

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE GDR PRIME MINISTER

You are to see Mr. de Maiziere for an hour on Wednesday. He will have had dinner with the Foreign Secretary the previous evening: the Lord President is giving him lunch immediately after his meeting with you. You will, of course, already have seen him at the Irish President's lunch in Dublin on Monday.

The basic problem with de Maiziere is that he has some fairly daft ideas about European security (his Foreign Minister is several degrees worse). Although a Christian Democrat, he is in the evangelical/neutralist/anti-nuclear stream of thinking which seems fairly dominant in East Germany. His influence within the Two plus Four Group is being exercised far from beneficially to accommodate Soviet interests. He apparently sees himself as a bridge between NATO and the Soviet Union. He is also quite close to the ideas of people like President Havel who are looking for some sort of collective European security system now, or at any rate quite soon.

You will want to follow President Bush's example by trying to budge him off this (a copy of President Bush's message to you about the meeting is in the folder). You will want to take him carefully through the continuing need for NATO, the importance of maintaining adequate numbers of short range nuclear weapons in Germany, the need to deal with the political/military consequences of German unification elsewhere than in the Two plus Four group. You will also want to make clear that we cannot accept many of the ideas which the Russians have put forward in the Two plus Four framework like leaving Four Power rights in place for a transitional period beyond unification, and the suggestion that there is some sort of parallelism between Soviet and American forces. He needs a dose of realism, and there is no-one better equipped to give it to him.

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You may also like to talk to him about EC aspects of unification, stressing our hope that any transitional arrangements will be very short lived, that effective customs barriers should be established on Germany's eastern border, and that the GDR should take account of EC state aid and competition rules.

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Another area you might explore is his assessment of the likely effects of GEMU. What level of unemployment is it likely to cause in East Germany? What will be the effect on the Deutschmark? You might also ask him what precise arrangements he expects to be made about East Germany's long term trade agreements with the Soviet Union and East European countries.

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Finally, if there is time, you might like to get on to environmental issues and ask in particular about East Germany's nuclear power industry.

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A fuller note by the FCO is in the folder, together with President Bush's message.

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C.D.P.

C. D. POWELL

25 June 1990

## DIRECTORY

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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22 June 1990

*John Charles,*

*[Handwritten mark]*

Call on Prime Minister by GDR Prime Minister  
27 June, 1115

The Prime Minister has agreed to see Lothar de Maizière (CDU), the GDR Prime Minister, at noon on 27 June. We do not yet know whom he would like to accompany him. The Foreign Secretary will give him dinner the evening before. The Lord President will give him lunch after he has seen the Prime Minister.

De Maizière will be in London on his way home from Dublin, where he will attend the European Council lunch and dinner on 25 June. He has already visited Washington and Paris this month (and Moscow earlier in the year). In Washington he saw President Bush, who was impressed by him and sent the Prime Minister an account of their meeting (your letter of 13 June, copy enclosed). His talks in France on 18/19 June were less substantial. Although he was received at the highest level, President Mitterrand seems to have made no real attempt to straighten out de Maizière's thinking on 2+4 issues. The Foreign Secretary's talks with the GDR Foreign Minister Meckel (SPD) on 20 June showed further evidence of the GDR tendency to harbour unrealistic and unhelpful expectations of NATO's early transformation and to ventriloquise Soviet concerns.

De Maizière is likely to raise Germany and NATO with the Prime Minister. During his visit to the United States, he said he understood the need for a united Germany to belong to NATO. But he showed himself very sensitive to Soviet security concerns and anxious to act as a bridge between NATO and the Soviet Union. He stated in a recent interview for 'Le Figaro': "A system of collective security in Europe is unavoidable. But it is not something for tomorrow or the day after. It is more for the end of the century." The Prime Minister might encourage this line of thought by

/emphasising

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emphasising the importance for stability in Europe of German membership of NATO, and the fact that we are taking account of Soviet security concerns. The Prime Minister could take the line that:

