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FM BMG BERLIN
TO IMMEDIATE BONN
TELNO 194
OF 131450Z NOVEMBER 1989
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO
INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN
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FROM BURTON

THE ALLIES IN BERLIN: BEGINNING OF THE ENDGAME

SUMMARY

1. TIME TO START CONSIDERING FUTURE OF THE ALLIED ROLE IN BERLIN.
SOME RECOMMENDATIONS.

BACKGROUND

2. IN THE WAKE OF THE MOMENTOUS EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW DAYS IN BERLIN QUESTIONS ARE ALREADY BEING ASKED, PARTICULARLY BY THE HUGE INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORPS HERE, ABOUT THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIED ROLE IN THE CITY. IT IS THEREFORE NOT TOO SOON FOR US TO START THINKING ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIES AT WHAT IS, I BELIEVE, THE BEGINNING OF THE ENDGAME OF OUR LONG AND SUCCESSFUL COMMITMENT TO BERLIN. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF OUR IMMEDIATE THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH I AM EXPANDING IN A LETTER IN THE NEXT BAG.

3. MOST BERLINERS WOULD ACCEPT THAT THE RECENT HISTORIC EVENTS COULD NOT HAVE OCCURED BUT FOR THE UNWAVERING ALLIED COMMITMENT TO BERLIN. THEY WOULD SEE THAT OUR ROLE AS PROTECTING POWERS HAS BEEN THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH THE SUCCESS OF WEST BERLIN HAS BEEN BASED - AS AN ECONOMICALLY DYNAMIC CITY, WITH A WORLD ROLE AS A CENTRE OF CULTURE, SCIENCE AND MUCH ELSE. MOST BERLINERS WOULD BE UNCOMFORTABLE AT THE ALLIED ROLE BEING CALLED IN QUESTION AT A TIME WHEN THE FUTURE IS SO UNCERTAIN.

4. BUT THERE WILL BE THOSE WHO SAY THAT THE SITUATION IS NOW TRANSFORMED. TODAY'S 'BILD BERLIN' CARRIES THE MASSIVE HEADLINE PRINTED IN THE NATIONAL COLOURS 'GUTEN MORGEN DEUTSCHLAND'. THE COMING TOGETHER OF SUCH VAST NUMBERS OF BERLINERS OVER THE WEEKEND AND THE OPENING OF NEW CROSSING POINTS HAS CREATED THE FEELING THAT ONCE AGAIN BERLIN HAS BECOME A WHOLE CITY OF FOUR MILLION PEOPLE. THIS EMOTION OF NATIONAL TOGETHERNESS MAY LEAD TO PRESSURES ON

FOUR-POWER AGREEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS, FOR EXAMPLE FOR CHANGES IN THE AIR REGIME SO THAT GERMAN AIRLINES CAN SERVE BERLIN.

5. THE GOVERNING MAYOR, WALTER MOMPER, HAS HOWEVER BEEN A RESTRAINING VOICE. IN CONTRAST TO HIS PREDECESSOR, DIEPGEN, HE IS NOT A MAN FOR THE BROAD RHETORICAL SWEEP. HE HAS CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE TRADITIONAL SPD POLICY OF PUTTING THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF REUNIFICATION ON ONE SIDE. I JUDGE THAT HE WILL BE CONCENTRATING ON DEVELOPING LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF THE CITY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT TOO MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT ITS EVENTUAL FATE.

6. THAT FATE OF COURSE REMAINS DEPENDENT ON MANY EXTERNAL FACTORS OF WHICH THE MAIN ONE IS THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE EXPECTATION HERE IS THAT IT COULD STILL BE A LONG TIME BEFORE REUNIFICATION BECOMES A PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY. IN THIS POSSIBLY LONG DRAWN-OUT INTERIM PERIOD THE WEST BERLINERS WILL SEEK TO MAKE A REALITY OF THE AMBITION OF RECENT YEARS FOR WEST BERLIN TO BECOME A HINGE BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES. THEY WILL SEEK TO DEVELOP LINKS IN EVERY FIELD INCLUDING INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, SPORT, THE ARTS, TRANSPORT, CONFERENCES AND SO ON. IN MY VIEW A GRADUAL COMING TOGETHER OF THE TWO PARTS OF THE CITY IS INEVITABLE.

