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FM BONN
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 391
OF 262001Z MARCH 90

MY TELNO 375:

BRITISH-GERMAN SUMMIT 30 MARCH

SUMMARY

1. NUMEROUS GERMAN SUGGESTIONS FOR AMENDING JOINT TEXT FOR PRIME MINISTER AND FEDERAL CHANCELLOR FOR USE AT PRESS CONFERENCE. HARTMANN WILL RAISE WITH CHARLES POWELL ON 27 MARCH.

DETAIL

2. TELTSCHIK AND HARTMANN GAVE ME TODAY THE RE-DRAFT IN MIFT OF OUR SUGGESTED JOINT LINE ON GERMAN UNIFICATION. HARTMANN EXPLAINED AS FOLLOWS:

- POINT A: IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE BY 30 MARCH TO SAY THAT THE NEW GDR GOVERNMENT HAD DECLARED FOR UNIFICATION, SO THE GERMANS PREFERRED THEIR ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE.
- POINT B: THE WORD 'ESSENTIALLY' WAS REMOVED FROM OUR LANGUAGE BECAUSE EVERYONE INCLUDING THE RUSSIANS AGREED THAT INTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION WERE A MATTER OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE FRG AND GDR. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE 2 PLUS 4 PROCESS WAS MORE ACCURATE THAN OURS, SINCE THAT PROCESS HAD ALREADY STARTED AT OFFICIAL LEVEL.
- POINT C: THE GERMAN LANGUAGE ON THE POLISH FRONTIER REPRODUCED THAT USED WITH THE PRESS AFTER THE FIRST 2 PLUS 4 MEETING. AT SOVIET INSISTENCE, THE 2 PLUS 4 LANGUAGE REFERRED TO POLISH FRONTIERS IN THE PLURAL BUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT REFERENCE ONLY TO POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER.
- POINT D: THE GERMANS HAVE SPECIFIED THAT THE TREATY ON THE FRONTIER SHOULD BE BETWEEN UNITED GERMANY AND POLAND. THEY CLAIM THAT THE INTENDED CONTENTS OF THE TREATY ARE BETTER EXPRESSED IN THEIR LANGUAGE, SINCE A GUARANTEE IS NOT REALLY WHAT IS FORESEEN.
- POINT E: THE GERMANS ARGUE THAT OUR REFERENCE TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IS INACCURATE IN CONNECTION WITH NATO, SINCE THAT ALSO INCLUDES NORTH AMERICA. SO THEY PREFER TO DROP OUR PHRASE ABOUT

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LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

- POINT F: THE GERMAN LANGUAGE REPRODUCES THAT USED BY KOHL AND BUSH AT CAMP DAVID. I POINTED OUT THAT IT DID NOT SAY THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY WOULD APPLY TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY. THEY ARGUED THAT THIS WAS IMPLICIT IN THE REFERENCE TO NATO. I SUGGEST THAT WE PRESS THEM ON THIS. THEY SAID THAT THE GERMAN LANGUAGE ABOUT THE GDR WAS THEIR ESTABLISHED WORDING. I SAID THAT IT BEGGED THE QUESTION WHETHER UNITS OF THE ALLIANCE COULD BE STATIONED IN THE GDR AFTER A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

- POINT G: IS A NEW ONE ABOUT ARMS CONTROL. IT SEEMS ALL RIGHT.

- POINT H: THIS IS AN EXPANDED VERSION OF OUR CSCE LANGUAGE, AS FORESEEN IN TUR. DESPITE MY DISCOURAGEMENT THE IDEA OF INSTITUTIONALISATION OF CSCE IS PLAYED UP.

