



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 May 1987

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Dear Charles,

Berlin

Thank you for your letter of 17 May. I attach a draft reply from the Prime Minister to President Reagan.

The great majority of West Berliners (and West Germans) support the Allied presence. But at times they are inclined to regard our need to resist Eastern attempts to erode essential points of legal principle as hindering greater contacts between East and West Berlin. The Allies had for example to express serious misgivings over the wish of the Governing Mayor, Diepgen, to accept Honecker's invitation to a "state ceremony" in East Berlin. Fortunately the invitation to Diepgen was subsequently withdrawn by the East Germans at Soviet behest. Against this general background the positive approach which President Reagan envisages for his speech is welcome.

President Reagan's proposals for events such as conferences which might be held jointly in the Western and Eastern parts of the City present no difficulty from the Western point of view and are likely to be welcomed in Bonn and by the West Berliners. If the East resist them, their obstructive attitude will be exposed.

The President's ideas for developing air travel will however require careful consideration. The use by Allied aircraft of the quadripartitely controlled airspace over Berlin and in the three Air Corridors connecting it with the Federal Republic is regulated by a complex network of agreements and established practices, which in many cases conceal widely divergent views position on the part of the Allies and the Russians. The Allies maintain, for example, that their access rights in the Air Corridors are unrestricted; but in practice Allied aircraft have since 1945 used only the airspace below 10,000 feet (where modern aircraft often experience uncomfortable turbulence). Difficulties in recent years over Soviet airspace reservations in the Air Corridors (about which the Foreign Secretary minuted the Prime Minister on 30 April 1985) have been successfully contained. But the air regime remains potentially vulnerable. The draft reply, while not being discouraging, is therefore cautious on this point.

/President

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President Reagan's separate proposal for supplementary flights on North/South routes (ie outside the Berlin air regime) was discussed last year in some detail by officials in Bonn. There is no difficulty on the Western side in pursuing it though, as with the other proposals, the prospects for a helpful Soviet response are not good.

There have been rumours that Gorbachev might himself announce some new initiative on Germany or Berlin at the Warsaw Pact Summit in East Berlin on 28/29 May. It is extremely unlikely that he would alter the established Soviet policy of maintaining the division of Germany, or offer the possibility of the removal of the Wall on anything other than Soviet terms. But any such initiative could nonetheless have considerable resonance in the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

Yours ever,
L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

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DSG

File



bc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

22 May 1987

BERLIN

Thank you for your letter of 21 May enclosing a draft reply from the Prime Minister to President Reagan's recent message about Berlin.

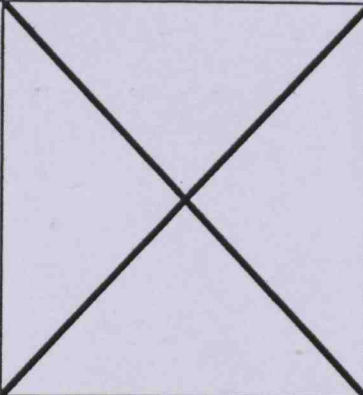
I have despatched the message, with one small addition, on the direct line to the White House. I enclose a copy for your records.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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DSG

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i>	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM <i>2184</i> (one piece/item number)	
Extract details: <i>T103/87 PM to US President dated 22 May 1987</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>29/2/2016</i> <i>G. Gray</i>
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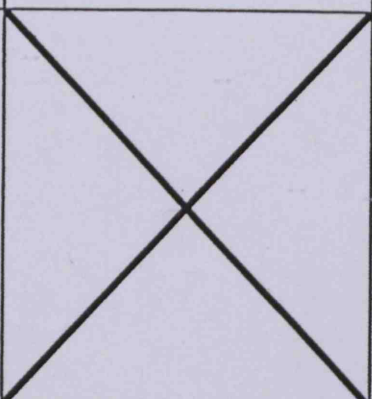
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Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

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eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2184</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Draft version of T103/87 attached to Parker to Powell of 21 May 1987</i>	
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cc/c 2

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 May 1987

BERLIN

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Reagan setting out a number of themes which he intends to raise in a speech during his forthcoming visit to Berlin. As you will see he asks for a preliminary reaction to his ideas before he leaves for Europe in early June.

