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File Folder [TRIP:] SECRETARY CLARK'S VISIT 05/10/1984-
05/18/1984 BERLIN, VIENNA, MUNICH, AND LONDON
(CLARK BINDER) (1)

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
3087	BRIEFING PAPER	BERLIN: OBJECTIVES AND THEMES (SAME AS ITEM 3048) R 11/6/2007 F2000-147	3	ND	B1
3088	BRIEFING PAPER	MEETING WITH GOVERNING MAYOR DIEPGEN (SAME AS ITEM 3049) R 11/6/2007 F2000-147	3	ND	B1
3089	SUMMARY	SAME AS 3050 D 1/3/2011 F2000-147/1	2	3/29/1984	B1 B3
3090	SUMMARY	SAME AS 3052 D 1/3/2011 F2000-147/1	2	1/30/1984	B1 B3
3091	BRIEFING PAPER	MEETING WITH HANS APEL (SAME AS ITEM 3053) R 11/6/2007 F2000-147	2	ND	B1
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE



BRIEFING BOOK

SECRETARY CLARK'S VISIT
TO BERLIN, VIENNA, MUNICH,
AND LONDON, MAY 10-18, 1984

SECRETARY CLARK

VISIT OF SECRETARY CLARK TO BERLIN, VIENNA, MUNICH, AND LONDON

May 10-18, 1984

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BERLIN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

BERLIN: OBJECTIVES AND THEMES

No single event in postwar history symbolizes the American commitment to a democratic Europe as does the airlift to Berlin. Our success in supplying the isolated Western sectors for more than one year demonstrated that the United States was serious about its determination to defend democracy in Europe. It also demonstrated that Germans and victorious Western allies could work together in harmony to oppose a common foe, the Soviet Union.

The purpose of your visit to Berlin is to recall the spirit of the airlift and to use it to underscore the continuing validity of close ties between the United States and Berlin. Berliners never tire of hearing that the American commitment to the city is as strong as ever and inalterable. They are encouraged also to learn that we will continue efforts to remove the barriers which divide their city.

Events planned by the US Mission and the Berlin city government for your stay will highlight various aspects of our commitment to the city.

--Separate political and military airlift ceremonies will underscore the dual nature of our presence in Berlin. Our military forces are supplemented by a strong civilian presence which is dedicated to helping Berlin maintain its role as Central Europe's premiere industrial and cultural center.

--Rededication of the Berlin Kongresshalle will add a unique German-American element to the celebration, and recall the many American efforts over the years to maintain the viability of the Western Sectors.

-- Visit to the Marienfelder refugee center will demonstrate our continuing sympathy for the human problems of a divided city.

--A luncheon discussion with Berlin civic leaders will underline the modern aspects of our presence as embodied in the Aspen Institute and will also provide an opportunity for an informal exchange on future American cooperation with Berlin.

Equally important will be the impact of your trip in West Germany and the Soviet Union. There is considerable soul-searching in Western Europe now over the future of Atlantic relations. Europeans cannot be sure that a far away partner, with interests throughout the world, will continue to

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concentrate its efforts in Europe. They are also concerned that US-Soviet competition will lead us to abandon some of the fruits of earlier negotiations, such as the Quadripartite Agreement.

The Soviets watch carefully for signs of changes in the American commitment to Berlin. The very fact of your visit will be registered in Moscow as a demonstration of President Reagan's commitment to maintenance of the substance as well as the form of the American presence in the city. Such a signal will be especially important in the aftermath of recent problems in the Berlin air corridors.

We recommend that you stress the following themes in your closed meetings and in your public statements:

-- The American commitment to Berlin is steadfast; it has not wavered over the years.

-- President Reagan is committed personally to support Berlin.

-- The American presence in Berlin serves German interests. Through our presence in Berlin, we provide concrete evidence of the unsolved German problem and the need to search for reunification of the German nation.

-- We have succeeded in Berlin because of our joint commitment to defend democracy against external threat.

-- A strong and effective NATO is vital to the continued security of Berlin, Germany, Europe, and the US.

