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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 1090

OF 111448Z NOVEMBER 89

INFO IMMEDIATE BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, MOSCOW, PARIS, WASHINGTON

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO

INFO PRIORITY WARSAW, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST

FRG/GDR: PRESS STATEMENT BY KOHL

SUMMARY

1. KOHL CALLS FOR CALM.

DETAIL

2. FOLLOWING A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE FRG CABINET EARLY ON 11 NOVEMBER KOHL MADE A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS. HE CALLED ON ALL GERMANS TO REMAIN LEVEL-HEADED AND TO KEEP A SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE.

3. HE REITERATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO ANSWER REFORM IN THE GDR WITH SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC HELP. BUT FREEDOM OF TRAVEL WAS NOT ENOUGH. HE THEN OUTLINED, AS IN HIS SPEECH TO THE BUNDESTAG ON 8 NOVEMBER (OUR TELNO 1061), THE REFORMS WHICH WERE REQUIRED.

4. KOHL SAID HE HAD SPOKEN TO GORBACHEV ON 10 AND 11 NOVEMBER. HE HAD ALSO SPOKEN TO KRENZ: THEY HAD AGREED TO REMAIN IN FREQUENT CONTACT BY TELEPHONE AND TO MEET SOON IN THE GDR.

5. HE HAD ALREADY SUGGESTED TO PRESIDENT MITTERRAND THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GDR SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL.

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INFO PRIORITY WARSAW, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST

FRG/GDR: FRG PRESS COMMENT.

SUMMARY

1. PRESS REFLECTS MUCH ELATION BUT ALSO WIDESPREAD SURPRISE AT SUDDENNESS OF DEVELOPMENTS, AND A FEELING THAT THE WAY FORWARD IS NO LONGER CLEAR. MOST COMMENT IS RESPONSIBLE. SOME NEW ACCENTS.

DETAIL

2. FRG PRESS COMMENT FOCUSES TODAY ON HOW EVENTS ARE LIKELY TO UNFOLD IN THE GDR AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS.

3. THE FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU (LEFT OF CENTRE) NOTES THAT POLAND AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES COULD BE CONCERNED THAT THE FRG WILL IN FUTURE CONCENTRATE ON HELPING THE GDR. IN ORDER FOR THE FRG TO CARRY OUT ITS 'NATIONAL DUTIES' WITHOUT DISAPPOINTING OTHER REFORMING EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO SHARE IN THE BURDEN. THEY HAVE NOT YET SHOWN MUCH ENTHUSIASM FOR DOING SO. THE WEST AS A WHOLE, BY PLAYING A LEADING ROLE IN SUPPORTING REFORMS, CAN HELP ALLAY FEARS ABOUT THE FRG'S INTENTIONS.

4. THE GENERAL ANZEIGER (INDEPENDENT) REMARKS ON THE MIXTURE OF ASTONISHMENT AND FEAR AT THE LOSS OF WHAT HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AS FIXED POINTS OF ORIENTATION. IT NOTES HOWEVER THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DEMONSTRATIONS FOR REUNIFICATION: THIS REMAINS FAR AWAY ON THE HORIZON. NOR IS ANY WEST GERMAN POLITICIAN PROPAGATING ANYTHING BUT FREEDOM FOR THE EAST GERMANS TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

5. THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE (CONSERVATIVE) NOTES THAT THE EC HAS DEVELOPED ONLY ONE PLAN FOR THE FUTURE. DELORS WELCOMES ANY DEVELOPMENTS, EVEN GERMAN REUNIFICATION, SO LONG AS THEY DO NOT IMPAIR THE 'GRAND DESIGN' OF QUICKENING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. BUT THE EVENTS OF 9 NOVEMBER HAVE MADE THAT DOUBTFUL.

6. A SECOND LEADER IN THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE COMMENTS THAT REUNIFICATION IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. BUT THE INTRODUCTION OF

CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO STATES HAS SET IN MOTION A PROCESS THAT COULD ONLY BE CHECKED BY AN ACT OF VIOLENCE. THE DAY WILL COME WHEN EAST GERMANS WILL BE ABLE TO DECIDE IF THEY WISH TO JOIN WITH THE WEST GERMANS AND LIVE IN ONE STATE. THE NOTION THAT THE QUESTION OF GERMAN UNITY WILL SOMEHOW BE SOLVED OR SETTLED THROUGH THE GRADUAL INTEGRATION OF THE TWO HALVES OF EUROPE IS OPEN TO DOUBT. THE QUESTION OF GERMAN UNITY MUST BE DECIDED FIRST. ONLY THEN WILL COME THE DECISION AS TO WHICH INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK A GERMANY OF THAT KIND, IF THAT IS WHAT THE NATION DECIDES ON, SHOULD FIT INTO.

7. A THIRD COMMENT IN THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE SAYS THAT FEARS THAT GERMANS COMING TOGETHER COULD RESULT IN A GERMANY TOO BIG FOR EUROPE ARE ANACHRONISTIC. FOUR DECADES HAVE CREATED A STABLE FRAMEWORK IN WHICH A SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION MUST NOW BE MADE POSSIBLE. EUROPEAN POLICY AND DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK ARE EACH CONDITIONAL ON THE OTHER: SEPARATING THE TWO IS DANGEROUS.

8. THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE (INDEPENDENT) CALLS THE END TO TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS A CAESURA IN POST-WAR HISTORY THAT CHANGES THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. THE OPENING OF THE BORDER HAS NOT SOLVED THE GERMAN QUESTION. BUT THE ISSUE NOW IS NOT WHETHER THE GERMAN QUESTION EXISTS BUT HOW, AND WITH WHAT COURAGE AND IMAGINATION, GERMANS IN BOTH STATES WILL ANSWER IT.