BA

I should be grateful for a draft reply by Monday 25 May.

(Charles Powell)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

PS (7)
 PS/PUS
 SIR J FRETWELL
 MR. RATFORD

HD/WED
 HD/SOV D
 HD/NEWS D

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MR D. WEIDNER, ~~DEPT~~ ^{SEC/NATO/UK(P)} MOD.
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ADVANCE COPY
 IMMEDIATE

15/11/84

CONFIDENTIAL
 FM BMG BERLIN
 TO IMMEDIATE BONN
 TELNO 103
 OF 121605Z JUNE 87
 INFO IMMEDIATE FCO
 INFO PRIORITY PARIS, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN

MY TELNO 102 (NOT TO ALL) : PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO BERLIN

SUMMARY

1. IN THE EVENT, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A MAJOR DEMONSTRATION ON THE EVENING OF 11 JUNE, THE VISIT WAS NOT OVERSHADOWED BY INCIDENTS AND MUST BE JUDGED A CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. THE PRESIDENT WAS IN EBULLIENT FORM. HIS SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE WAS RHETORICALLY POWERFUL, AND GAINED IN EMOTIONAL IMPACT FROM THE SYMBOLISM OF ITS SETTING. THE BERLINERS GENERALLY WELCOMED ITS POSITIVE TONE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE CITY. HOWEVER, THE SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS ON BERLIN DID NOT APPEAR TO MAKE MUCH IMMEDIATE IMPRESSION ON THE AUDIENCE. WE SHALL REPORT FURTHER ON MEDIA COVERAGE.

DETAIL

2. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO BERLIN ON 12 JUNE IN CONNECTION WITH THE CITY'S 750TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS WAS HIS SECOND TO THE CITY, HIS FIRST HAVING BEEN IN 1982. HE WAS IN BERLIN ONLY FOR SOME FOUR AND A HALF HOURS, AND THUS NOTICEABLY SHORTER THAN THOSE OF PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND, PARTICULARLY, HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN. THE MAIN EVENTS WERE A CALL ON PRESIDENT AND FREIFRAU VON WEIZSAECKERAT SCHLOSS BELLEVUE, A VISIT TO THE REICHSTAG, A SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE AND AN AMERICAN STYLE BIRTHDAY PARTY FOR BERLIN AT TEMPELHOF AIRPORT.

3. ON 11 JUNE, SOME 20,000 PEOPLE DEMONSTRATED AGAINST THE PRESIDENT. THIS PROTEST PASSED OFF PEACEFULLY IN THE MAIN, BUT AFTERWARDS THERE WERE A NUMBER OF RELATIVELY SMALL SCALE INCIDENTS. HOWEVER, THESE WERE WELL CONTAINED BY THE POLICE, AND DID NOT REALLY JUSTIFY THE PROMINENCE GIVEN TO THEM BY THE MEDIA, INCLUDING THE BBC WORLD SERVICE. A DEMONSTRATION PLANNED FOR TODAY WAS BANNED, AND AGAIN SUCH TROUBLE AS HAS OCCURRED HAS BEEN QUICKLY DEALT

AND AGAIN SUCH TROUBLE AS HAS OCCURRED HAS BEEN QUICKLY DEALT WITH. THE FEARS THAT THE VISIT MIGHT BE OVERSHADOWED BY VIOLENT CLASHES HAVE NOT BEEN REALISED. NOR IN THE EVENT WERE THERE ANY INCIDENTS IN THE UNTERBAUGEDIET - THE RUSSIANS AND EAST GERMANS KEPT OUT OF THE AREA, ALTHOUGH THROUGHOUT THE VISIT TO THE REICHSTAG AND THE BRANDENBURG GATE, EAST GERMAN GUARDS WATCHED THE PROCEEDINGS CLOSELY FROM THEIR SIDE OF THE WALL.

