

CONFIDENTIAL
UK COMMS ONLY

FM BONN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 943

OF 061720Z AUGUST 90

INFO IMMEDIATE BM BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, MOSCOW, UKDEL VIENNA, PARIS

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, CICC(G)

INFO IMMEDIATE MODUK, ACTOR

INFO ROUTINE CSCE POSTS

INFO SAVING JSLO BONN, HMC GS IN THE FRG

SIC ECA

MODSH PASS CICC(G) AND MODUK

MY TELNO 937 : GERMAN UNIFICATION

SUMMARY

1. SPD AGREE TO EARLY UNIFICATION, BUT NOT TO EARLY ELECTIONS. GOVERNING COALITION MAY WELL HAVE TO ACCEPT THIS. POSSIBILITY OF UNIFICATION BEFORE OCTOBER.

DETAIL

2. KOHL HAS NOW CONFIRMED THAT HE WANTS TO BRING FORWARD THE ELECTION DATE BY MEANS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, NOT BY 'LOSING' AN ARTIFICIAL VOTE OF CONFIDENCE (PARA 4 OF TUR). HE THUS REQUIRES THE SUPPORT OF THE SPD IF THE NECESSARY TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY IN THE BUNDESTAG IS TO BE OBTAINED.

3. THE SPD REAFFIRMED OVER THE WEEKEND THEIR OPPOSITION TO ADVANCING THE ELECTION DATE. BUT SENIOR PARTY FIGURES, INCLUDING LAFONTAINE (THE SPD CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE) VOGEL (THE PARTY CHAIRMAN) AND EHMKE (THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY DEPUTY LEADER) HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY DO NOT OBJECT TO EARLY UNIFICATION. VOGEL SAID THAT THE PARTY WOULD RESPECT A VOLKSKAMMER DECISION TO ACCEDE TO THE FRG. AND EHMKE NOTED THAT IF KOHL AND DE MAIZIERE HAD TO ADMIT POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY, EARLY GDR ACCESSION MIGHT BE THE RIGHT ANSWER. THIS LINE WAS CONFIRMED FOLLOWING A TOP-LEVEL SPD MEETING IN BONN TODAY (6 AUGUST). EARLY ACCESSION WAS THE ONLY WAY TO MASTER THE GDR'S CRISIS: NOW WAS NOT THE TIME TO BE TALKING ABOUT ELECTION DATES.

4. THE GREENS HAVE DENOUNCED THE IDEA OF HOLDING EARLY ELECTIONS.

5. THE GOVERNMENT COALITION WILL MEET ON THE MORNING OF 7 AUGUST, AND IN THE AFTERNOON KOHL AND THE LEADERS OF THE FDP AND CSU WILL HAVE A MEETING WITH VOGEL AND LAFONTAINE, IN THE HOPE OF PERSUADING THE SPD TO CHANGE THEIR MIND ABOUT THE ELECTION DATE. ON 8 AUGUST THERE IS A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE BUNDESTAG.

COMMENT

6. ON PRESENT FORM KOHL HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF ADVANCING ELECTIONS. IT SEEMS ALMOST CERTAIN, AS I SUGGESTED IN MY TUR, THAT THE SPD, WHILE CONTINUING TO BLOCK ANY CHANGE IN THE ELECTION DATE, WILL SIMPLY GO ON EMPHASISING THEIR WILLINGNESS TO AGREE TO EARLY UNIFICATION. THIS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE CDU TO PORTRAY THE SPD AS PUTTING OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF UNIFICATION. THIS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE CDU TO PORTRAY THE SPD AS PUTTING OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF UNIFICATION AND WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF SADDLING KOHL FIRMLY WITH FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN THE INTERIM. THE GDR SPD ARE REPORTEDLY ALREADY CONSIDERING CALLING FOR ACCESSION TO TAKE PLACE AT THE VOLKSKAMMER'S SPECIAL SESSION ON 8 AUGUST. THE CDU AND LIBERALS IN THE GDR CAN BLOCK THIS, THOUGH POSSIBLY ONLY AT SOME POLITICAL COST TO THEMSELVES.

7. IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT EVEN TO MAKE AN EDUCATED GUESS ABOUT WHEN UNIFICATION WILL TAKE PLACE, OR HOW. THE MAIN PLAYERS DO NOT HAVE THINGS FULLY UNDER CONTROL AND, AS SEEN FROM BONN, ACTION IN THE VOLKSKAMMER NEXT WEDNESDAY UNDER ARTICLE 23 CERTAINLY CANNOT BE RULED OUT, THOUGH THIS WILL NOT BE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PREFERRED OPTION. MY GUESS IS THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO STICK TO DE MAIZIERE'S PROPOSED TIMETABLE OF MID-OCTOBER WHICH WOULD GIVE TIME TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATION AND LEGISLATIVE PASSAGE OF THE 'UNIFICATION' TREATY: WOULD POSSIBLY ALLOW THE GDR LAENDER TO HOLD ELECTIONS (ON 14 OCTOBER - AND GOVERNMENT AT THAT LEVEL THUS ACQUIRE SOME LEGITIMACY) AS WELL AS GIVING MORE TIME TO CONCLUDE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS OVER THEIR STATIONED TROOPS. BUT I AM NOT CONFIDENT THAT THE DETERMINATION EXISTS IN BONN TO HOLD OUT THAT LONG.

8. I HAVE SUGGESTED TO THE US EMBASSY THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, AS THIS MONTH'S CHAIRMAN ALLY, ASK FOR AN EARLY READ OUT FROM SEITERS (CHANCELLERY) ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF ALL THIS FOR THE TIMING OF TERMINATION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS.

9. SEE MY SEPARATE TELEGRAMS ON LEGAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION.

NEVILLE-JONES