISES OR MANOEUVRES): END DATE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GDR: VERIFICATION ISSUES: THE FUTURE OF MILITARY LIAISON MISSIONS AND A RANGE OF PROPOSED UNDERTAKINGS ON THE PART OF GERMANY ABOUT NAZI PARTIES, PROPERTY, ETC.

4. THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS THE NEW SOVIET POSITION ON THE STATIONING OF DUAL CAPABLE EQUIPMENT IN THE FORMER GDR WHERE THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO RESIST THE STAVROPOL AGREEMENT. AFTER CONSULTING MOSCOW BONDARENKO INSISTS THAT NO DUAL CAPABLE EQUIPMENT CAN BE BASED IN THE GDR IN PERPETUITY, THUS RULING OUT THE STATIONING OF EG TORNADO AIRCRAFT AND HEAVY ARTILERY. BAKER INTENDS TO SPEAK TO SHEVARDNADZE ABOUT THIS IN HELSINKI, BUT THE PROBLEM IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNRESOLVED UNTIL MOSCOW.

5. THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN EXCRUCIATING. BONDARENKO HAS PROVED INCAPABLE OF ENGAGING IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AND MAY HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY THE TEMPORARY ILLNESS IN MOSCOW OF KVITSINSKI, HIS IMMEDIATE BOSS. BUT THE RUSSIANS STILL PROFESS TO WANT SIGNATURE IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER AND HAVE EVENTUALLY PROVED AMENABLE TO SOME COMPROMISE.

6. THE TROUBLE IS THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT TO CRACK THE REMAINING ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE AND TO BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A PROPER CONCORDANCE OF THE TREATY TEXT IN FOUR LANGUAGES, IF THESE ARE TO BE PROPERLY CHECKED IN CAPITALS AND MINISTERS ARE TO BE SPARED A DRAFTING JOB ON 12 SEPTEMBER. EITHER THE RUSSIANS MUST AGREE THAT THE FINAL SETTLEMENT NEED NOT COVER SOME OF THEIR CONCERNS, AND HENCE WITHDRAW THEIR LANGUAGE: OR THEY MUST ACCELERATE THEIR EFFORTS TO HAMMER OUT COMPROMISE LANGUAGE IN THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE. FAILING THAT, FURTHER WORK WILL BE NECESSARY IN MOSCOW.

7. WE ARE TIDYING UP TEXTS AND COMPARING THEM LINGUISTICALLY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE AS WE GO ALONG, SENDING THEM BY FAX TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE RUSSIAN TEXT WILL NEED PARTICULAR ATTENTION.

#### SUSPENSION

8. ONE OUTSTANDING ISSUE IS WHAT HAPPENS TO QRRS DURING THE PERIOD FROM 3 OCTOBER (GERMAN UNITY) TO THE POINT WHERE THE FINAL SETTLEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE. ONE OBVIOUS ANSWER IS AN AGREED SEPARATE FOUR POWER DECLARATION THAT THEY BE SUSPENDED. BUT THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT



YET WILLING TO ACCEPT THIS, AND WE TOO NEED TO BE SURE THAT ANY NECESSARY ALTERNATIVE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS AMONG THE WESTERN ONE PLUS THREE ARE IN PLACE BEFORE ANY SUCH DECLARATION IS ACTUALLY MADE. THE OPTIMISTIC SOLUTION WOULD BE AGREEMENT AMONG MINISTERS IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER ON THE TEXT OF SUCH A DECLARATION OF SUSPENSION, TO BE MADE PERHAPS ON 2 OCTOBER, THUS ALLOWING MORE TIME FOR ANY REMAINING LOOSE ENDS TO BE TIED UP BETWEEN THE GERMANS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE RUSSIANS AND WESTERN ALLIES RESPECTIVELY ON THE OTHER. BUT IF THAT DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVES WILL BE REQUIRED, AND WE HAVE CIRCULATED INFORMALLY A LEGAL ADVISER'S NOTE TO OUR WESTERN ALLIES WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS.

## FALLBACK

9. WE SHOULD ALLOW FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT BY THE TIME MINISTERS ARRIVE IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER IT MAY STILL NOT HAVE PROVED POSSIBLE TO REACH FULL AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. IF MINISTERS THEN CRACK THE REMAINING NUTS FAST ENOUGH IN MOSCOW, SIGNATURE AS FORESEEN IN THE SOVIET PROGRAMME AT 16.00 HOURS THAT AFTERNOON, ALBEIT SOMEWHAT UNTIDILY, MAY NOT BE BEYOND REACH. BUT IF IT WERE TO TAKE MINISTERS LONGER, A LESS SATISFACTORY SOLUTION WOULD BE SOME KIND OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE/PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW, REGISTERING BROAD MINISTERIAL AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE AND A CONSENSUS THAT THE FORMAL SIGNATURE CEREMONY WOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE NEXT CONVENIENT MOMENT WHERE THEY WOULD BE ASSEMBLED TOGETHER. THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE ON 1/2 OCTOBER IN THE MARGINS OF THE CSCE MINISTERIAL IN NEW YORK, BY WHICH TIME OFFICIALS WOULD HAVE PROPERLY CLEANED UP THE TREATY TEXTS. WE CAN PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH THE GERMANS PREFERENCES ON ALL THIS. MY OWN PERSONAL BET IS THAT, AT THE END OF THE DAY, SIGNATURE IN MOSCOW WILL BE ACHIEVED

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CEREMONIES TO MARK GERMAN UNITY

SUMMARY

1. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STILL CONSIDERING QUESTION OF INVITING HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF 4 POWERS TO CELEBRATION IN BERLIN ON 3 OCTOBER. KOHL HAS SOUNDED BUSH, WHO IS DOUBTFUL BUT STILL CONSIDERING. NO TRUTH IN PRESS REPORTS THAT BUSH AND GORBACHEV ARE TALKING OF MEETING IN BERLIN.

