



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 November 1989

EAST GERMANY

I enclose the reply to President Gorbachev's message which the Prime Minister has authorised. You will see that it is substantially different in some parts from the draft which you sent me earlier today. I do not think it is in any way inconsistent with the general lines of the text which we cleared with the Americans and the Germans. But you may like to assure yourself that the Foreign Secretary is content with it before having it delivered in Moscow. We should aim to do this tomorrow morning if possible.

Charles Powell

Richard Gozney Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

OUT TELEGRAM

		Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat /	Precedence DESKBY																
ZCZC TC CAVEAT FM TO TELNO OF AND TO	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	ZCZC CONFIDENTIAL FM FCO TO DESKBY Z MOSCOW TELNO OF 15 Z NOVEMBER 89 AND TO DESKBY WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS INFO IMMEDIATE EAST BERLIN, UKDEL NATO, BMG BERLIN MIPT: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO GORBACHEV MESSAGE BEGINS Thank you for your message conveyed to me on 10 November by Ambassador Zamyatin. Historic events are taking place and I share your view that developments in East Germany are encouraging. The lifting of travel restrictions for GDR citizens is most particularly welcome. The events in Berlin over the weekend have made a great impression on public opinion in Britain and in other Western countries. I have been struck by the good sense of all concerned and their readiness to work together. Very great credit is due to your policies of glasnost and democratisation, and I have paid sincere tribute to your role in my public statements. I agree with you that the speed with which these changes are taking place carries its own risks of instability. I have publicly underlined the need to proceed in an orderly way which																		
YYYY MAIN ADDITIONAL NNNN	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="height: 20px;"></td> <td colspan="2">Catchword:</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">File number</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Dept</td> <td style="width: 30%;">Drafted by (Block capitals)</td> <td style="width: 20%;">Telephone no</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="height: 20px;"> Authorised for Initials Date/time despatch by: </td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="height: 20px;">For COD use only</td> <td>Comcen reference</td> <td>Telegram number</td> <td>Processed by</td> </tr> </table>						Catchword:		File number	Dept	Drafted by (Block capitals)	Telephone no	Authorised for Initials Date/time despatch by:				For COD use only	Comcen reference	Telegram number	Processed by
		Catchword:																		
File number	Dept	Drafted by (Block capitals)	Telephone no																	
Authorised for Initials Date/time despatch by:																				
For COD use only	Comcen reference	Telegram number	Processed by																	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

		Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat /	Precedence DESKBY
<<<< 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 preserves stability and to take a measured view of the way ahead. As I told your Ambassador the firmest basis for stability in the longer-term is thorough-going reform in East Germany - including free elections with a multi-party system and complete freedom of movement, so that there is genuine democracy and an economic system which can support it. There is <u>no</u> intention on the part of any Western country to intervene in the GDR or to act in a way which might damage GDR or Soviet security interests. I am confident that Britain's allies and partners share this view. West Germany's leaders have been at pains to stress the importance of a step-by-step approach to change in the GDR and the need to avoid destabilising the wider European situation: and Chancellor Kohl has assured me of this personally when we spoke on the telephone. We are very ready to enter into contacts with representatives of the Soviet Union in Berlin, as you suggest. The contacts which have already taken place between British officials in Berlin and the Soviet Embassy have proved useful and I hope that they will continue. Our Ambassador in Bonn is ready to meet the Soviet Ambassador in the GDR at any time. In this connection, the British Government remain committed to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 1971 and attach importance to the provision by which the four governments concerned will strive to promote the elimination of tension and the prevention of complications. I very much hope that you and I can remain in regular contact about these issues. MESSAGE ENDS HURD /// // /				
For distribution order see Page		Catchword:		

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

		Classification	Caveat	Precedence
		CONFIDENTIAL		DESKBY
<<<< 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 preserves stability and to take a measured view of the way ahead. As I told your Ambassador the firmest basis for stability in the longer-term is thorough-going reform in East Germany - including the free elections with a multi-party system and complete freedom of movement, so that there is genuine democracy and ^{support} of an economic system which can underpin it. There is <u>no</u> intention on the part of any Western country to intervene in the GDR or to act in a way which might damage GDR or Soviet security interests. I am confident that Britain's allies and partners share this view. West Germany's leaders have been at pains to stress the importance of a step-by-step approach to change in the GDR and the need to avoid destabilising the wider European situation: and Chancellor Kohl has assured me of this personally when we spoke on the telephone. We are very ready to enter into contacts with representatives of the Soviet Union in Berlin, as you suggest. The contacts which have already taken place between British officials in Berlin and the Soviet Embassy have proved useful and I hope that they will continue. Our Ambassador in Bonn is ready to meet the Soviet Ambassador in the GDR at any time. In this connection, the British Government remain committed to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 1971 and attach importance to the provision by which the four governments concerned will strive to promote the elimination of tension and the prevention of complications. I very much hope that you and I can remain in regular contact about these issues. MESSAGE ENDS HURD <i>Agreed MS.</i>				
		For distribution order see Page Catchword:		