- We realise he has a different starting point from ours. Neither Alliance has brought benefit to GDR: and the GDR has borne the brunt of being on the front line of the Warsaw Pact.
- Our approach to European security is evolutionary. Should build on existing institutions.
- We believe NATO is the key stabilising influence for all Europe, bringing in the Americans to counterbalance Soviet power. (Imagine the alternative, a Europe in which each country had independent armed forces and shifting allegiances.) CSCE not capable of taking on this role.
- That said, NATO should change. Message from Turnberry a sign of the times. NATO Summit: comprehensive review of NATO's political role, strategy, military dispositions.
- Changes sure to reduce burden on Germany. Stationed forces in Europe still important: political solidarity, collective defence. But fewer, more multinational, more mobile.
- We too want a bigger security role for CSCE. Aware of East European concerns. Dialogue and good machinery, e.g. for conflict prevention and conciliation, should produce strong political pressure against use of force. Must be frank: best we can offer to Eastern Europe in the circumstances. Cannot provide guarantees we could not fulfil
- When tackling Germany and NATO, of course we need to consider Soviet security interests. But we should not be blackmailed. Germans have the right to choose their Alliance.

In the Foreign Secretary's talks with Meckel, the latter took a very sceptical line on nuclear matters, asking about the purpose of the British deterrent and the stationing of nuclear weapons in Germany. De Maizièrè accepts the need for a minimum deterrent, but the Prime Minister may wish to emphasise the importance for NATO's security of nuclear weapons based in Europe.

The second round of 2+4 Ministerial talks takes place in East Berlin on 22 June. Telegraphic records will be available over the weekend. Subject to these, the most useful points for the Prime Minister to make might be as follows:

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- We wish to see the internal and external aspects of unification brought to a conclusion in parallel, in time to present them to the CSCE Summit towards the end of the year.
- We have no intention of leaving Four Power rights in place for a transitional period beyond unification (as Russians have proposed)
- This tight timetable can be met if the Six concentrate on what is necessary, i.e. avoid overloading their agenda with extraneous pol-mil issues
- Borders are one issue which could be cleared up soon. We are glad it is agreed there should be a Polish/German Treaty.

On the internal aspects of unification, de Maizière is likely to be preoccupied by GEMU on 1 July, when the FRG/GDR State Treaty comes into force. The Prime Minister could ask de Maizière about the likely economic and social disruption. She could also ask him about all-German elections in December, as favoured by the CDU in both East and West (the two parties are to merge on 1 October). It is largely thanks to de Maizière that an impetuous resolution introduced in the Volkskammer on 17 June, calling for instant accession to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law, was referred to committee without a vote. De Maizière made a forceful intervention arguing that other conditions for unification, eg settling of the external aspects, had to be met first. He was given a standing ovation.

The EC aspects of German unification will be discussed at the European Council, where the Prime Minister will have seen de Maizière. She may wish to:

- Reiterate our strong wish to agree any temporary transitional arrangements for the GDR before unification so as to ensure the smoothest possible integration process; and,
- Repeat our concern that in the GEMU period before unification decisions affecting the East German economy should take account of EC state aids and competition rules, and that the entry of the GDR into the Community customs union should be accompanied by effective customs barriers on the Eastern German border. During this period the GDR should ensure that there is no discrimination in treatment as between FRG trade and the EC 11.

I enclose a personality note on de Maizière.

*For inv. Richard*  
(R H T Gozney)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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DE MAIZIÈRE, LOTHAR

MINISTER PRESIDENT (ie PRIME MINISTER)

Born 2 March in Nordhausen. CDU member since 1956. Played viola in various orchestras until injury forced him to choose another profession. Studied law from 1969 to 1975 (East German Humboldt University correspondence course - obtained Diploma in Law). Employed since by the Collegium of Lawyers in East Berlin. Member of Collegium Executive since 1982. Member of the Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR since 1985. Elected CDU Chairman in November 1989 (his first party office). Appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Church Affairs in the Modrow Government November 1989 to April 1990. Became Prime Minister of the Coalition Government in April 1990, following the CDU's victory in the first free GDR elections on 18 March 1990.

Comment

A quiet, some would say colourless, carefully spoken man. Reportedly a doughty advocate, and much less quietly-spoken, in court. As simultaneously a member of the CDU and the Church Synod, De Maizière was among the few who tried to reform the party from within during the years of collaboration with the SED (unlike the LDPD, the CDU leadership under the corrupt Götting (see 1989 LPR) resisted all internal reforms before November 1989). Brushed aside accusations in March 1990 of collaboration with the Communist secret police (Stasi).