7. HOW DO THE ALLIES IN BERLIN FIT INTO THIS PICTURE? THE FORMAL POSITION IS THAT OUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN AND FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE OBTAIN PENDING A PEACE SETTLEMENT. IT IS, HOWEVER, INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE ALLIES WOULD REMAIN IN BERLIN AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND WEST BERLIN. THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE WILL BE TO ADAPT OUR ROLE AND DEMONSTRATE OUR RELEVANCE IN THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. OUR HANDLING OF THIS CHALLENGE WILL INEVITABLY BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GERMANS. THE RESOURCES THAT THE ALLIES HAVE IN THE CITY ARE LIKELY TO COME UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE. THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN CALLS FOR A REDUCTION IN THE ALLIED GARRISON. IN A CITY WITH A CHRONIC AND GROWING HOUSING SHORTAGE FOR EXAMPLE, COVETOUS EYES MAY BE DIRECTED AT THE ALLIED AIRFIELDS OF TEMPELHOF (US) AND RAF GATOW.

8. THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO HAVE TO FACE UP TO PRESSURES ON THE ESTABLISHED FOUR-POWER ORDER. THEIR POPULARITY PROBLEM IS LIKELY TO BE INFINITELY GREATER THAN THAT OF THE WESTERN ALLIES AND THEY MAY WELL BE SEEKING FOR A LEGITIMISATION OF THEIR CONTINUED ROLE IN THE GDR. THEY MAY THEREFORE SHOW NEW INTEREST IN THE POSSIBILITY OF FOUR-POWER TALKS. THEIR POSITION SHOULD BECOME CLEARER AT GORBACHEV'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BUSH.

9. NEITHER OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENTS WILL BE ATTRACTED BY REVERSION TO A 'BIG FOUR' FORMULA. EXPERIENCE OF THE WEEKEND'S EVENTS IN BERLIN HAS REINFORCED THE FEELING THAT GERMANS ON BOTH SIDES WILL WANT TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE. IT MAY BE THEREFORE THAT IF THE RUSSIANS BELATEDLY DECIDE TO ACCEPT THE ALLIED OFFER FOR FOUR POWER TALKS ON BERLIN UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ALLIED INITIATIVE, THEY WOULD FIND IT HAD BECOME TOO LATE, SINCE SUCH TALKS WOULD BE SEEN AS TALKS ON THE FUTURE OF GERMANY BY ANOTHER NAME. IT FOLLOWS THAT THE TWO GERMAN STATES WOULD NEED TO BE CENTRAL PLAYERS IN ANY FORMULA FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

10. MY RECOMMENDATIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(I) WE SHOULD CONTINUE ACTIVELY TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE SHARE THE GERMANS' JOY,

(II) WE SHOULD BE GENEROUS IN PRAISING THE HANDLING OF THE SITUATION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SENAT,

(III) IN CONCERT WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE OTHER WESTERN ALLIES, WE SHOULD SAY THAT WE ARE ADHEREING TO THE STEADY AND SUCCESSFUL POLICIES WHICH HAVE HELPED TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE CURRENT MOMENTOUS DEVELOPMENTS COULD TAKE PLACE,

(IV) AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD CARRY ON WITH THE MODERNISATION OF OUR POSTURE IN BERLIN AND WHERE NECESSARY SPEED THIS UP SO THAT JARRING AND ANACHRONISTIC ELEMENTS ARE REMOVED,

(V) WE SHOULD SUPPORT THE SENAT'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE WEST BERLIN'S ROLE AS A HINGE BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES. WE SHOULD AVOID ARGUMENT OVER MINOR STATUS POINTS (SUCH AS MOMPER'S MEETING WITH MAYOR KRACK OF EAST BERLIN AT POTSDAMER PLATZ ON 12 NOVEMBER),

(VI) WE SHOULD BE READY TO SAY THAT WE RECOGNISE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE. ON THE BRITISH SIDE WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID WE WOULD REMAIN IN BERLIN ONLY AS LONG AS NEEDED (E.G. THE QUEEN'S SPEECH HERE IN 1987). BUT WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT RUSHING INTO CHANGES WHICH COULD EFFECT THE PRESENT FOUNDATIONS OF THE CITY'S SECURITY AND PROSPERITY. OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR BERLIN MUST REMAIN UNTIL SATISFACTORY NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR THE CITY'S FUTURE HAVE BEEN LAID,

(VII) AS YOU SAID IN BMG BERLIN TELNO 84 TO FCO WE SHOULD EXPLORE THE FRG, US AND FRENCH VIEWS ABOUT HOW TO PLAY FOUR-POWER CONTACTS.

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