

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN

TO DESKBY 171800Z FCO

TELNO 634

OF 171725Z MAY 90

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, MOSCOW

INFO PRIORITY UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, BM BERLIN, EAST BERLIN

GERMAN UNIFICATION : THE TIMETABLE ACCELERATES

SUMMARY

1. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EVIDENTLY CONSIDERING STATE UNITY BEFORE CSCE SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER. RECOMMENDATION THAT YOU TELEPHONE GENSCHER.

DETAIL

2. THE INTENTION OF KOHL AND GENSCHER, NOW WIDELY KNOWN, TO HOLD ALL-GERMAN INSTEAD OF MERELY FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER IS EVIDENTLY LEADING TO RECONSIDERATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS FOR EARLIER STAGES IN THE PROCESS OF UNIFICATION. LAMBSDORFF TOLD THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE TODAY THAT THE COALITION WANTED TO HOLD ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER, PROBABLY ON 2 OR 9 OR 16 DECEMBER. EARLY JANUARY 1991, WHICH WOULD STILL BE CONSTITUTIONALLY POSSIBLE, WAS NOT FAVOURED BY KOHL. ONE PRECONDITION WAS THAT 2 PLUS 4 SHOULD HAVE REACHED 'AN ALMOST FINAL RESULT'. IN CONVERSATION, LAMBSDORFF MODIFIED THIS TO SAY THAT IT MIGHT BE RIGHT TO SETTLE IN 2 PLUS 4 FOR WHATEVER HAD BEEN AGREED. UNITED GERMANY SHOULD BE FULLY SOVEREIGN FROM THE START. LAMBSDORFF SAID THAT, IF THERE WERE ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER, STATE UNITY WOULD HAVE TO OCCUR BEFORE THE CSCE SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER. THE REASON WAS THAT AN ELECTORAL LAW WOULD HAVE TO BE ADOPTED, CONSTITUENCIES DRAWN AND CANDIDATES SELECTED FOR THE ELECTION. LAMBSDORFF MADE CLEAR THAT THE UNDERLYING REASON FOR THIS RAPID TIMETABLE WERE THE NEED FOR AN ALL-GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO BE ABLE TO CONTROL EVENTS IN THE GDR IN THE VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS OF UNIFICATION, NOTABLY THE ECONOMIC SIDE, INSTEAD OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRYING TO STEER THEM INDIRECTLY THROUGH THE EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT. MOREOVER IT NOW SEEMED THAT WEST GERMAN INDUSTRY MIGHT NOT INVEST MUCH IN EAST GERMANY SO LONG AS THE GDR GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE.

3. VOGEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE SPD, TOLD THE FAC THAT UNITY WOULD BE NEEDED ON 2 SEPTEMBER, TO ALLOW THE STATUTORY 90 DAYS FOR PREPARATIONS FOR AN ALL-GERMAN ELECTION ON 2 DECEMBER. BUT I KNOW THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LAWYERS THINK THAT THE 90 DAY REQUIREMENT

IS NOT ABSOLUTE. LAMBSDORFF TOLD THE FAC THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT WOULD BE LIKELY TO RULE IN THIS SENSE.

4. AFTER LAMBSDORFF'S MEETING WITH THE FAC, I TOOK HIM ASIDE AND SAID THAT I THOUGHT THAT, IF STATE UNITY OCCURRED BEFORE THE FULL CYCLE OF SIX 2 PLUS 4 MINISTERIAL MEETINGS AND BEFORE THE CSCE SUMMIT, WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO BLESS THE RESULTS OF 2 PLUS 4, GERMANY COULD FACE A VERY DIFFICULT DIPLOMATIC ATMOSPHERE. THIS PROCEDURE WOULD AMOUNT TO THE DECOUPLING OF THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION WHICH SHEVARDNADZE HAD PROPOSED AND KOHL HAD REJECTED WITH ADMIRABLE FIRMNESS AND WITH APPROVAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES AMONG MANY OTHERS. LAMBSDORFF SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS POLITICAL POINT VERY WELL. THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE IN CONSTITUTIONAL AND PROCEDURAL TERMS TO SET UP THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR STATE UNITY AND ALL-GERMAN ELECTIONS BEFORE THE CSCE SUMMIT YET TO PUT THEM INTO EFFECT AFTER THAT SUMMIT AND IN TIME FOR ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER. HE WOULD LOOK INTO THIS. NO DECISIONS HAD YET BEEN TAKEN BY THE COALITION ABOUT THE DATE OF STATE UNITY.

COMMENT

5. KOHL AND GENSCHER, WHEN YOU SAW THEM ON 15 MAY, WERE STILL TALKING ABOUT NOT SEPARATING THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNITY. FOR THE GERMANS TO GO AHEAD WITH UNITY BEFORE THE DATE BY WHICH THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS ARE SUPPOSED TO BE SETTLED IS LIKELY TO CAUSE ILL FEELING AMONG EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, WHICH THE RUSSIANS COULD EXPLOIT IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR POSITIONS IN 2 PLUS 4. THE TIMING OF STATE UNITY IS LIKELY TO BE DISCUSSED IN A MEETING OF THE GERMAN CABINET TOMORROW. I SUGGEST THAT YOU MIGHT TELEPHONE GENSCHER BETWEEN 1130 AND 12 NOON YOUR TIME TOMORROW OR DURING HIS CABINET MEETING FROM NOON TO 1500 YOUR TIME. GENSCHER WILL HAVE RETURNED OVERNIGHT FROM HIS CURRENT VISIT WITH KOHL TO WASHINGTON. YOU MIGHT SAY THAT LAMBSDORFF SEEMED TO BE SAYING TO THE FAC THAT STATE UNITY MIGHT COME WHILE 2 PLUS 4 WAS STILL MEETING OR AT LEAST BEFORE THE CSCE SUMMIT, THAT THIS WAS NOT WHAT GENSCHER AND KOHL WERE SAYING ON 15 MAY AND THAT YOU ASSUME THAT THE POLICY OF NOT DECOUPLING STANDS.

6. FCO ADVANCE TO WESTON, HD OF WED, AND PRIVATE SECRETARY.

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