


SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Prime Minister's meeting with Lothar
de Maiziere, Prime Minister of
East Germany.

GERMANY

May 1990

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
1.6.90							
13.6.90.							
27.6.90							
 CLOSED PREM 19/3004							

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MEETING RECORD
Subject: Maiziere



File
EM
cc: Foreign
Maiziere
cc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 June 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
OF THE GDR

The Prime Minister had a meeting lasting a little over an hour this morning with the GDR Prime Minister. Herr de Maizière was accompanied by Frau Sylvia Schultz, head of his office, and by another, unidentified official. It was a very friendly meeting: indeed, it moved Frau Schultz to say tearfully to the Prime Minister at the end that she had been very moved by the meeting and had never before seen de Maizière respond so well to another head of government.

The Prime Minister began by saying she would like to hear from de Maizière how people in East Germany felt about unification. She could understand that they were anxious about the unknown. They would look to de Maizière and his Government to see that their interests were fully taken into account in the process of Germany's unification. De Maizière said that the Prime Minister was absolutely right. People in the GDR wanted to feel that they, too, were making a contribution to unification. There was some feeling that the FRG was patronising and trying to tell the people in the East how to run things. The GDR did not want unification to look like the victory of West Germany over East Germany: it should be a victory for the ideals of freedom and democracy. People in East Germany had never before been able to choose their political system. Now they would want to contribute their identity to the unified German state. We should not underestimate the emotional connotations of unification.

The Prime Minister said that she sympathised with what de Maizière was saying: she herself quite often had to stand up to Chancellor Kohl and stop him trying to bulldoze his point of view through. He had done a great deal for West Germany, but subtlety was not his most obvious characteristic. She was inclined to think a longer transition period to German unification would have been better. But that was now history. The Prime Minister continued that Britain would like to be involved in East Germany. We would be happy to provide training in this country and advice on privatisation. We would also encourage our firms to invest in the GDR. De Maizière said that he would very much welcome this. He saw one of his great tasks as being to open people's minds in the GDR after 45 years of imprisonment. Exchanges and training were very important for this, and he wanted to look well beyond the FRG to provide them.

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The Prime Minister asked about the impact of GEMU. De Maizière gave an account of the practical steps involved in implementing GEMU. There had been some initial concern that people would simply go out and spend their new DMs. But a recent opinion poll had shown that only about 30 per cent of them would do this, spending particularly on travel. The rest would save. That was the mentality of people in the GDR: you never knew what might happen in the future. The Prime Minister said that she thought that it would take East Germany only seven or eight years to catch up with standards of living in the FRG. De Maizière said he thought that was about right: he would put it at something between five and eight years. At the end of that time, he expected East German industry to be actually more modern than that of West Germany. The most important task was to re-create a strong middle class. Luckily, there were people in the GDR who remembered what a market economy was like. The last remnants of privately-owned industry had been abolished only in 1972. We should not underestimate the tremendous, liberating effect of the events in East Germany. People had thought that they had lived their lives for nothing: now they had been given a new chance, and they would take it.

Turning to the external aspects of unification, de Maizière said it was important not to make unification look like a defeat for the Soviet Union. At the moment, the Russians felt that the Two plus Four group was actually Five versus One. People in the Soviet Union were saying that Stalin had won the war, and that Gorbachev had lost it. Great hopes were being pinned on the NATO Summit, and he hoped that it would indeed give positive signals to the Soviet Union. He would also like to see the CSCE built up as an umbrella organisation. Indeed, he had suggested that Berlin might become a sort of CSCE capital. The Prime Minister said that would re-awaken all sorts of misgivings in other West European countries. But she was confident that the NATO Summit would give the sort of signal which de Maizière hoped for. But it certainly would not signal the end of NATO: we had to keep our defences.

De Maizière said that he had sad misgivings about the prospects for Gorbachev. He could easily be overwhelmed by the Soviet Union's economic problems. The GDR was itself feeling the effect of these problems: they had expected to import some 20 million tonnes of oil from the Soviet Union this year but would not get more than 16 million. It would be a tragedy if Gorbachev were removed. The liberation of Eastern Europe would not have been possible without him. But he had reliable reports that old guard Party members were responsible for actions which amounted to sabotage of the Soviet economy. Hundreds of thousands of Party members were leaving the Communist Party. The trouble was that there was no other body which could integrate the country, or play the sort of role which the Catholic church had fulfilled in Poland or the Lutheran church in the GDR. It was vital to do everything possible to help Gorbachev.

The Prime Minister agreed that we wanted to preserve Gorbachev. That had been discussed at the European Council. She wondered what practical steps de Maizière had particularly in mind. De Maizière said that economic help was the first requirement. But this should not be a question of sprinkling money around indiscriminately. Help should be project-oriented. The Prime Minister said her view was that we ought to find a way of transplanting 'islands of capitalism' into the Soviet economy. She had been very struck by what she had heard about the success of McDonalds, who had installed their whole chain from production of beef through to service of milk-shakes and hamburgers. De Maizière said the most difficult task was to change the character of the Russian people. They were accustomed to accepting their fate and making the best of it. He recalled his days as a musician, when he had given a concert in the Soviet Union and the orchestra's instruments had arrived four hours late. The audience had simply waited patiently and then applauded wildly when the orchestra finally came on the stage.

The Prime Minister said she was not certain that the Russians really understood a market economy, although Ryzhkov had assured her that the Soviet Union now intended to introduce a full market economy. She found Ryzhkov quite an attractive character. De Maizière said he had to disagree on that: he and his colleagues had found Ryzhkov very hard-line and his thinking set in the mould of centralisation. But there were others, such as Sitaryan, who had a better understanding of what was really required. They tended to talk of a 'regulated' market economy. Actually, that was no more than their way of saying 'social' market economy.