4. THE MOST MEMORABLE PART OF THE VISIT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE, WHICH WAS PRECEDED BY SPEECHES OF WELCOME BY THE GOVERNING MAYOR AND CHANCELLOR KOHL. A CROWD OF SOME 30,000 PEOPLE HAD BEEN INVITED TO HEAR THE SPEECH. WE THINK (EAST BERLIN MAY BE ABLE TO COMMENT) THAT SOME EAST BERLINERS ALSO LISTENED ON THEIR SIDE OF THE WALL.

5. ALTHOUGH THE AUDIENCE WERE BY THEN RATHER WEARY FROM WAITING WHEN THE PRESIDENT ARRIVED, HE WAS GREETED WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM. AND, THANKS TO THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SETTING, THE PRESIDENT'S MASTERFUL DELIVERY AND HIS USE OF A NUMBER OF GERMAN PHRASES, HIS SPEECH HAD A POWERFUL EMOTIONAL IMPACT. PREDICTABLY, THE LOUDEST APPLAUSE CAME FOR HIS CALL TO MR GORBACHEV, IF HE WANTED PEACE AND LIBERALISATION, TO OPEN THE BRANDENBURG GATE AND TO TEAR DOWN THE WALL. THROUGHOUT THE SPEECH, THERE WAS REPEATED EMPHASIS ON THE INABILITY OF TYRANNY TO WITHSTAND THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM.

6. THE PROPOSALS FOR BRINGING EAST AND WEST BERLIN CLOSER TOGETHER WHICH HAD BEEN FORESHADOWED IN THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER (FCO TELNO 278 TO YOU) WERE ALL PUT FORWARD, BUT THOSE ON AIR TRAFFIC, THE HOLDING OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND YOUTH EXCHANGES DID NOT APPEAR TO HAVE ANY GREAT INITIAL IMPACT ON THE AUDIENCE. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN BECAUSE THEY WERE PUT FORWARD IN NON-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE, OR THE EXPLANATION MAY BE SIMPLY

THAT SINCE THE PRESIDENT WAS SPEAKING IN ENGLISH (ALTHOUGH GERMAN TEXTS WERE AVAILABLE) MANY OF THE BERLINERS IN THE CROWD DID NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND HIS WORDS AND THE ALLIES IN THE CROWD DID NOT FULLY APPRECIATE THIS SIGNIFICANCE. INFORMAL COMMENT WAS SCEPTICAL ABOUT WHETHER THEY WOULD COME TO ANYTHING. THERE WAS MUCH MORE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE ONE SPECIFIC, IF SOMEWHAT VISIONARY, PROPOSAL, FOR HOLDING THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN BERLIN IN BOTH EAST AND WEST. WE SHALL REPORT FURTHER ON THE IMPACT OF THE PROPOSALS WHEN THERE HAS BEEN A CHANCE TO ASSESS THE MEDIA COVERAGE.

7. FOR THE REST, THE SPEECH CONTAINED NO SURPRISES. THE PRESIDENT DID NOT HAVE ANYTHING VERY NEW TO SAY ON THE BROADER ASPECTS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS ALTHOUGH HE DID SPEAK, AS HAD CHANCELLOR KOHL, OF HOW THE WEST'S FIRMNESS ON INF HAD BROUGHT AN AGREEMENT WITHIN REACH.

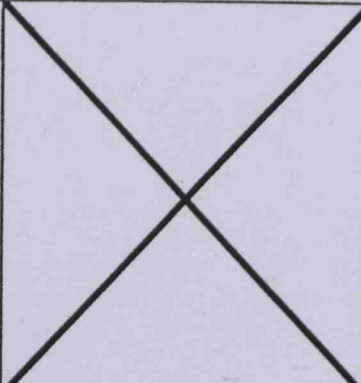
8. IN GENERAL, BOTH THE AMERICANS AND THE BERLIN SENAT ARE PLEASED, AND PERHAPS A LITTLE RELIEVED, AT THE WAY THE VISIT HAS GONE. THOUGH NOT EPOCH-MAKING OR UNIVERSALLY POPULAR, IT WAS IN THE END AN EVENT WHICH HAS HELPED TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICANS AND BERLINERS AND HAS UNDERLINED IN A WORTHY MANNER THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO BERLIN.

BROOKING

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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2184</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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