-- US commitment to a strong defense is matched by our readiness to reach practical and realistic agreements with the Soviets in Berlin and elsewhere. History shows us that Western unity and firmness laid the basis for mutually beneficial agreements with the Soviets like the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. The example of Berlin applies also to current negotiations, i.e. INF.

-- The U.S. also has confidence in Berlin's future as a modern industrial city. We hope to work with Berliners to develop the scientific and technological foundation of the city.

-- Economic well-being must be matched by human contacts between Europe and the United States. The US and Berlin can serve as a model for such efforts.

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--Americans were impressed by the vigor and leadership demonstrated by Mayor Diepgen during his recent visit to Washington and other cities. He reflects the strength of this city.

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The Situation in Berlin

The quadripartite status of Berlin was established by a series of wartime and early post-war agreements reached by the four wartime Allies--Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The most important of these agreements were the London Protocols of 1944 and 1945. The earlier of these two documents divided Germany as a whole into three zones for occupation by British, Soviet, and American Forces. In recognition of its special status as the capital of Germany, Greater Berlin (the term refers to the boundaries of Greater Berlin established under German law in 1920; Greater Berlin represented by a fusion of twenty city districts which were previously separate administrative units) was to be divided into sectors administered jointly by the three Powers. Subsequently, in 1945, the London Protocols were amended to include a French occupation zone in Germany and a French Sector in Berlin.

As World War II drew to a close, it was Soviet Forces which first reached Berlin and ended German military resistance in the city. Following contacts between American, British, and Soviet officials, troops of these three Powers withdrew in June 1945 from battle lines to the occupation zones foreseen for each of the wartime Allies. U.S. Forces arrived in Berlin and raised the U.S. flag on July 4, 1945. The Soviet Sector of Berlin contained eight city districts; the American, six; the British, four; and the French, two. Although each Power exercised supreme authority in its own Sector, the four Powers were at the same time jointly responsible for the administration of Berlin as a whole. This responsibility was exercised through establishment of a four-Power Allied Kommandatura (an Allied Control Council also established in the late summer of 1945 was responsible for the Allied administration of Germany as a whole). The Soviets withdrew their participation in 1948, first from the Allied Control Council and subsequently, after the Western Allies countered the Soviet blockade of Berlin by beginning the Berlin Airlift on June 28, 1948, from the Allied Kommandatura as well.

Government of the Western Sectors of Berlin

The Western Allies still maintain the Allied Kommandatura as the mechanism through which they exercise Allied rights and responsibilities in West Berlin, recognizing, however, that because of Soviet obstructionism, it has not been possible since 1948 to apply Allied laws and decisions in the Soviet Sector of Berlin (i.e., East Berlin). It should be noted, however, that the Western Allies, in May 1949, issued a

"Statement of Principles" which turned over to the Governing Mayor and the Berlin Senat broad authority in all areas of municipal government. The Senat is not, as the name suggests to English speakers, a parliamentary body; it is composed rather of the Senators or Ministers responsible for the equivalent of various cabinet departments such as economic affairs, finance, schools, etc. West Berlin's legislature is unicameral and is known as the House of Representatives.

Allied Rights and Responsibilities

It is an important principle of the Western Allies, and vital to maintenance of the Allied position in Berlin, that Allied rights and responsibilities in the city derive from the Allied victory over Germany in 1945 (and as such are "rights of conquest") and were not extended as concessions by the Soviet side. Because of this, the Western Allies have never accepted that the Soviets could unilaterally yield their responsibility in the Soviet Sector of Berlin to authorities of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It is true, of course, that the East German Government claims that East Berlin is its capital and that many Western countries (including the U.S., Britain, and France) have established embassies "to the GDR" which are physically located in East Berlin, and that the GDR Government has established its Foreign Ministry and other governmental structure in that part of the city. Nonetheless, the Western Allies continue to exercise their rights throughout Berlin, including East Berlin, and the three Powers deal exclusively with Soviet authorities on matters affecting Berlin and Allied rights and responsibilities there.