The Prime Minister said she had been interested and impressed by what de Maizière had told her. She hoped he would keep in touch, and let her know how things were going. She would be writing that afternoon to Mr Gorbachev, and would mention her meeting with de Maizière. Meanwhile, she understood that the Chairman of the Conservative Party had invited him to attend the Party Conference in October. He would be very welcome. De Maizière said that he hoped to attend and would arrange his programme to permit this.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (Treasury), Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence), Martin Stanley (Department of Trade and Industry) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

J S Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 June 1990

Dear Charles,

cfk
~~Dear Charles~~
Please tell Charles
Fontana on

Call on Prime Minister by GDR Prime Minister, 27 June, 1115

I wrote on 22 June about the call of
Herr Lothar de Maizière, the GDR Prime Minister,
on the Prime Minister.

Herr de Maizière will be accompanied by
Frau Sylvia Schultz, Head of the Prime Minister's
office and by Herr Wolfgang Ganthus, interpreter.
The East Germans have also asked that Herr Siegfried Reichel,
Charge d'Affaires and Frau Dr Angela Merkela, Deputy
Government Spokesman, accompany Herr de Maiziere to
Number 10 although they would not participate in the call.

Yours ever,

R H T Gozney
(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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VISIT OF DE MAIZIERE: 26-27 JUNE

SUMMARY

1. SCENE-SETTER FOR THE VISIT OF THE GDR PRIME MINISTER TO LONDON ON 26-27 JUNE.

DETAIL

2. DE MAIZIERE ARRIVES IN LONDON FRESH FROM VISITS TO WASHINGTON, PARIS AND DUBLIN. HE COMES A FEW DAYS BEFORE GEMU AND PROBABLY LESS THAN SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE GDR DISAPPEARS INTO A UNITED GERMANY. IN THESE REMAINING MONTHS HE FACES SOME DAUNTING TASKS:

- TO BRING A SYSTEM OF LANDER INTO BEING SO THE GDR CAN FIT INTO THE FEDERAL GERMAN SYSTEM:
 - TO AGREE A SECOND STATE TREATY WITH THE FRG ON THE MANY OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS WHILE THE GDR IS STILL ABLE TO NEGOTIATE TERMS FOR ITSELF:
 - TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS (IN HIS EYES AN ESSENTIAL PRE-CONDITION FOR GERMAN UNITY):
 - TO HOLD THE GDR TOGETHER THROUGH THE TRAUMATIC SHOCK OF THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND SEE OFF THE SMALL BUT NOT INEXISTANT RISK OF A COLLAPSE INTO PREMATURE UNITY THIS AUTUMN:
 - TO ACHIEVE STATE UNITY
 - TO HELP FUSE THE CDU (OST) WITH CDU (WEST)
- AND TO GO ON, WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL, TO WIN ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER.

3. DE MAIZIERE WILL WELCOME THE CHANCE TO DISCUSS ALL THIS IN LONDON, IN PARTICULAR THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS AND THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 2+4. HE WILL ALSO WANT TO DISCUSS THE UK'S FUTURE ROLE IN

THIS PART OF GERMANY. HE WOULD LIKE THE GDR TO BENEFIT FROM OUR EXPERIENCE OF PRIVATISATION AND INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING. HE WILL APPEAL FOR INVESTMENT. HE IS ALL TOO AWARE OF WHAT THE GDR HAS LOST FROM ITS ISOLATION AND WANTS PEOPLE HERE TO HAVE MORE EXPOSURE TO OUR LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND TRADITIONS.

4. HE WILL PROBABLY ALSO WANT TO TALK IN BROADER TERMS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS PART OF GERMANY AND THE 16 MILLION PEOPLE WHO WILL REMAIN HERE: THE PAINFUL HISTORICAL BAGGAGE THEY CARRY WITH THEM: THE DIFFICULTIES (AND THE SENSE OF INADEQUACY) THEY FACE AS THEY START TO RE-BUILD ONCE MORE; THE RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS IN EAST EUROPE WHO FACE THE SAME PROBLEMS: AND THOSE ASPECTS OF THEIR SOCIETY WHICH MANY IN THE GDR, AND CERTAINLY HE, VALUE QUITE STRONGLY. THIS WILL BE A FRAGILE PART OF THE GERMAN BODY POLITIC FOR SOME TIME TO COME. SOME OF THE LESS OPERATIONAL THINGS DE MAIZIERE HAS TO SAY MAY BEAR LISTENING TO FOR THE LONGER TERM. I HOPE HE WILL GET THE MESSAGE IN LONDON THAT THE UK INTENDS TO BE FULLY PRESENT IN THIS PART OF GERMANY IN THE FUTURE.

