

CONFIDENTIAL

175315
MDHIAN 4300

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1098

OF 131934Z NOVEMBER 89

INFO IMMEDIATE BMG BERLIN

INFO PRIORITY PARIS, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN, WARSAW

INFO PRIORITY BUDAPEST, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO

YOUR VISIT TO BONN 15 NOVEMBER: SCENE SETTER

SUMMARY

1. TURNING POINT IN POST WAR GERMAN HISTORY SEEMS IN SIGHT. DOMESTIC DEBATE BEGINNING ON NEW BASIS FOR RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WANTS TO CONSULT CLOSE ALLIES. GENSCHER RIDING HIGH. GERMAN QUESTION, EASTERN EUROPE, EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND ARMS CONTROL AT THE TOP OF HIS AGENDA. WILL WANT A GOOD DISCUSSION OF THESE. OPPORTUNITY TO GET YOUR VIEWS ACROSS AND LAY BASIS FOR CLOSE CONTACT IN MONTHS AHEAD. RECOMMENDED PRESS LINE.

DETAIL

2. WEST GERMANS FEEL INCREASINGLY THAT A TURNING POINT IN THE POST WAR HISTORY OF GERMANY AND EUROPE IS COMING INTO SIGHT. THE GREAT SATISFACTION OF RECENT DAYS WITH PEOPLE WITNESSING THE DRAMATIC EVENTS IN BERLIN VIA TELEVISION, IS GIVING WAY TO DEBATE ABOUT RELATIONS WITH THE GDR (MY TELNO 1096). THERE IS GREATER CONFIDENCE THAT SOME SERIOUS REFORM WILL COME. FEARS OF A BREAKDOWN IN PUBLIC AND IN THE GDR HAVE RECEDED FOR THE MOMENT. THE PRESSURE OF NEW IMMIGRATION ON RESOURCES HERE HAS EASED AS THE GREAT MAJORITY OF VISITORS FROM THE GDR ARE NOT (NOT) STAYING IN THE FRG. THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS A STRATEGY AND DOES NOT HAVE ONE. PART OF BEING MASTER OF EVENTS WILL BE TO BE SEEN TO CONSULT, ESPECIALLY WITH THE 3 BERLIN POWERS, OVER ISSUES AFFECTING THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. THEY WILL WANT TO KEEP IN STEP OVER HANDLING THE SOVIET UNION.

GENSCHER'S POSITION

3. GENSCHER SEEMS IN REASONABLY GOOD HEALTH AND POLITICALLY IS RIDING HIGH. HE IS CURRENTLY THE MOST POPULAR POLITICIAN IN THE FRG. HE FEELS THAT HIS FORECASTS ABOUT EAST WEST RELATIONS AND REFORM IN THE WARSAW PACT HAVE BEEN BORNE OUT.

4. HE CAN BE IRRITATING, SOMETIMES DEVIOUS, AND SOME OF HIS THEMES - NOTABLY FULL SPEED AHEAD TO EUROPEAN UNION - ARE AGAINST OUR

INTERESTS. BUT HE IS BEING RESPONSIBLE ABOUT THE GERMAN QUESTION. HE DOES NOT USE THE WORD REUNIFICATION. HE INSISTS THAT FEDERAL POLICY SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE BASED FULL SQUARE ON THE COMMUNITY AND NATO. HE HAS BEEN MOVED BY RECENT EVENTS IN THE GDR, WHERE HE GREW UP AND STAYED UNTIL 1952 (AGED 25). HE MAKES REGULAR VISITS TO HIS HOME TOWN THERE. A FEW MONTHS AGO, HE SAID TO THE BUNDESTAG THAT IN HIS OATH OF OFFICE AT FOREIGN MINISTER HE HAD UNDERTAKEN TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF ALL GERMANS.

5. AT THE TOP OF GENSCHER'S AGENDA ARE:

- BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS BETWEEN THE GERMAN PEOPLE:
- THE EMANCIPATION OF EASTERN AND THE RAPID INTEGRATION OF WESTERN EUROPE, AND THE INTERPENETRATION OF THE TWO HALVES OF THE CONTINENT:
- EARLY PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL.