Married since 1963 with three daughters.

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HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN  
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
NORTHERN IRELAND

Visit of

Herr Lothar de MAIZIÈRE

Prime Minister

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

26 - 27 June 1990

The Prime Minister will be accompanied by:

Frau Sylvia SCHULTZ  
Head of Prime Minister's Office

Herr Thilo STEINBACH  
Head of Department for Foreign and Security Questions  
in the Prime Minister's Office

Frau Doktor Angela MERKEL  
GDR Government Deputy Spokesman

Herr Franz JAHSNOWSKI  
Chief of Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Herr Wolfgang GANTHUS  
Interpreter

In attendance:

Miss Brigitte Puhl (Interpreter)  
Central Office of Information

Herr Siegfried Reichel  
Herr Michael Juhran  
Embassy of the German Democratic Republic

Programme Organiser:

Mr Bernard McGinley  
Central Office of Information

The Prime Minister will be staying at:

The Sheraton Park Tower  
101 Knightsbridge  
LONDON SW1

Tuesday  
26  
June

ARRIVAL  
THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION  
DINNER ENGAGEMENT

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1645 approx

Arrive at London Heathrow Airport (Hounslow Suite) on an official flight (IFL 9738) from Dublin.

Welcomed by Sir John Stow GCMG KCVO, Special Representative of the Secretary of State.

1700 approx

Leave the airport by car, accompanied by Mr Bernard McGinley and Miss Brigitte Puhl, Central Office of Information.

1755

Arrive at the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, SW1 (St Stephen's Entrance).

1800

Met by the Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP, Leader of the Opposition.

1830

Leave Westminster for a short sightseeing tour of the West End.

1920

Arrive at the Sheraton Park Tower.

1945

Leave hotel.

2000

Arrive at Lancaster House, Stable Yard, St James's SW1.

for  
2015

(not Herr Ganthus)

Dinner as a guest of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Host: Rt Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP,  
Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs.

Later

Leave Stable Yard for return to hotel.

Wednesday  
27  
June

PRIVATE BREAKFAST  
CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE  
THE PRIME MINISTER  
LUNCH ENGAGEMENT  
WESTMINSTER ABBEY  
SIGHTSEEING  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
PRESS CONFERENCE  
DEPARTURE

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|                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0900                                                | Breakfast in Room 1714 at the hotel.                                                                                                                                                                |
| 0955                                                | Leave hotel (with luggage) by car.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1015                                                | Arrive at Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square, SW1.<br><br>Met by the Rt Hon Kenneth Baker MP, Chairman of the Conservative Party, and the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Pattie MP, Deputy Chairman. |
| 1100 approx                                         | Leave Smith Square.                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1110 approx                                         | Arrive at No 10 Downing Street.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1115                                                | Met by the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP, Prime Minister.                                                                                                                                         |
| 1200                                                | Leave Downing Street.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1230 for 1245                                       | Arrive at the Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W1. (Arlington Street Entrance).                                                                                                                              |
| (not Frau Merkel, Herr Jahsnowski, or Herr Ganthus) | Lunch in the Marie Antoinette Suite as a guest of the Lord President.<br><br>Host: Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons.                |
| 1415                                                | Leave Piccadilly.                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1430                                                | Arrive at Westminster Abbey, Broad Sanctuary, SW1.<br><br>Met by a senior representative of the Abbey.                                                                                              |

Wednesday  
27  
June contd

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Conducted tour of the Abbey, including the Henry VII Chapel, the Sanctuary, the Coronation Chair, and Poet's Corner.

1500 Leave Westminster for a sightseeing tour of London, to include St Paul's Cathedral, the Temple, and the National Gallery.

1625 Arrive at Lambeth Palace, Lambeth, SE1.

1630 Met by the Most Reverend and Right Honourable Lord Runcie MC, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1645 Leave Lambeth.

1700 Arrive at the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, SW1.

There will be a short Press Conference.

1730 approx Leave Belgrave Square.

1820 approx Arrive at London Heathrow Airport (Hounslow Suite).

Sir John Stow GCMG KCVO will bid farewell on behalf of the Secretary of State.

1900 Depart on an official flight (IFL 9739) to Berlin.