5. DE MAIZIERE BELIEVES THAT GERMAN UNITY MUST HELP DRAW THE RUSSIANS, POLES, AND OTHERS INTO THE EUROPEAN MAINSTREAM - AND FEARS THE REVERSE IF GREAT CARE IS NOT TAKEN (AS HE MADE CLEAR IN HIS FT INTERVIEW ON 25 JUNE). HE THINKS NEW SECURITY STRUCTURES IN EUROPE ARE INEVITABLE AND HE HOLDS NO BRIEF FOR NATO OR NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. BUT HE SEEMS MORE READY THAN MECKEL TO ACCEPT THAT ALL THIS WILL TAKE TIME. HE HAS DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM SOME OF MECKEL'S IDEAS, EG FOR A GDR/POLISH/CZECH SECURITY ZONE, AND HAS RUBBISHED IDEAS SUCH AS DUAL ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP FOR GERMANY. HE ACCEPTS THAT GERMANY BELONGS IN NATO UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE NEW STRUCTURES CAN SAFELY BE BUILT BUT WANTS IT TO BE A VERY DIFFERENT NATO. IT WILL BE WELL WORTH TAKING DE MAIZIERE THROUGH NATO'S PLANS FOR ADAPTING TO CHANGE, AS WELL AS THE REASONS FOR A CAREFUL PACE. THE MORE POSITIVE AND FORWARD LOOKING ARGUMENTATION WE CAN GIVE HIM, THE BETTER. AS THE FUTURE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE CDU HE WILL, AFTER ALL, BE RESPONSIBLE FOR SELLING NATO'S PLANS TO THIS PART OF THE ALL-GERMAN ELECTORATE

IN A FEW MONTHS TIME.

6. DE MAIZIERE IS KEEN TO DISCUSS HOW BRITISH EXPERTISE COULD HELP IN THE TASK OF PRIVATISING THE GDR'S 8,000-ODD STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES. I SEE EVERY ADVANTAGE IN RESPONDING. THE TREUHANDANSTALT (TRUST AGENCY), IN WHICH THESE ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN VESTED, NOW REPORTS DIRECTLY TO DE MAIZIERE. FOLLOWING MR REDWOOD'S VISIT ON 5-7 JUNE WE HAVE PUT SOME PROPOSALS TO THE TREUHANDANSTALT. I HOPE WE CAN ENCOURAGE DE MAIZIERE TO PUSH THINGS FORWARD. IF WE CAN STRETCH TO IT, THIS WOULD BE A PRIME CANDIDATE FOR KNOW HOW FUND (KHF) ACTIVITY.

7. THE LORD PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WILL BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR DE MAIZIERE TO ALERT LEADING UK BUSINESSMEN TO THE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GDR AND FOR THE LATTER TO EXPLAIN THEIR CONCERNS AND REQUIREMENTS TO HIM.

8. DE MAIZIERE WANTS YOUNG PEOPLE FROM THE GDR TO GET FIRST HAND EXPERIENCE OF THE MAIN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES FROM WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN SO CUT OFF. THE UK'S ATTRACTIONS ARE ENHANCED BY THE HUGE DEMAND HERE FOR ENGLISH (TO REPLACE THE PREVIOUSLY COMPULSORY RUSSIAN). THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT RECALL THE ELT AND SCHOLARSHIPS INITIATIVE WHICH SHE ANNOUNCED AT THE ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT ON 30 MARCH. TO FOLLOW THIS UP:

- 50 GDR TEACHERS WILL ATTEND BRITISH COUNCIL SUMMER SCHOOLS AND 100 GDR STUDENTS WILL SPEND NEXT YEAR TEACHING GERMAN IN OUR SCHOOLS.

- 50 ONE-YEAR SCHOLARSHIPS WILL BE OFFERED FROM THE KHF OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS, WITH 32 MORE THIS YEAR JOINTLY FUNDED BY THE FCO AND VARIOUS POLYTECHNICS

- THE BRITISH COUNCIL ARE WORKING ON PLANS TO BRING ENGLISH SKILLS TO TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE THROUGH A PROGRAMME OF SUPPORT FOR 12 'CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE'.

IT WOULD GIVE DE MAIZIERE PARTICULAR PLEASURE IF WE COULD SAY SOMETHING ABOUT YOUTH EXCHANGES. THE FRENCH ARE INVITING 1000 GDR STUDENTS TO COME TO FRANCE FOR 12 DAYS THIS SUMMER AND THEY INTEND TO REPEAT HERE THEIR IMPORTANT YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAMME WITH THE FRG (THEY ARE ALSO OPENING NEW CULTURAL CENTRES IN ROSTOCK, DRESDEN AND LEIPZIG).

9. DE MAIZIERE HAS GROWN IN THE JOB. HE HAS SHOWN STRENGTH AND SKILL IN HOLDING HIS COALITION TOGETHER AND FIGHTING THE GDR'S CORNER WITH THE FRG. HE IS A PRIVATE MAN, IMMENSELY HARD-WORKING, AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH AND ITS SYNOD. HE WAS A PROFESSIONAL VIOLA PLAYER FOR 10 YEARS AND STILL OCCASIONALLY PERFORMS IN PUBLIC. HE LATER PRACTISED AS A LAWYER. HE BELIEVES IN THE FAMILY, AND HAS CHAMPIONED A LAW TO GIVE PARENTS MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRINGING UP THEIR CHILDREN. HE IS SET TO BECOME DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-GERMAN CDU IN THE AUTUMN. HE SAYS HIS HOME WOULD BE ON THE LEFT OF THE PARTY. HE HOPES TO PUT THE 'C' (FOR CHRISTLICH) BACK INTO THE CDU. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT THE CDU PROFESSIONALS WILL MAKE OF THIS. OTHERS MAY EMERGE, BUT FOR THE TIME BEING DE MAIZIERE IS THE MOST POPULAR AND RESPECTED SPOKESMAN FOR THIS PART OF GERMANY. I SUSPECT HIS SENSE OF DUTY WILL MAKE HIM WANT TO SOLDIER ON AFTER UNITY.

