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FM BONN (AMENDED DISTRIBUTION)

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 947

OF 051851Z OCTOBER 89

INFO PRIORITY EAST BERLIN, MOSCOW, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKREP BRUSSELS
INFO SAVING OTHER EC AND EAST EUROPEAN POSTS

FRG/GDR

SUMMARY

1. A CAREFULLY WORDED STATEMENT BY KOHL TO QUOTE BILD UNQUOTE, AND
TELTSCHIK'S COMMENTARY ON IT.

2. SITREP ON THE DEBATE IN THE FRG.

DETAIL

3. THE BILD (SUN EQUIVALENT) OF 5 OCTOBER HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH
KOHL, IN WHICH HE MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON RELATIONS WITH THE
GDR: QUOTE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING THE NECESSARY CHANGES LIES
EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE GDR LEADERSHIP: IT IS THEY WHO MUST RESPOND TO
THE DEMANDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. I AM HOWEVER READY TO MAKE THE GDR
LEADERSHIP A CONCRETE OFFER POINTING THE WAY FAR INTO THE FUTURE: IF
THE GDR LEADERSHIP SETS IN MOTION FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
REFORMS, THEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL BE READY TO SUPPORT THIS
CHANGE OF COURSE BY MEANS OF A COMPREHENSIVE AND FAR-REACHING
PROGRAMME OF COOPERATION. THIS APPLIES ABOVE ALL TO THE ECONOMIC
SPHERE, BUT ALSO FOR EXAMPLE TO POLICY ON SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY,
TRANSPORT AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. WE WANT LIVING CONDITIONS IN
THE GDR TO BE IMPROVED SUFFICIENTLY FOR ITS INHABITANTS TO FEEL AT
EASE IN THEIR HOMELAND AND WANT TO STAY THERE UNQUOTE.

4. KOHL ALSO HAD A MEETING ON THE MORNING OF 5 OCTOBER WITH DELORS,
AND PRESSED WITH HIM THE CASE FOR INCREASED EC ASSISTANCE FOR THE
GDR.

5. OVER LUNCH ON 5 OCTOBER TELTSCHIK (FEDERAL CHANCELLERY) TOLD ME
THAT THE CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT TO BILD HAD BEEN VERY CAREFULLY
PHRASED. IT HAD BEEN MADE PARTLY IN RESPONSE TO REMARKS BY FALIN TO
TELTSCHIK ON 3 OCTOBER. FALIN HAD SAID THAT REFORM OF ANY KIND IN
EASTERN EUROPE INCLUDING THE GDR WAS NOW ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET
UNION, ON TWO CONDITIONS. FIRST WAS THAT ALL MEMBERS SHOULD REMAIN
IN THE WARSAW PACT. THE SECOND WAS THAT THE 'STATEHOOD' OF THE GDR

COULD NOT BE CALLED INTO QUESTION. KOHL TOOK FALIN'S REMARKS AS MEANING THAT GORBACHEV WOULD THIS WEEK URGE THE EAST GERMAN REGIME TO BEGIN TO REFORM, AND HAD THEREFORE WANTED TO ADD TO THE PRESSURE FOR REFORM AT THIS MOMENT. BUT TELTSCHIK AGREED WITH ME THAT HONECKER WOULD NOT BE LIKELY TO ENGAGE IN REFORM IN RETURN FOR OFFERS OF MONEY, SINCE THAT WOULD BE AN EXTREME HUMILIATION.

6. TELTSCHIK SAID THAT KOHL WAS FULLY AWARE THAT IT WAS DANGEROUS TO TALK OF REUNIFICATION AS A DIRECT AIM. THAT COULD ENDANGER THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION, QUITE APART FROM INHIBITING REFORM IN THE GDR. HENCE HIS REFERENCES TO THE GERMAN QUESTION. BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE: THE MORE THE ALLIES COULD CALL FOR REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE GDR IN THE WAY THAT YOU HAD DONE AT YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE IN BONN ON 20 SEPTEMBER, THE BETTER.

7. WE SHALL BE REPORTING BY BAG IN MORE DETAIL ON THE VOLUBLE AND VOLUMINOUS DEBATE HERE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE GDR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS. BUT IT CAN BE SUMMED UP AS FOLLOWS:

11 (A) THE EXODUS FROM THE GDR HAS DEMONSTRATED THE DEEP UNPOPULARITY OF THE REGIME. THAT HAS CAUSED INTENSE DISCUSSION IN THE FRG ABOUT THE STATE OF THE GDR AND ITS PROSPECTS. THAT IN TURN HAS LED TO MUCH DISCUSSION OF REUNIFICATION. PEOPLE DO NOT THINK THAT REUNIFICATION IS AT ALL NEAR. BUT WHILE IT USED TO BE THOUGHT OF AS REMAINING A HYPOTHETICAL HOPE FOR AS LONG AHEAD AS ONE COULD SEE, IT NOW SEEMS A LESS DISTANT PROSPECT.

(B) IT IS NOW ASSUMED THAT THE WAY THE GERMAN QUESTION WILL CHANGE IS THROUGH CHANGE IN THE GDR. SINCE THE GDR REGIME AND IDEOLOGY ARE SEEN AS BANKRUPT, THE ASSUMPTION IS THAT A REUNIFIED GERMANY, IF IT CAME, WOULD HAVE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

(C) THE GENERAL VIEW IS THAT POLICY IN THE SHORT TERM SHOULD CALL FOR REFORM IN THE GDR, EVEN THOUGH HONECKER AND IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS MAY TAKE NO NOTICE: SUPPORT REFORM IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, AS THE BEST WAY OF MAKING REFORM INEVITABLE ONE DAY IN THE GDR: STRESS THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED ONLY IN A WIDER PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION ACROSS EUROPE: AND LOOK TO WESTERN ALLIES FOR SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY.

(D) MANY POINTS IN THE DEBATE ARE UNCERTAIN. SHOULD THE TRADITIONAL POLICY OF SMALL STEPS TO IMPROVE INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS BE PURSUED?

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MANY PEOPLE THINK THAT THE GDR IS TOO WEAK AT PRESENT TO RISK INTENSIFICATION OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. WHAT ELEMENTS COULD BE ADDED TO THE TRADITIONAL POLICY OF SMALL STEPS? IN ADDITION TO THOSE AT (C) ABOVE, THERE ARE FEW IDEAS. SOME PEOPLE ARE SAYING THAT THE PROCESS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SHOULD BE SLOWED DOWN, SO AS NOT TO MAKE IT HARDER FOR THE GDR, POLAND AND HUNGARY TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY IN THE FUTURE. BUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND MOST POLITICIANS WANT TO PRESS AHEAD WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, TO STRENGTHEN THE EC'S EXAMPLE TO THE EASTERN EUROPEANS AND THUS INCREASE THE PRESSURES ON THEM FOR REFORM. THERE IS ALSO A DEBATE (LETTER FOLLOWS) ON HOW FUTURE ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE MIGHT INTERACT.

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ADDITIONAL

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BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN (WIDE)

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