A practical example of these continuing Allied rights is free circulation for the troops of all four wartime Allies in the four Sectors of Berlin. Another aspect of Allied rights in the city is the right of access by land and air for troops and officials of the Allied Powers from the Western Zones of Germany (now the Federal Republic of Germany--FRG) to Berlin without undergoing East German controls. (Allied travel orders are stamped instead by Soviet military authorities for individuals traveling by surface means.)

The basic point in the Western view of the current Berlin situation is that Berlin's legal situation has not changed and cannot be changed save by agreement of all four Powers. The FRG shares this point of view. Although the legal position of Berlin has been scrupulously respected by the three Western Allies, it has been repeatedly violated by the Soviet Union and the GDR with respect to East Berlin. A case in point involves the demilitarized status of the entire city established by the four Powers in 1945. This law provides that only troops from

the four Powers may wear uniforms or carry arms in Greater Berlin. (German troops--whether West or East German--are thus not authorized to wear uniforms or bear arms in Greater Berlin; the Western Allies have, of course, made an exception to this law as regards police in West Berlin, who are authorized to carry arms while on duty.) The GDR has repeatedly staged military parades of its forces in East Berlin, in violation of this Allied law.

U.S. Mission Berlin

The U.S. Mission is located in West Berlin, and is the organization through which the U.S. manages its participation in four Power responsibilities for Berlin as a whole. The Mission, which is composed primarily of officers and staff from the U.S. Army and members of the U.S. Foreign Service from the Department of State and United States Information Service, also supports the approximately 7,000 U.S. troops stationed in the city, and makes the necessary arrangements with municipal authorities for dealing with the issues created by the presence of such a garrison.

Chief of the U.S. Mission in Berlin is the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Arthur F. Burns. Ambassador Burns maintains a residence in Berlin, and in his role as chief of the U.S. Mission also carries out residual responsibilities as U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. The U.S. High Commissioner was the senior United States official in Germany during the post-war occupation period. Since return of sovereignty to the Federal Republic in 1955, the tasks of the High Commissioner have concentrated on matters dealing with continuing four Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole. These responsibilities include management of four Power relationships concerning Berlin, and in this role the U.S. Ambassador in Bonn negotiated the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin with his British and French colleagues and with the Soviet Ambassador in East Berlin, who maintains the "high commissioner" function on the Soviet side.

The Deputy Chief of the U.S. Mission is Major General James Boatner who is also United States Commandant in Berlin and Commander, U.S. Army Berlin. The next most senior United States official in Berlin is Minister Nelson Ledsky, who is Assistant Chief of the U.S. Mission and Deputy United States Commandant for Berlin.

This integration of military and civilian officials in the U.S. Mission ensures close coordination between the two major aspects of the U.S. presence in the city.

-- The vital military presence of the United States is signified by the U.S. Commandant who, as Deputy Chief of Mission, is also the senior U.S. official resident in the city.

-- The operational political presence is supervised by the U.S. Minister, who is the senior State Department official resident in Berlin. In his role as Deputy Commandant, the U.S. Minister also represents the military aspect of our presence.

The operating sections of the U.S. Mission are organized much as in any other foreign service post. However, the normal reporting and representational functions of the Mission are accompanied by the task of managing the civilian aspects of the U.S. presence in the city. Officers at the Mission carry titles such as Political Adviser, Economic Adviser, Legal Adviser, and Protocol Officer, which suggest the roles which they play in the Berlin "occupation" regime. These functions are carried out in conjunction with our British and French Allies, who maintain similar establishments in the city. Although each Ally is responsible for one sector of the city, administration of the three Western Sectors is carried out jointly and all decisions are taken by consensus. Over the years a complicated mechanism of committees and ad hoc bodies have developed to manage the Allied role in the city.

The Quadripartite Agreement

The Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971, was concluded by the four Powers "acting on the basis of their quadripartite rights and responsibilities, and of the corresponding wartime and post-war agreements and decisions of the four Powers." The Quadripartite Agreement itself in no way changed the legal status of the city. The purpose of the Agreement was to contribute to practical improvements in Berlin and a lessening of tensions between the East and West. The experience of the last eight years shows that these aims have been successfully achieved. As a result of the Quadripartite Agreement and of the associated inner-German agreements, it has become substantially easier for West Berliners and residents of the FRG to travel to East Berlin and to the GDR to visit relatives or for other purposes. Furthermore, Berlin has ceased, for the moment at least, to be a source of major conflict between the East and the West.