RAMSDEN

YYYY

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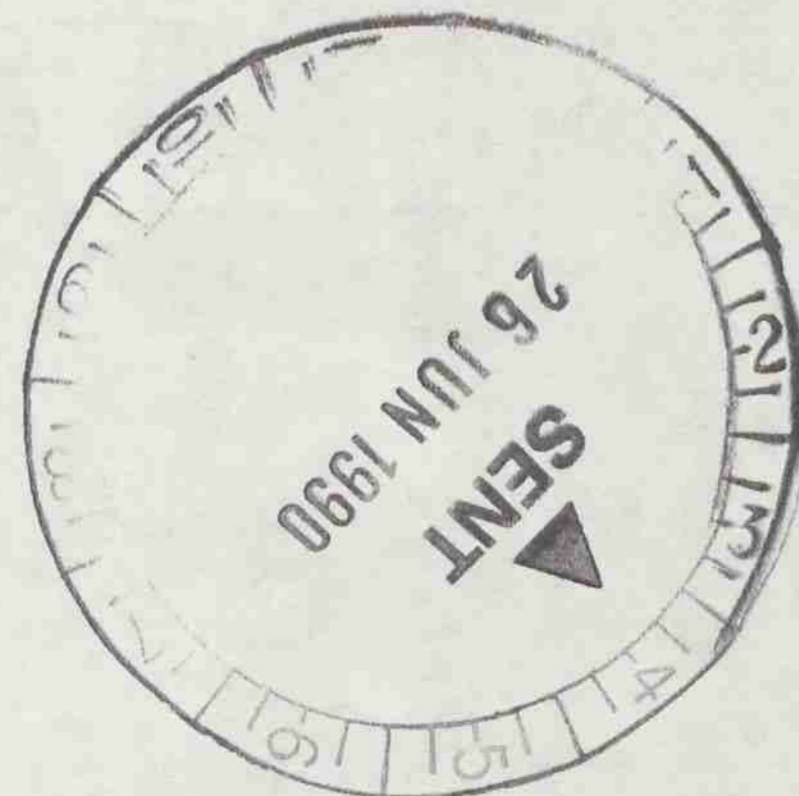
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HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
NORTHERN IRELAND

Visit of

Herr Lothar de MAIZIÈRE

Prime Minister

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

26 - 27 June 1990

The Prime Minister will be accompanied by:

Frau Sylvia SCHULTZ
Head of Prime Minister's Office

Herr Thilo STEINBACH
Head of Department for Foreign and Security Questions
in the Prime Minister's Office

Frau Doktor Angela MERKEL
GDR Government Deputy Spokesman

Herr Franz JAHSNOWSKI
Chief of Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Herr Wolfgang GANTHUS
Interpreter

In attendance:

Miss Brigitte Puhl (Interpreter)
Central Office of Information

Herr Siegfried Reichel
Herr Michael Juhran
Embassy of the German Democratic Republic

Programme Organiser:

Mr Bernard McGinley
Central Office of Information

The Prime Minister will be staying at:

The Sheraton Park Tower
101 Knightsbridge
LONDON SW1

Tuesday
26
June

ARRIVAL
THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION
DINNER ENGAGEMENT

1645 approx

Arrive at London Heathrow Airport (Hounslow Suite) on an official flight (IFL 9738) from Dublin.

Welcomed by Sir John Stow GCMG KCVO, Special Representative of the Secretary of State.

1700 approx

Leave the airport by car, accompanied by Mr Bernard McGinley and Miss Brigitte Puhl, Central Office of Information.

1755

Arrive at the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, SW1 (St Stephen's Entrance).

1800

Met by the Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP, Leader of the Opposition.

1830

Leave Westminster for a short sightseeing tour of the West End.

1920

Arrive at the Sheraton Park Tower.

1945

Leave hotel.

2000

Arrive at Lancaster House, Stable Yard, St James's SW1.

for
2015

(not Herr Ganthus)

Dinner as a guest of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Host: Rt Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP,
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs.

Later

Leave Stable Yard for return to hotel.

Wednesday
27
June

PRIVATE BREAKFAST
CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE
THE PRIME MINISTER
LUNCH ENGAGEMENT
WESTMINSTER ABBEY
SIGHTSEEING
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
PRESS CONFERENCE
DEPARTURE

0900 Breakfast in Room 1714 at the hotel.

0955 Leave hotel (with luggage) by car.

1015 Arrive at Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square, SW1.

Met by the Rt Hon Kenneth Baker MP, Chairman of the Conservative Party, and the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Pattie MP, Deputy Chairman.

1100 approx Leave Smith Square.

1110 approx Arrive at No 10 Downing Street.

1115 Met by the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP, Prime Minister.

1200 Leave Downing Street.

1230 for 1245 Arrive at the Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W1. (Arlington Street Entrance).

(not Frau Merkel,
Herr Jahsnowski, or
Herr Ganthus)

Lunch in the Marie Antoinette Suite as a guest of the Lord President.

Host: Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP,
Lord President of the Council and
Leader of the House of Commons.

1415 Leave Piccadilly.

1430 Arrive at Westminster Abbey, Broad Sanctuary, SW1.

Met by a senior representative of the Abbey.

Wednesday
27
June contd

- Conducted tour of the Abbey, including the Henry VII Chapel, the Sanctuary, the Coronation Chair, and Poet's Corner.
- 1500 Leave Westminster for a sightseeing tour of London, to include St Paul's Cathedral, the Temple, and the National Gallery.
- 1625 Arrive at Lambeth Palace, Lambeth, SE1.
- 1630 Met by the Most Reverend and Right Honourable Lord Runcie MC, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1645 Leave Lambeth.
- 1700 Arrive at the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, SW1.
- There will be a short Press Conference.
- 1730 approx Leave Belgrave Square.
- 1820 approx Arrive at London Heathrow Airport (Hounslow Suite).
- Sir John Stow GCMG KCVO will bid farewell on behalf of the Secretary of State.
- 1900 Depart on an official flight (IFL 9739) to Berlin.

