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FM PARIS

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INFO PRIORITY BONN, BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, WARSAW, WASHINGTON

INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS

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KOHL'S PARIS SPEECH : THE GERMAN QUESTION

1 KOHL SPOKE ON 17 JANUARY TO A MEETING IN PARIS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF IFRI, THE FRENCH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INSTITUTE, AND OF THE BUREAU INTERNATIONALE DE LIAISON ET DE DOCUMENTATION, ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLICATION OF HIS COLLECTION OF SPEECHES ENTITLED QUOTE EUROPE IS OUR DESTINY UNQUOTE. HIS THEME WAS GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE EUROPE OF TOMORROW. FULL TEXTS HAVE BEEN FAXED TO WED (IN FRENCH AND GERMAN), BONN (IN GERMAN) AND UKREP BRUSSELS (IN FRENCH). MANY OF THE GREAT AND GOOD WERE THERE, DELORS WAS IN THE FRONT ROW OF THE AUDIENCE: TO JUDGE FROM KOHL'S WARM REFERENCES TO HIS STRASBOURG SPEECH EARLIER IN THE DAY, AND TO HIM PERSONALLY, BOTH MEN WERE CONSCIOUS THAT THEIR SPEECHES WOULD HAVE A CONSECUTIVE EFFECT.

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS OF KOHL'S SPEECH :

- (I) THE DIVISION OF GERMANY COULD ONLY BE SETTLED WITHIN A SETTLEMENT OF THE DIVISION OF EUROPE, QUOTE THE GERMAN HOUSE MUST BE BUILT UNDER A EUROPEAN ROOF UNQUOTE
- (II) WORRIES ABOUT REUNIFICATION AMONGST OTHER EUROPEANS WERE UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT THE GERMANS HAD LEARNT THEIR LESSON FROM HISTORY AND WERE NOT SEEKING TO TURN BACK THE CLOCK. THE EUROPE OF THE NEXT MILLENIUM NEEDED A NEW SHAPE.
- (III) THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW STRUCTURE MUST BE A SOLID ALLIANCE AND EC SOLIDARITY AND PROGRESS. IT WAS THE EC MODEL (WITH THE DYNAMIC PROVIDED BY FRANCE/FRG) WHICH HAD INSPIRED THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE: THE HARMEL DOCTRINE, THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS ALSO PROVIDED ESSENTIAL REFERENCES FOR THE EASTERN REVOLUTION.
- (IV) IT WAS NOT FOR THE WEST TO PRESCRIBE NEW STRUCTURES FOR EASTERN COUNTRIES OR FOR THE WARSAW PACT, ONLY TO ENCOURAGE SELF-DETERMINATION AND FREEDOM AND TO PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS FOR STABLE CHANGE.
- (V) THE ENERGETIC FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE EC (SUPPORTED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF GERMANS AND LED BY FRANCE/FRG) WAS ESSENTIAL

TO PREVENT A RETURN TO THE NATIONALISM OF THE OLD DAYS. COOPERATION AND, IN DUE COURSE, ASSOCIATION WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES MUST BE PURSUED ON A BASIS OF CONTINUING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIALOGUE. THE DEEPENING OF EC/GDR RELATIONS MUST BE PART OF THIS. HE WELCOMED DELORS' STRASBOURG SPEECH IN THIS RESPECT.

- (VI) IT WOULD BE ABSURD FOR THE GERMANS TO CONTEMPLATE MOVING FORWARD IN ISOLATION. NO CALENDAR WAS FIXED FOR GERMAN UNITY: THE PROGRAMME WOULD BE OPEN AND FLEXIBLE AND THE CRITERIA WOULD BE FREEDOM AND SECURITY FOR ALL EUROPEANS.
- (VII) EAST GERMANS MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO REMAIN IN AND SUPPORT THEIR COUNTRY: THE FLOW WESTWARDS WAS TOO FAST. PRIORITY HAD TO BE GIVEN TO PROPERLY REGULATED ELECTIONS AND TO THE ECONOMY (IT WAS EXTRAORDINARY, THEREFORE, THAT THE GDR GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE PAYING SO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF THE SECURITY POLICE).
- (VIII) CONFEDERAL STRUCTURES WERE ONE POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD, BUT THERE COULD BE OTHERS. ONLY GERMANS COULD DECIDE (AND THE FRG WOULD RESPECT SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE GDR): THIS PRINCIPLE WAS ENSHRINED IN DECLARATION FROM THE BONN CONVENTION OF 1952/54 TO THE STRASBOURG COUNCIL STATEMENT OF 1989.
- (IX) NOT ALL THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY UNIFICATION COULD BE SETTLED IMMEDIATELY. NEVERTHELESS NO SERIOUS POLITICAL LEADER OR GROUP IN THE FRG HAD ANY INTENTION OF PURSUING A QUOTE PAN-GERMAN UNQUOTE MODEL. THE LEGAL POSITION ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER WAS CLEAR FROM THE WARSAW AND MOSCOW TREATIES. UNTIL THERE WAS A FINAL PEACE TREATY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COULD ONLY SPEAK IN THEIR OWN NAME. BUT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF GERMANS HAD NO INTENTION OF UNLEASHING A DESTABILISING DEBATE ON FRONTIERS IN THE CONTEXT OF REUNIFICATION: FRONTIERS WOULD IN ANY CASE LOSE THEIR IMPORTANCE IN A FUTURE EUROPE OF FREEDOM.
- (X) HE WELCOMED MITTERRAND'S PROPOSAL OF A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION. THE ESSENTIAL POINT WAS TO DEVELOP THE FORMS OF COOPERATION WHICH ALREADY EXISTED, ESPECIALLY THE CSCE PROCESS. A 1990 CSCE SUMMIT SHOULD ALSO SIGN A CFE AGREEMENT.
- (XI) THE EC MUST DEVELOP WITH, AS ITS PRIORITIES, THE INTERNAL MARKET, THE SOCIAL DIMENSION AND EMU. LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS POLITICAL UNION MUST ALSO BE A TASK FOR THE 1990S. GERMAN UNITY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WERE NOT CONTRADICTORY.