The Quadripartite Agreement has brought an era of unprecedented prosperity and stability to the Western Sectors of Berlin. It has also forced the Berliners to find a new role for themselves and their city in Germany and between East and West. This period of adjustment was not without difficulties, and Berliners have begun looking carefully at many questions about

their economic future, the attractiveness of their city to young persons and about the many local problems which often went unnoticed in the periods of tension between East and West.

Role of the Federal Republic of Germany

An important provision of the Quadripartite Agreement was confirmation of the important economic, cultural and social ties which have grown up during the past thirty years between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western Sectors of Berlin. The Western Allies have sanctioned development of these ties as the best means of ensuring West Berlin's membership in a larger Western framework and of providing for the economic viability of the Western Sectors. The Federal German government provides substantial subsidies to the operation budget of the West Berlin Senat and the economic, social, and legal system of the FRG applies virtually unchanged in the Western Sectors.

In order to maintain their ability to exercise their rights and responsibilities on behalf of West Berlin and West Berliners, the Western Allies have, however, established certain limitations on the political ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic. These include the fact that West Berlin deputies in the German Bundestag may not vote in plenary sessions and are not elected directly. Certain West German legislation, especially in the military field, may also not be applied to Berlin.

Under terms of the Bonn/Paris conventions of 1954/55, the three Allies do, however, commit themselves to consult with the Federal Government on exercise of their rights and responsibilities in Berlin. This consultation is carried out in Bonn among representatives of the three Allied embassies and the German Foreign Office.

As is appropriate for a city which formerly was the capital of the unified German state, management and defense of West Berlin in 1980 is very much a joint effort between the Western Allies, the Federal Republic of Germany and the West Berliners themselves. This effort is one of the prime examples of the close cooperation which has developed among the nations of the NATO alliance and serves well the interests of all concerned. Above all, it ensures that West Berlin will continue to prosper as a Western outpost in the Communist world.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING PAPER

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MEETING WITH GOVERNING MAYOR DIEPGEN

You are scheduled to call on the Governing Mayor, Eberhard Diepgen, on Friday, May 11, at 10:45 am, at the city hall, Rathaus Schoeneberg. As his English is not fluent, he will have an interpreter present. This is your substantive meeting with Diepgen. Afterward, you will accompany him to the Senat's airlift commemoration ceremony at Tempelhof Airport.

On February 9, 1984, following the resignation of Richard von Weizsaecker (who will become Federal President in July), Eberhard Diepgen was elected Governing Mayor by the Berlin House of Representatives. At the age of 42, he is the second-youngest governing mayor in West Berlin's history. Diepgen served as CDU caucus leader in the House from 1980-84, and Berlin officials of all parties give him high marks as a party organizer and administrator.

Diepgen's knowledge of Berlin issues is extensive and longstanding. When he took office many said his public image would be handicapped by his youth, his seemingly colorless personality, and his self-admitted weakness to become easily provoked and argumentative in public. He had not developed an authoritative speaking style and had a reputation of being temperamental. Since assuming office, however, he has done much better than expected, and was believed by the Berlin press and his fellow politicians to have made an excellent performance during his April 1984 visit to Washington.

Diepgen has long been known to the US Mission and is well-disposed to the United States. He first visited the United States as a USIA grantee in 1980 and returned in May 1983. One of the main purposes of his 1983 visit was to consult with US officials on plans for rebuilding the Kongresshalle which will be rededicated on May 12.

Born in Berlin in November 1941, Diepgen studied law at the Free University between 1960 and 1967. He has always been particularly interested in educational issues and one of his pet projects has been the establishment of a private university in Berlin.

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US Commitment to Berlin

-- The American commitment to Berlin is steadfast; it has not wavered over the years.