DIRECTORY

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
King Charles Street, London SW1

Tel: 071-270 3436

Central Office of Information
Hercules Road, London SE1

Tel: 071-217 2339

Embassy of the German Democratic Republic
34 Belgrave Square, SW1

Tel: 071-235 9941/2/3

Sheraton Park Tower
101 Knightsbridge, SW1

Tel: 071-235 8231

0V2/2314 (0-5-0)

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● PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE GDR PRIME MINISTER

You are to see Mr. de Maiziere for an hour on Wednesday. He will have had dinner with the Foreign Secretary the previous evening: the Lord President is giving him lunch immediately after his meeting with you. You will, of course, already have seen him at the Irish President's lunch in Dublin on Monday.

The basic problem with de Maiziere is that he has some fairly daft ideas about European security (his Foreign Minister is several degrees worse). Although a Christian Democrat, he is in the evangelical/neutralist/anti-nuclear stream of thinking which seems fairly dominant in East Germany. His influence within the Two plus Four Group is being exercised far from beneficially to accommodate Soviet interests. He apparently sees himself as a bridge between NATO and the Soviet Union. He is also quite close to the ideas of people like President Havel who are looking for some sort of collective European security system now, or at any rate quite soon.

You will want to follow President Bush's example by trying to budge him off this (a copy of President Bush's message to you about the meeting is in the folder). You will want to take him carefully through the continuing need for NATO, the importance of maintaining adequate numbers of short range nuclear weapons in Germany, the need to deal with the political/military consequences of German unification elsewhere than in the Two plus Four group. You will also want to make clear that we cannot accept many of the ideas which the Russians have put forward in the Two plus Four framework like leaving Four Power rights in place for a transitional period beyond unification, and the suggestion that there is some sort of parallelism between Soviet and American forces. He needs a dose of realism, and there is no-one better equipped to give it to him.

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You may also like to talk to him about EC aspects of unification, stressing our hope that any transitional arrangements will be very short lived, that effective customs barriers should be established on Germany's eastern border, and that the GDR should take account of EC state aid and competition rules.

Another area you might explore is his assessment of the likely effects of GEMU. What level of unemployment is it likely to cause in East Germany? What will be the effect on the Deutschmark? You might also ask him what precise arrangements he expects to be made about East Germany's long term trade agreements with the Soviet Union and East European countries.

Finally, if there is time, you might like to get on to environmental issues and ask in particular about East Germany's nuclear power industry.

A fuller note by the FCO is in the folder, together with President Bush's message.

C.D.P.

C. D. POWELL

25 June 1990



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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22 June 1990

John Charles,

[Handwritten mark]

Call on Prime Minister by GDR Prime Minister
27 June, 1115

The Prime Minister has agreed to see Lothar de Maizière (CDU), the GDR Prime Minister, at noon on 27 June. We do not yet know whom he would like to accompany him. The Foreign Secretary will give him dinner the evening before. The Lord President will give him lunch after he has seen the Prime Minister.

De Maizière will be in London on his way home from Dublin, where he will attend the European Council lunch and dinner on 25 June. He has already visited Washington and Paris this month (and Moscow earlier in the year). In Washington he saw President Bush, who was impressed by him and sent the Prime Minister an account of their meeting (your letter of 13 June, copy enclosed). His talks in France on 18/19 June were less substantial. Although he was received at the highest level, President Mitterrand seems to have made no real attempt to straighten out de Maizière's thinking on 2+4 issues. The Foreign Secretary's talks with the GDR Foreign Minister Meckel (SPD) on 20 June showed further evidence of the GDR tendency to harbour unrealistic and unhelpful expectations of NATO's early transformation and to ventriloquise Soviet concerns.

De Maizière is likely to raise Germany and NATO with the Prime Minister. During his visit to the United States, he said he understood the need for a united Germany to belong to NATO. But he showed himself very sensitive to Soviet security concerns and anxious to act as a bridge between NATO and the Soviet Union. He stated in a recent interview for 'Le Figaro': "A system of collective security in Europe is unavoidable. But it is not something for tomorrow or the day after. It is more for the end of the century." The Prime Minister might encourage this line of thought by

/emphasising

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emphasising the importance for stability in Europe of German membership of NATO, and the fact that we are taking account of Soviet security concerns. The Prime Minister could take the line that:

- We realise he has a different starting point from ours. Neither Alliance has brought benefit to GDR: and the GDR has borne the brunt of being on the front line of the Warsaw Pact.

- Our approach to European security is evolutionary. Should build on existing institutions.

- We believe NATO is the key stabilising influence for all Europe, bringing in the Americans to counterbalance Soviet power. (Imagine the alternative, a Europe in which each country had independent armed forces and shifting allegiances.) CSCE not capable of taking on this role.

- That said, NATO should change. Message from Turnberry a sign of the times. NATO Summit: comprehensive review of NATO's political role, strategy, military dispositions.

- Changes sure to reduce burden on Germany. Stationed forces in Europe still important: political solidarity, collective defence. But fewer, more multinational, more mobile.

- We too want a bigger security role for CSCE. Aware of East European concerns. Dialogue and good machinery, e.g. for conflict prevention and conciliation, should produce strong political pressure against use of force. Must be frank: best we can offer to Eastern Europe in the circumstances. Cannot provide guarantees we could not fulfil

- When tackling Germany and NATO, of course we need to consider Soviet security interests. But we should not be blackmailed. Germans have the right to choose their Alliance.