PRIME MINISTER

REPLY TO MR. GORBACHEV'S MESSAGE

I attach a draft reply to Mr. Gorbachev's letter which I suggest we should send this evening if possible. I have heavily amended the Foreign Office draft in parts because it seemed to me unbearably stilted. We had consulted the Americans, Germans and French in advance about the general tone and substance and I am confident that my revised version continues to reflect the same general approach which the Americans will also be taking in their reply.

I attach the Foreign Office draft as well in case you want to see it.

C.D.P.

(C. D. POWELL)

15 November 1989

a:\foreign\Gor.srw



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 November 1989

Jean Charles,

East Germany

As requested in your letter of 14 November, I enclose a draft reply to Mr Gorbachev's message, which has now been seen by the Foreign Secretary. *attached.*

The draft takes account of the coordinated views of the governments of the United States, France and the FRG following a meeting in Bonn yesterday attended by the FRG Political Director. *at file*

In the interests of speed, the message is in the form of a telegram which includes instructions to Posts.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

Richard Sore

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY

ZCZC

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO DESKBY Z MOSCOW

TELNO

OF 15 Z NOVEMBER 89

AND TO DESKBY WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS

INFO IMMEDIATE BMG BERLIN, UKDEL NATO, EAST BERLIN

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO GORBACHEV

1. MIFT contains the text of a message which should, if possible, be delivered personally to Gorbachev very soon. If this would involve delay, it should be passed to him by the quickest possible means.
2. Washington, Bonn and Paris should pass a copy to their host governments, noting that the message takes account of the coordination meeting in Bonn on 14 November (Bonn telno 1108).

HURD

YYYY

BERLIN/INNER GERMAN RELATIONS (WIDE)

NNNN

P05ABP

WED

H N H SYNNOTT

270 2397

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY

ZCZC

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO DESKBY Z MOSCOW

TELNO

OF 15 Z NOVEMBER 89

AND TO DESKBY WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS

INFO IMMEDIATE EAST BERLIN, UKDEL NATO, BMG BERLIN

MIPT: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO GORBACHEV

MESSAGE BEGINS

Thank you for your message conveyed to me on 10 November by Ambassador Zamyatin. Important events are taking place and I share your view that many correct and worthwhile decisions are now being taken by the GDR leadership. The lifting of travel restrictions for GDR citizens is most welcome. It is right that all those concerned should keep in close touch and share their thoughts.

For my part, I have been most impressed by the moving events in Berlin over the weekend. The prevailing atmosphere has been happy and exuberant. The manifest good sense of all concerned and their readiness to cooperate has been most striking. Without your own courageous promotion of glasnost and democratisation, these developments would not be taking place. We should still be facing the dangers and uncertainties of decades of suspicion and confrontation.

But

P05AB0

WED

H N H SYNNOTT

270 2397

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY

But I agree with you that the speed with which these changes are taking place carries its own risks of instability. We must ensure that the situation continues to evolve in the positive direction to which you referred in your message.

In my view the only real basis for longer-term stability in the area is thorough-going reform in the GDR - including the provision of free elections and complete freedom of movement. Thereafter people in the GDR must apply themselves to the construction of democracy and of an economic system which can underpin it.

There is no intention on the part of any Western country to intervene in the GDR or to act in ~~such~~ a way which might damage GDR or Soviet security interests. I am certain that Britain's allies and partners share this view. The leadership of the FRG in particular have been at pains to stress the importance of a step-by-step approach to change in the GDR and the need to avoid destabilising the wider European situation.

We are very ready to enter into contacts with representatives of the Soviet Union in Berlin, as you suggest. The contacts which have already taken place between British officials in Berlin and the Soviet Embassy have proved to be useful and I hope that they will continue. Her Majesty's Ambassador in Bonn is ready to meet the Soviet Ambassador in the GDR at any time. In this connection, the British Government remain committed to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 1971 and attach importance to the provision by which the four governments concerned will strive to promote the elimination of tension and the prevention of complications. We also continue to stand by all our commitments in the Helsinki Final Act and to the

principle

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY

principle of peaceful change and self-determination.

I very much hope that you and I and all those concerned can remain in regular contact about these issues.

MESSAGE ENDS

HURD

YYYY

BERLIN/INNER GERMAN RELATIONS (WIDE)

NNNN



GERMANY: Situation West Germany Oct 79.