-- President Reagan is committed personally to support Berlin.

-- My coming to the airlift commemoration ceremony is intended to underline this commitment.

--The American presence in Berlin serves German interests. Through our presence in Berlin, we provide concrete evidence of the unsolved German problem and the need to search for reunification of the German nation.

-- We have succeeded in Berlin because of our joint commitment to defend democracy against external threat.

-- A strong and effective NATO is vital to the continued security of Berlin, Germany, Europe and the US.

Diepgen's US Visit

You met with Diepgen on the first day of his recent visit to Washington. You might wish to ask him how the rest of his visit went and what impressions of the US he brought home with him. (He visited Boston and New York after Washington.)

-- Americans were impressed by the vigor and leadership which you demonstrated during your recent visit to Washington.

Inner German Relations and Berlin

Relations between East and West Germany are still relatively good, despite indications that the GDR may have started tightening the exceptionally large flow of East German immigrants to the West in recent months. You may wish to ask Diepgen how he sees the future development of FRG-GDR relations and what role Berlin can play in the process.

The Berlin Economy

Diepgen has characterized Berlin's economy, with high unemployment, a declining industrial base, and a declining population, as the most serious problem facing the city. His administration hopes to reverse negative trends by bringing high-technology industries to Berlin and making the city a German Silicon Valley. He may raise this subject with you because Berlin hopes also to attract American investors and industries to the city.

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In particular, he may ask for assurances that the US will not block exports of high technology to Berlin because of the city's exposed geographic situation. Rumor of such concerns spread through the city recently after the US required additional safeguards for a super computer which was to be installed by the Cray Corporation in Berlin. The extra safeguards were required because of the nature of the computer and will now be required throughout the world. (see also background paper Tab 11)

--The US has confidence in Berlin's future as a modern industrial city. We hope to work with Berliners to develop the scientific and technological foundation of the city.

--The US is not concerned about Berlin's geographic position where high technology exports are concerned. Extra safeguards required for the Cray computer will be required wherever such computers are sold.

Air Corridor Problems

Diepgen may attempt to draw a connection between your visit and current air problems. He may ask you if you feel the Soviets are exerting pressure on Berlin in the context of broader East-West concerns, for example, as a reaction to NATO INF deployment.

-- My visit is intended to symbolize the American commitment to Berlin. This includes maintaining the right of free access to Berlin, working in conjunction with the other Allies.

-- It is difficult to get a clear picture of the reasons for Soviet behavior in the air corridors. Political motivations may have played a role. Most important is not to create a sense of crisis among Berliners. We will do this by not dramatizing the issue, while at the same time maintaining our rights. (See also background paper on air corridors, at TAB 7.)

Diepgen pet project

Diepgen may refer to a pet project of his: cleaning up Allied legislation dating from the early postwar years which he feels smacks of the occupation regime and is now obsolete.

-- The Allies have no objections in principle. The question is how it is to be done and who will put in the considerable effort required.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

Meeting with Professor Karl Carstens,
Federal President of the Federal Republic of Germany

Carstens, addressed as Mr. President, will be in Berlin during your stay and has asked that you call on him. You last saw Carstens during his state visit to the U.S. in October, 1983, during the Tricentennial of German Immigration to the United States.

Carstens' five-year term as Federal President, which comes to an end this month, caps a long career as academic, politician, and senior government official. He holds a Master of Laws degree from Yale University (1948), and was successful as a professor of law before entering politics. He has held sub-Cabinet posts as State Secretary in the Foreign and Defense Ministries and Federal Chancellery, and he has spent much of his career endeavoring to further German-American understanding. He has used the largely ceremonial post of President to emphasize the Federal Republic's political, economic, and cultural affinity for the West and to represent his country's commitment to German-American friendship.

He made clear during 1983 that he regarded his state visit for the Tricentennial as the most important foreign travel of his term. He spent eleven days in this country, traveling to Washington, Philadelphia, St. Louis, El Paso, Dallas, Seattle, Madison (Wisconsin), New York, and Yale. Everywhere he went, he emphasized the closeness of German-American ties, and he greatly praised the American spirit of dynamic optimism. While in Washington, he made these points in a meeting with the President and in an address to a joint meeting of Congress.