In the Foreign Secretary's talks with Meckel, the latter took a very sceptical line on nuclear matters, asking about the purpose of the British deterrent and the stationing of nuclear weapons in Germany. De Maizière accepts the need for a minimum deterrent, but the Prime Minister may wish to emphasise the importance for NATO's security of nuclear weapons based in Europe.

The second round of 2+4 Ministerial talks takes place in East Berlin on 22 June. Telegraphic records will be available over the weekend. Subject to these, the most useful points for the Prime Minister to make might be as follows:

/- We

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- We wish to see the internal and external aspects of unification brought to a conclusion in parallel, in time to present them to the CSCE Summit towards the end of the year.
- We have no intention of leaving Four Power rights in place for a transitional period beyond unification (as Russians have proposed)
- This tight timetable can be met if the Six concentrate on what is necessary, i.e. avoid overloading their agenda with extraneous pol-mil issues
- Borders are one issue which could be cleared up soon. We are glad it is agreed there should be a Polish/German Treaty.

On the internal aspects of unification, de Maizière is likely to be preoccupied by GEMU on 1 July, when the FRG/GDR State Treaty comes into force. The Prime Minister could ask de Maizière about the likely economic and social disruption. She could also ask him about all-German elections in December, as favoured by the CDU in both East and West (the two parties are to merge on 1 October). It is largely thanks to de Maizière that an impetuous resolution introduced in the Volkskammer on 17 June, calling for instant accession to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law, was referred to committee without a vote. De Maizière made a forceful intervention arguing that other conditions for unification, eg settling of the external aspects, had to be met first. He was given a standing ovation.

The EC aspects of German unification will be discussed at the European Council, where the Prime Minister will have seen de Maizière. She may wish to:

- Reiterate our strong wish to agree any temporary transitional arrangements for the GDR before unification so as to ensure the smoothest possible integration process; and,
- Repeat our concern that in the GEMU period before unification decisions affecting the East German economy should take account of EC state aids and competition rules, and that the entry of the GDR into the Community customs union should be accompanied by effective customs barriers on the Eastern German border. During this period the GDR should ensure that there is no discrimination in treatment as between FRG trade and the EC 11.

I enclose a personality note on de Maizière.

Yours ever,
R H T Gozney
(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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Head WFO

11

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

WFO
P/M Laddipave
P/M Mande
P/M
M Costa
M Hylance
M Frenetoch
13 June 1990
M Tait
M Calder
See PM Dept
see
Panner
Acad Was App
- NATD

From the Private Secretary

Dear Stephen,

EAST GERMANY

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Bush about his meeting with the East German Prime Minister. As you will see, the President says that he would welcome any thoughts. I expect the Prime Minister will wish to respond. I should be grateful for a draft.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Your mark

(C. D. POWELL)

J. S. Wall, Esq., L.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

RESTRICTED

DE MAIZIÈRE, LOTHAR

MINISTER PRESIDENT (ie PRIME MINISTER)

Born 2 March in Nordhausen. CDU member since 1956. Played viola in various orchestras until injury forced him to choose another profession. Studied law from 1969 to 1975 (East German Humboldt University correspondence course - obtained Diploma in Law). Employed since by the Collegium of Lawyers in East Berlin. Member of Collegium Executive since 1982. Member of the Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR since 1985. Elected CDU Chairman in November 1989 (his first party office). Appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Church Affairs in the Modrow Government November 1989 to April 1990. Became Prime Minister of the Coalition Government in April 1990, following the CDU's victory in the first free GDR elections on 18 March 1990.

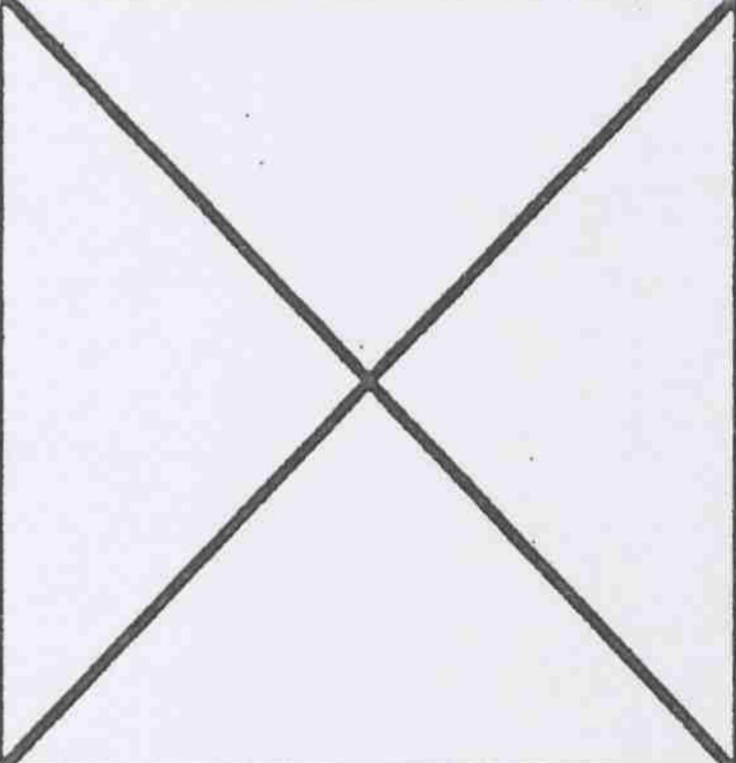
Comment

A quiet, some would say colourless, carefully spoken man. Reportedly a doughty advocate, and much less quietly-spoken, in court. As simultaneously a member of the CDU and the Church Synod, De Maizièrè was among the few who tried to reform the party from within during the years of collaboration with the SED (unlike the LDPD, the CDU leadership under the corrupt Götting (see 1989 LPR) resisted all internal reforms before November 1989). Brushed aside accusations in March 1990 of collaboration with the Communist secret police (Stasi).