DETAIL

2. I ASKED TELTSCHIK, KOHL'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISER, TODAY TO TELL ME, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF MUCH PRESS SPECULATION, WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PLANNED WITH REGARD TO ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN CELEBRATIONS ON AND AROUND 3 OCTOBER. TELTSCHIK SAID THIS MATTER WAS UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THERE WERE TWO VIEWS. ONE WAS THAT CELEBRATIONS ON 3 OCTOBER SHOULD BE 'AMONG GERMANS' WITHOUT TOP LEVEL FOREIGN GUSTS. THE SECOND, WHICH TELTSCHIK SUPPORTED, WAS THAT GERMANY SHOULD INVITE THE FREINDS WHO HAD HELPED THEM OVER RECENT DECADES. THAT WOULD MEAN THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF THE UK, BRITAIN AND FRANCE. IF THEY WERE INVITED GORBACHEV WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDED. IT MIGHT ALSO BE RIGHT TO ADD DELORS AND, AS EC PRESIDENCY, ANDREOTTI. KOHL FAVOURED THE SECOND VIEW BUT VON WEIZSAECKER AND GENSCHER SUPPORTED THE FIRST. TELTSCHIK CONTINUED THAT KOHL HAD JUST SPOKEN BY TELEPHONE TO BUSH, WHO HAD DENIED THE PRESS REPORTS FROM MOSCOW THAT HE AND GORBACHEV WANTED TO MARK THE END OF THE COLD WAR BY A MEETING AT THE BRANDENBERG GATE. KOHL HAD SOUNDED BUSH ON WHETHER HE WOULD ACCEPT AN INVITATION TO THE MAIN CELEBRATION IN THE REICHSTAG ON 3 OCTOBER, WHERE VON WEIZSAECKER WILL MAKE THE MAIN SPEECH. BUSH HAD REPLIED THAT HE NOT ONLY HAD INTERNATIONAL PREOCCUPATIONS BUT ALSO MUST DEVOTE HIMSELF MORE TO DOMESTIC MATTERS AS CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS APPROACHED. THERE WERE BIG PROBLEMS IN THE WAY OF HIS COMING TOOT BERLIN ON 3 OCTOBER, BUT HE WOULD RELFECT AND GIVE KOHL AN ANSWER EARLY NEXT WEEK.

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3. TELTSCHIK COMMENTED THAT IF BUSH SAID THE HE WOULD COME TO BERLIN, THE GERMANS WOULD ALSO INVITE MRS THATCHER, MITTERRAND AND GORBACHEV AND POSSIBLE OTHERS. THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD ALSO BE INVITED. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 4 WOULD BE INVITED TO MAKE 15 MINUTE SPEECHES. IF BUSH SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO COME, TELTSCHIK IMPLIED, THE WHOLE IDEA WOULD BE DROPPED.

4. I SAID, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, THAT I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THE END AFTER 45 YEARS OF THE 3 ALLIES SUCCESSFUL ROLE IN BERLIN WERE MARKED BY SOME EVENT WHERE THE GERMANS WOULD EXPRESS APPRECIATION. TELTSCHIK EMPHATICALLY AGREED. HE SAID THERE WERE IDEAS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ABOUT GESTURES OF THANKS TO EACH OF THE 3 ALLIES, PROBABLY SEPARATELY. WHAT KIND OF EVENTS WOULD BE INVOLVED HAD NOT BEEN THOUGHT OUT. HAD I ANY IDEAS? I SAID THAT I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS BUT WONDERED WHETHER, IF THE 4 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WERE NOT INVITED ON 3 OCTOBER, THE 3 WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN A CEREMONY, SEPARATE FROM THE MAIN ONE IN THE REICHSTAG AND POSSIBLY EARLIER ON 3 OCTOBER, WHERE THE END OF THE SPECIAL ALLIED ROLE IN BERLIN WOULD BE HONOURED. TELTSCHIK SAID THAT HE SAW ATTRACTIONS IN THIS AND WOULD BEAR IT IN MIND IN CASE PARTICIPATION BY THE 4 POWER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON 3 OCTOBER PROVED IMPOSSIBLE.

5. I TOLD TELTSCHIK ABOUT THE PLANS FOR A FAREWELL CEREMONY FOR THE 3 COMMANDANTS ON 2 OCTOBER.

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*From the Private Secretary*

5 September 1990

**GERMAN UNIFICATION**

The wire services are saying that Chancellor Kohl has invited the British, American, Soviet and French leaders to attend celebrations marking German unification on 3 October. I should be grateful for very early information on this and on the intentions of other Heads of Government.

BC 9

(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

MCM

● PART 4 ends:-

up to to 24.8.90

PART 5 begins:-

up to to 5.9.90