Carstens also planted a tree to dedicate the German-American Friendship Garden, to be built on a site near the Washington Monument, which is the flagship project of last year's Presidential Commission for the Tricentennial. We understand that you have agreed that the National Park Service will maintain the Garden in perpetuity, and we are sure that Carstens would be delighted to hear this.

Carstens speaks excellent English.

-- Very glad to have the opportunity to see you again. We all considered your state visit to have been a tremendous success.

-- We deeply appreciate your long years of service to German-American understanding, and we honor you as a valued friend of the United States.

-- Berlin is the most visible symbol of the way our fates are linked, and I am proud to be representing President Reagan at this commemoration.

-- I want you to know that the Presidential Commission for the Tricentennial has been very successful at gathering donations for the German-American Friendship Garden. The designs are going through the last stages of approval, and I hope to see construction begin soon. The tree you planted is thriving, and I have directed the National Park Service to maintain the Garden in perpetuity.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING PAPER

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MEETING WITH HANS APEL

You are scheduled to have breakfast on Saturday, May 12, from 9:00 - 9:55 am with Social Democrat Party (SPD) candidate for Governing Mayor of Berlin Hans Apel. He will be accompanied by Gerd Loeffler and/or Alexander Longolius, of the Berlin SPD.

Apel was nominated as SPD mayoral candidate last March and is still in the process of learning details about many Berlin issues. He was nominated as the SPD candidate after withdrawal of an earlier nominee, Harry Ristock, for financial reasons. As former Finance and Defense Minister, Apel is a senior SPD politician of considerable stature. He is a member of the conservative wing of the party and maintained his support for the NATO dual track decision despite his party's official change of heart. Apel is pro-American and has worked closely with several senior American cabinet officials. Nomination for the Berlin candidacy opened a new opportunity for Apel to reach for the top rung of the SPD and he can be expected to campaign hard in the period leading to the 1985 Berlin election. He expects to visit the United States in the fall of 1984.

Apel's staff reports that it is unlikely that he will raise specific Berlin problems with you. He is more likely to be interested in the broader German and East-West issues which he dealt with in Bonn.

German-American Relations and Berlin

-- Your visit to Berlin at the request of President Reagan is designed to show the strength of German-American relations and the unwavering U.S. commitment to the freedom of Berlin.

-- U.S.-German relations form the heart of the Western Alliance. We are working closely with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, who are convincing advocates of German positions.

-- The freedom of Berlin is an example of the many mutual interests which Germans and Americans share.

-- Demonstration of Western solidarity in Berlin can be a model for our joint approaches to problems in other parts of the world.

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--The future of Berlin is a matter of considerable importance to the US. We are encouraged by the positive atmosphere in the city. We look forward to working with all major parties, including the SPD.

Berlin Political Scene and the SPD

The next mayoral election in Berlin is scheduled for March 1985. It is expected to be a close race between the Christian Democrats (CDU) and the SPD, with the strong possibility that neither party will be strong enough to form a majority government. This might happen if the CDU's coalition partner, the Free Democrats (FDP) fail to reach the five percent showing necessary for representation in parliament.

-- What are his views on the future political prospects of the SPD in Berlin? In Bonn?

-- What does he see as the chief concerns of the SPD in the months ahead in Berlin and Bonn?

--What are your views on possible SPD cooperation with the Greens after the 1985 election?

Autumn Visit to US

Apel had been scheduled to visit Washington in May but postponed his travel because of the NATO ministerial meeting which will be taking place toward the end of the month. He is now considering an autumn visit, perhaps in October, and may wish to discuss the visit and the possibility of meeting with the President.

US-Soviet Relations

As Defense Minister, Apel was deeply involved in arms control and broad East-West issues. He may ask you for an appraisal of the current state of US-Soviet relations and the prospects of renewed talks on medium range missiles. Your separate notebook on global issues contains extensive Qs and As on these topics.

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