Married since 1963 with three daughters.

RESTRICTED

NC3AAT/1

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3004</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Attachment to Grogan to Powell dated 22 June 1990</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>17/10/2016</i> <i>G. Grogan</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
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DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

SECRET



FILE 5 KK
c/Foreign/bush
bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 June 1990

Dear Stephen,

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH

I enclose the Prime Minister's reply to President Bush's recent message about his talk with Prime Minister de Maizière in the form which we have despatched it to the White House.

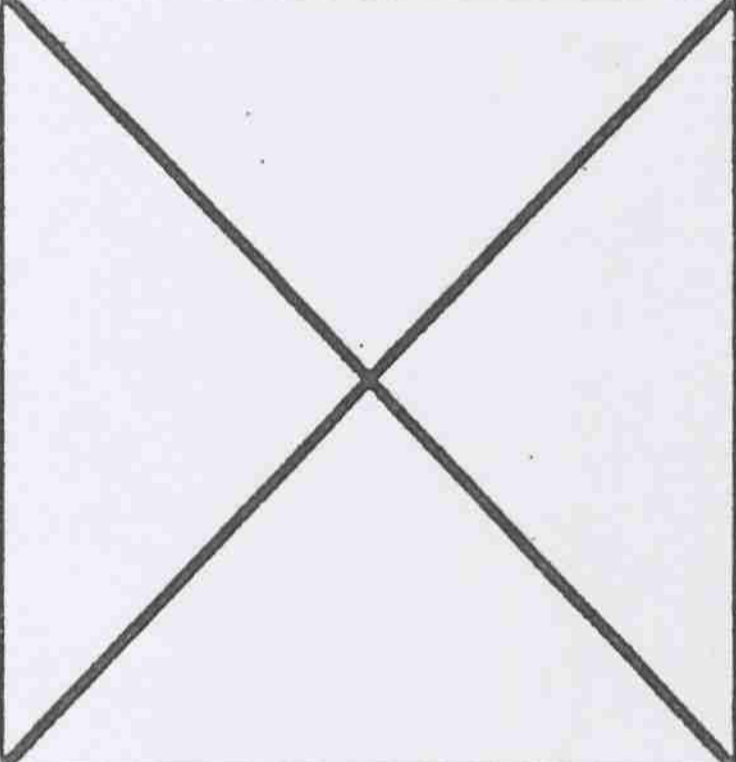
I am copying this letter and enclosure to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,
Charles Powell

(C. D. POWELL)

J. S. Wall, Esq., L.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3004</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>T 126c/90 PM to US President dated 17 June 1990</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>17/10/2016</i> <i>B. Gray</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

PRIME MINISTER

You owe President Bush a reply to his message about the meeting with the East German Prime Minister. The reply is an opportunity to make one or two useful points about the NATO Summit and the proposed NATO/Warsaw Pact declaration. I attach a draft.

Content?

C.D.P.

See possible amendments.

mt.

C. D. POWELL

16 June 1990

CONFIDENTIAL

ufc



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 June 1990

Dear Charles,

De Maiziere's visit to Washington: Message
from President Bush

Thank you for your letter of 13 June. I enclose a draft reply from the Prime Minister to President Bush, which has been agreed by the Foreign Secretary.

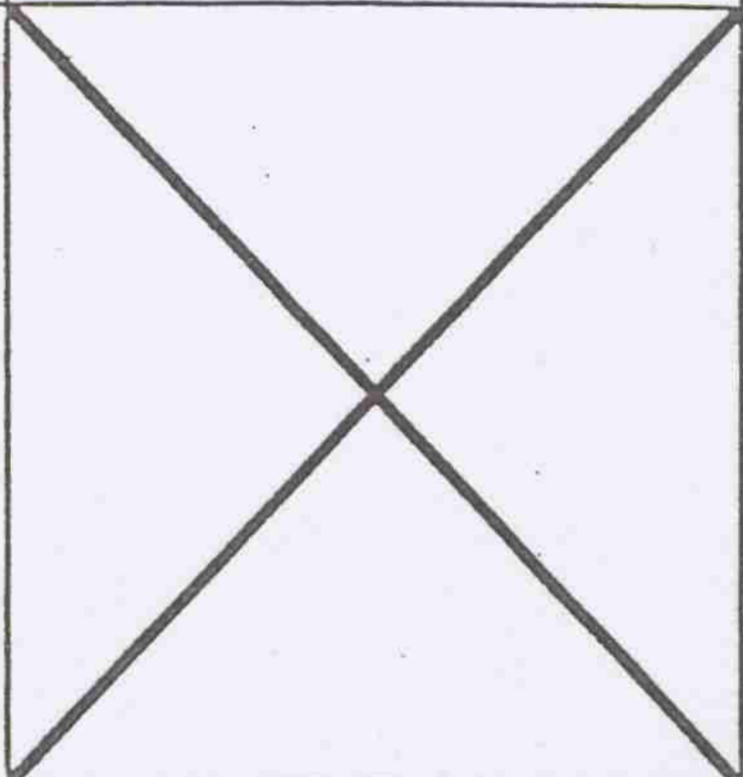
JWS
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3004</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Attachment to Cowell to PM dated 16 June 1990</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
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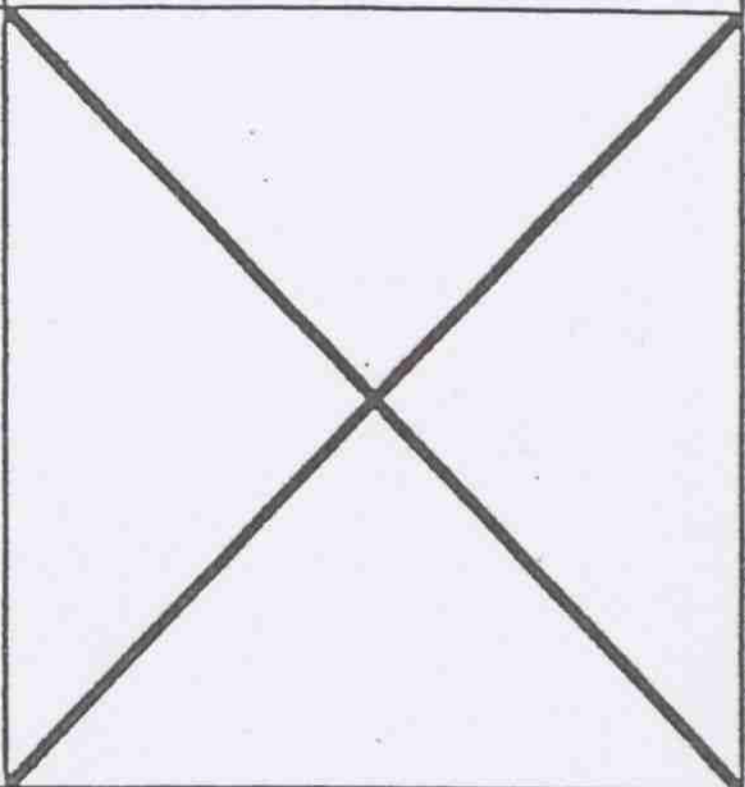
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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3004</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Attachment to Wall to Cowell dated 15 June 1990.</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>17/10/2016</i> <i>S. Gray</i>
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SECRET