INNER GERMAN RELATIONS

6. GENSCHER WILL HAVE A LOT TO SAY WHEN YOU MEET. I THINK HE WILL BE CAUTIOUS ON SUBSTANCE AND WILL NOT SUGGEST THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF THE ALLIES IN BERLIN. BUT IT WILL BE RIGHT TO SHOW THAT, WHILE DISCHARGING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN WITH UNDERSTANDING AND EFFICIENCY, WE ARE WILLING TO MOVE WITH THE TIMES, ADJUSTING OUR PRACTICES IN COOPERATION WITH THE BERLIN AND FEDERAL AUTHORITIES. I SUGGEST YOU WELCOME GENSCHER'S PROPOSAL FOR THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION AMONG THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS ON 13 DECEMBER.

7. OUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ENHANCE OUR STANDING IN GENSCHER'S EYES AND OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT. HE WILL WANT TO KNOW YOUR VIEWS ON HANDLING THE RUSSIANS. HE AGREES THAT THEY SHOULD BE REASSURED ABOUT EVENTS CONCERNING BERLIN AND THE GDR.

8. GENSCHER WILL PROBABLY THANK YOU FOR UK HELP WITH ACCOMMODATION ON RESETTLERS IN BERLIN AND THE FRG. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO STATE OUR READINESS TO CONSIDER MORE ASSISTANCE IF NEEDED.

EASTERN EUROPE

9. GENSCHER ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PROCESS OF REVIVIFYING EASTERN EUROPE. HE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR AT FIRST HAND ABOUT OUR 'KNOW HOW' PROGRAMMES FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY. OUR READINESS OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS TO WORK TOGETHER WITH THE GERMANS OVER

CONFIDENTIAL

175315
MDHIAN 4300

OSTPOLITIK HAS MET WITH A CONSISTENTLY WARM RESPONSE FROM THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT (AS WELL AS FROM THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY). THIS IS AN AREA WHERE THE FRENCH HAVE TENDED TO HANG BACK, AND WHERE WE CAN GAIN FROM GETTING CLOSE. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF YOU AND GENSCHER WERE TO AGREE THAT, IN THE WAKE OF THE TALKS BETWEEN OFFICIALS IN LONDON ON 24 OCTOBER, WE AND THE GERMANS SHOULD TAKE FORWARD OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD.

ARMS CONTROL

10. IN BERLIN ON 10 NOVEMBER GENSCHER REPEATED HIS CALL FOR EARLY PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN STEP WITH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CSCE PROCESS, WHICH INTEGRATES ALL THREE, IS AT THE HEART OF HIS POLICY. EVEN BEFORE THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS, HE AND OTHER GERMANS SAW CFE AND THE PARALLEL NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY BUILDING MEASURES AS MEANS TOWARDS THE LARGER GOAL OF OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. HE WILL NOW PRESS HARDER THAN EVER FOR A CFE AGREEMENT DURING 1990. AS THAT COMES INTO SIGHT, WE CAN EXPECT HIM TO PRESS FOR NATO TO START PREPARING FOR SNF ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, SO THAT HE CAN FACE THE ELECTORATE IN DECEMBER 1990 WITH A CFE AGREEMENT IN THE BAG AND SNF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WAY.

PRESS LINE

11. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS WELCOMED THE STATEMENTS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOURSELF SINCE THE GDR OPENED ITS BORDERS. YOU WILL BE EXPECTED IN BONN AND BERLIN TO COMMENT ON THE GERMAN QUESTION. THE KEYNOTE, I SUGGEST, SHOULD BE TO WELCOME THE NEW FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND CALL FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN THE GDR INCLUDING FREE ELECTIONS INVOLVING DIFFERENT PARTIES COMPETING ON AN EQUAL BASIS (IE WITHOUT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE SED GUARANTEED). IF ASKED ABOUT REUNIFICATION, I SUGGEST THAT YOU REPEAT THE FORMULA ('WE WOULD WELCOME UNIFICATION BASED ON FREE INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THOSE IN THE FRG') IN YOUR INTERVIEW ON BBC WORLD SERVICE ON 10 NOVEMBER.

12. SEE SEPARATE TELEGRAM ON EC ISSUES.

MALLABY

YYYY

CONFIDENTIAL

17 15
MDHIAN 4300

DISTRIBUTION

135

MAIN

123

.BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS
.(WIDE)
LIMITED
WED
SOVIET
EED
ECD(E)
SEC POL D
MAED
PUSD
CSCE UNIT
NEWS
INFO
NAD

PLANNERS
RESEARCH
RMD
CRD
PS
PS/MR MAUDE
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE
PS/PUS
PS/SIR J FRETWELL
MR P J WESTON
MR BAYNE
MR RATFORD
MR GOULDEN
MISS SPENCER

ADDITIONAL

12

BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN (WIDE)

NNNN