3. DURING QUESTIONS KOHL DEFENDED THE VIRTUAL ABSENCE IN HIS SPEECH OF REFERENCES TO THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THAT US/FRG RELATIONS WERE VERY GOOD: QUOTE THE US AND FRANCE ARE OUR EXCEPTIONAL PARTNERS

UNQUOTE. THE US WOULD BE PART OF THE EUROPEAN COMMON HOME. QUESTIONED ON THE ALLIANCE, HE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT FORECAST WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT: CIRCUMSTANCES WERE CHANGING, WITH SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL. BUT HE COULD NOT IMAGINE GERMAN COMMITMENTS BEING AFFECTED BY REUNIFICATION. IN THE MEDIUM-TERM THERE WERE PLENTY OF REASONS FOR NATO (AND THE WARSAW PACT) TO EXIST - NOT LEAST, IN NATO'S CASE, TO MAINTAIN THE VALUES AND FREEDOMS OF THE WEST. THE CONCEPT OF BURDEN-SHARING NOW EXTENDED BEYOND THE ALLIANCE TO THE QUESTION OF AID FOR POLAND, HUNGARY AND THE OTHERS.

4. ASKED WHETHER THE GDR SHOULD ALTER ITS CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM TO PREPARE FOR UNIFICATION, KOHL SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE A NEW CONSTITUTION IN THE GDR, BUT HE DID NOT KNOW WHEN. HE IMAGINED NEW LAENDER BEING FORMED. INDEED THE WHOLE OF EUROPE MIGHT TAKE ON A FEDERAL STRUCTURE. DECENTRALISATION WAS THE MAJOR THEME OF OUR GENERATION, AND THE FRG CONSTITUTION WAS THE BEST GERMAN ONE EVER. ECONOMIC MOTIVES WOULD LEAD, BUT CULTURAL IDENTITY WOULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT: HE IMAGINED THE BASIC EUROPEAN UNIT BEING NOT THE QUOTE REGIONAL UNQUOTE, BUT THE QUOTE HEIMAT: VATERLAND, HEIMAT UND EUROP UNQUOTE.

5. ASKED ABOUT THE SPEED OF REUNIFICATION, KOHL SAID THAT HE REALISED HOW IMPATIENT MANY GERMANS WERE. BUT MANY ALSO SAW THAT IT WOULD NOT HAPPEN TOMORROW: QUESTIONS HAD TO BE SETTLED CONCERNING SECURITY, THE ALLIANCE, THE STATIONING OF SOVIET TROOPS IN THE GDR ETC. ARMS CONTROL AND EC INTEGRATION HAD TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HE DID NOT WISH TO RAISE PEOPLE'S EXPECTATIONS. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN COUNTRIES WAS ALSO IMPORTANT, AND THE FRG WOULD DO ITS UTMOST TO HELP. BUT GERMAN UNITY WENT BEYOND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: THE WALLS HAD TO COME DOWN. MANY COUNTRIES, FOR INSTANCE THE BALTIC STATES, WERE LOOKING TO A NEW FUTURE. FREEDOM HAD BECOME MORE IMPORTANT THAN FRONTIERS. ASKED FOR HIS VIEW OF SOVIET REACTIONS TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, KOHL SAID THAT HE REALISED THAT THE USSR HAD TO BE TREATED WITH GREAT CARE: HE HIMSELF HAD A VERY NARROW PATH TO TREAD.

COMMENT

6. KOHL SPOKE WITH CONFIDENCE AND FIRMNESS. HIS PURPOSE WAS CLEARLY TO REASSURE HIS MAINLY FRENCH AUDIENCE. MORE THAN ONCE, HE INVITED THEM TO SHARE IN THE GERMANS' JOY AT THE HOPE OF REUNIFICATION, AND HE RECEIVED WARM APPLAUSE. BUT HIS PRECISE FORMULATIONS APPEAR IN SOME RESPECTS TO BE LESS THAN TOTALLY CONVINCING NOT LEAST ON FRONTIERS AND THE ALLIANCE.

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