FILE

KK

2

C/Foreign/Germany

be P.C.

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 June 1990

EAST GERMANY

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Bush about his meeting with the East German Prime Minister. As you will see, the President says that he would welcome any thoughts. I expect the Prime Minister will wish to respond. I should be grateful for a draft.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

(C. D. POWELL)

J. S. Wall, Esq., L.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>3004</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>T125/90 US President to PM dated 12 June 1990</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>17/10/2016</i> <i>G. Gray</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
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*File for
all*

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 June 1990

Dear Richard,

PROPOSED VISIT BY GDR PRIME MINISTER

M Thank you for your letter of 6 June about the postponement of Mr. de Maiziere's visit. The Prime Minister could see him at 1200 on 27 June.

*Yours sincerely
C. D. Powell*

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Synnott, WED

Visit to London of Herr de Maiziere

The No.10 Diary Secretary has replied to our letter of 6 June which explained that the East German leader could no longer make his appointment with the Prime Minister on 12 June and wanted to come to London on his way back from the Dublin Summit instead. The Prime Minister could see Herr de Maiziere at noon on Wednesday 27 June.

I should be grateful if you would inform the East Germans, and provide briefing in the usual way nearer the time.

R. H. T. Gozney

(R H T Gozney)

7 June 1990

cc: PS
PS/Mr Waldegrave
PS/PUS
Mr Weston
Mr Broomfield
Mr Greenstock
Mrs Morrison, Protocol Dept
Mr Mower, News Dept
Mr Gomersall, Sec Pol Dept
Mrs Margaret Bell, No.10



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL London SW1A 2AH

6 June 1990

7/6

~~Margaret Bell~~
Can we do this?
CDD/6

Dear Charles,

Proposed Visit by GDR Prime Minister

Thank you for your letter of 1 June with the Prime Minister's agreement to receive the Prime Minister of the GDR, Lothar de Maizière (CDU), in London on 12 June at 1000 on his return to Europe after a visit to Washington.

We have now learnt that the East Germans have (not for the first time) crossed their wires and accepted engagements in the US on 12 June, including a meeting with the UN Secretary General. They have therefore suggested the postponement of the call on the Prime Minister until 27 June, on Herr de Maizière's way home from the Dublin European Council.

Would the Prime Minister be able to see him on the morning of 27 June?

Yours ever,

R. H. T. Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

yes

12 noon,
I have told the
FCO.

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

MGB

CONFIDENTIAL

ccpc



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 May 1990

10-12

*Margaret
can we do this
on 12 June?
CDB*

Dear Charles,

Proposed Call by GDR Prime Minister

The Prime Minister of the GDR, Lothar de Maiziere (CDU), has suggested that he stop over in London for a call on the Prime Minister on 9 or 12 June in the course of a tour taking in Washington and Paris.

With the 2+4 talks at Ministerial level under way (the next Ministerial meeting will be in East Berlin on a date yet to be fixed towards the end of June), it is useful and may be of value presentationally to keep in touch with the GDR at the highest level. The Foreign Secretary has invited the GDR Foreign Minister, Herr Meckel, for talks on 20 June. In Washington Herr de Maiziere will see President Bush. Although we have no firm confirmation of French plans, we understand that they have issued an invitation to Herr de Maiziere and believe that this would involve a meeting with President Mitterrand. He has already visited Moscow (where he saw President Gorbachev) and, of course, Bonn.

I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister would like to see him.

Yours ever,

R. Howard Egan

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



tw
A. MAIZIERE

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 June 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE GDR PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 31 May about the GDR Prime Minister's request for a meeting with the Prime Minister on 9 or 12 June. The Prime Minister will of course be in Kiev on 9 June but could see Mr. de Maiziere on 12 June at 10.00 a.m. I hope this is convenient.

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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