- POINT I: THIS PIECE ABOUT THE EC SUMMIT ON 28 APRIL IS DELIBERATELY DIFFERENT FROM OURS, BECAUSE IT REFERS TO THE INCLUSION OF THE GDR IN THE COMMUNITY AND THUS AVOIDS THE IDEA OF A TRANSITION. I SUGGESTED THAT THE FIRST SENTENCE OF OUR LANGUAGE ON THIS SHOULD BE USED, AMENDED TO SAY '... SET IN TRAIN NEGOTIATIONS ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE EARLY INTEGRATION ...'. THAT BRINGS OUT THE IDEA OF A TRANSITION PERIOD WHICH SHOULD NOT BE LONG. HARTMANN UNDERTOOK TO CONSIDER.

- POINT J: THIS GOES FURTHER THAN THE FINAL SENTENCE OF OUR LANGUAGE.

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MIPT: JOINT PRESS LINE FOR ANGLO-GERMAN SUMMIT

1. FOLLOWING IS OUR TRANSLATION OF GERMAN DRAFT OF JOINT LINE ON UNIFICATION:

BEGINS:

A. WE WELCOMED THE SUCCESSFUL HOLDING OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN THE GDR AND THE EXPRESSION THEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC WILL OF THE PEOPLE IN THE GDR TO WORK FOR UNIFICATION WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

B. WE REAFFIRMED THAT THE INTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION ARE A MATTER FOR THE FRG AND GDR AND THAT CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION SHOULD BE CONTINUED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, IN LINE WITH THE AGREEMENTS AT OTTAWA, THROUGH MEETINGS AT THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS.

C. POLAND SHOULD BE INVITED TO THESE TALKS, AS SOON AS QUESTIONS ARE DISCUSSED, IN THE MECHANISM AGREED IN OTTAWA, WHICH PARTICULARLY AFFECT ITS FRONTIERS (ITS WESTERN FRONTIER).

D. WE WELCOMED THE FACT THAT THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER WOULD BE BINDINGLY SETTLED BY MEANS OF A TREATY BETWEEN A UNITED GERMANY AND POLAND.

E. WE REAFFIRMED THAT CLOSE CONSULTATIONS ABOUT QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH GERMAN UNIFICATION SHOULD BE CONTINUED WITH PARTNERS AND ALLIES IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

F. WE REAFFIRMED OUR POLITICAL WILL THAT A UNITED GERMANY SHOULD BE A MEMBER OF NATO AND THAT FORCES OF NATO ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE STATIONED ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FRG. THE TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY ALLIANCE BETWEEN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA REMAINS ESSENTIAL FOR EUROPE AS A WHOLE. FOR THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF THE GDR A TRANSITIONAL MILITARY ARRANGEMENT WILL NEED TO BE NEGOTIATED. UNITS AND ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE MOVED

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FORWARD TO THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF THE GDR.

G. IT REMAINS A PRIORITY TASK TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE THROUGH DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. BOTH PARTIES SUPPORT A RAPID CONCLUSION OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND THE SIGNATURE OF A FIRST AGREEMENT THIS YEAR.

H. WE AGREED ON THE AIM OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CSCE PROCESS WHICH SHOULD STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND PROVIDE A FORUM WITHIN WHICH EAST AND WEST CAN DISCUSS SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING IN EUROPE. IN THIS, INSTITUTIONALISATION OF CERTAIN AREAS OF COOPERATION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. THE CURRENT CSCE CONFERENCE IN BONN SHOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY CONSIDER HOW ECONOMIC COOPERATION CAN BE MADE EVEN MORE CLOSE, WITH INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

I. WE AGREED THAT THE EC SUMMIT ON 28 APRIL SHOULD ABOVE ALL GIVE A SIGNAL FOR THE EARLY INCLUSION OF GDR TERRITORY IN THE EC. A MESSAGE OF POLITICAL SOLIDARITY FROM THAT SUMMIT IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR.

J. THE COMMUNITY SHOULD ALSO REAFFIRM AT THE SUMMIT ITS READINESS TO ENTER INTO CLOSER RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES IN EAST AND CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST EUROPE WHICH ARE READY TO REFORM.

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