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OF 111305Z NOVEMBER 89

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GENSCHER BRIEFS NATO AMBASSADORS ON EAST GERMANY

SUMMARY

1. GENSCHER BRIEFS NATO AMBASSADORS ON FRG POLICY. MUCH STRESS ON FRG'S WESTERN ALIGNMENT AND CONTINUITY OF POLICIES. WESTERN ACHIEVEMENTS SEEN AS CAUSE OF CHANGE IN WARSAW PACT. FEDERAL MINISTER SEITERS TO VISIT EAST BERLIN THIS WEEK. KOHL LATER TO SEE KRENZ.

DETAIL

2. GENSCHER, FLANKED BY MOST OF HIS TOP STAFF, THIS MORNING BRIEFED AMBASSADORS OF NATO AND IRISH REPUBLIC ABOUT EVENTS IN THE GDR.

3. HE BEGAN BY THANKING THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR THEIR SUPPORT, HELP AND SYMPATHY, GENERALLY AND IN THEIR ROLES AS PROTECTING POWERS IN BERLIN, AT THIS MOVING MOMENT FOR ALL GERMANS. THE HAPPY SCENES ON THE BERLIN STREETS SHOWED THAT THE UNITY OF THE GERMAN NATION WAS UNHARMED AFTER ALL THE YEARS OF SEPARATION. THE QUESTION WHETHER THE GDR WOULD BE FREE HAD BEEN PUT ON THE AGENDA BY THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR, AND IN A WAY THAT WAS PEACEFUL AND REMARKABLY RESPONSIBLE. AS HE HAD SAID IN HIS SPEECH IN BERLIN YESTERDAY, FREE GERMANS HAD NEVER BEEN A THREAT TO OTHER NATIONS. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S DESTINY WAS INSEPARABLE FROM EUROPE'S. GERMANY WOULD NOT TAKE A SEPARATE PATH. ALL GERMANS WANTED FREEDOM. RECENT EVENTS WERE THE RESULT OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE COMMUNITY, OF OUR JOINT POLICIES, OUR FIRMNESS IN BERLIN AND ELSEWHERE, OUR SUCCESSES IN CSCE AND OUR DEFENCE EFFORTS. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD CONTINUE TO PURSUE THOSE POLICIES CONSISTENTLY AND WITH DETERMINATION. THE WEST SHOULD MAKE EVEN GREATER EFFORTS IN ARMS CONTROL, SO THAT THIS SHOULD NOT FALL BEHIND POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

4. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES SHOULD DO WHAT THEY COULD TO PROMOTE STABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE CHANGE THAT WAS TAKING PLACE IN

CENTRAL EUROPE. PART OF THAT WAS TO DEMONSTRATE THE FRG'S COMMITMENT TO THE WEST. THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL WOULD BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT. IT MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT THE DEEPENING OF THE COMMUNITY, FAR FROM FALTERING BECAUSE OF THE CHANGES IN EUROPE, WAS ACCELERATING. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD ALSO SEEK TO PROMOTE STABILITY BY MAKING CLEAR ITS FIRM INTENTION TO STAND BY THE EASTERN TREATIES. FEDERAL GERMAN POLICY WOULD BE GUIDED BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S CONVICTION THAT TWO THINGS NEEDED ABOVE ALL HAD CAUSED GORBACHEV TO INITIATE REFORM: THE WEST'S FIRM ANSWER TO THE SS-20 AND FASCINATION WITH THE SUCCESSES OF THE COMMUNITY.

5. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HAD SPOKEN THIS MORNING BY TELEPHONE TO KRENZ. HE HAD WELCOMED THE DECISION TO ALLOW MOVEMENT ACROSS FRONTIERS. HE HAD REPEATED HIS OFFER THAT THERE WOULD BE NEW ECONOMIC SUPPORT IF THERE WAS REAL REFORM IN THE GDR. THE FEDERAL CABINET, MEETING THIS MORNING, HAD DECIDED THAT FEDERAL MINISTER SEITERS SHOULD HOLD TALKS WITH THE GDR GOVERNMENT IN THE COMING WEEK (DUISBERG OF THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY HAS SINCE TOLD US THIS WILL BE ON 20 NOVEMBER. SEITERS WILL SEE KRENZ). THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD DISCUSS WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHERS IN THE FRG THE POSSIBLE NATURE OF A PACKAGE OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT.

6. GENSCHER SAID THAT HE HAD ALSO SPOKEN TODAY TO SHEVARDNADZE. HE HAD WELCOMED THE OPENING OF THE GDR BORDERS AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GENUINE REFORM. HE HAD SAID THAT THE FRG WANTED STABILITY AND WOULD STAND BY THE EASTERN TREATIES. SHEVARDNADZE HAD SAID THAT STABILITY IN THE GDR WAS OF ESPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

7. IN HIS PERORATION TO THE AMBASSADORS, GENSCHER REPEATED THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC STOOD FIRM IN THE EC AND THE ALLIANCE. IT WOULD MAINTAIN THE POLICY COURSE OF RECENT YEARS. IT WOULD WORK FOR PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, NOTABLY IN CSCE. HE HOPED THAT THE FRG'S FRIENDS WOULD AGREE THAT IT WAS A MAJOR GAIN FOR EUROPE THAT GERMANS IN THE FRG AND THE GDR WERE FOR FREEDOM.

8. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS, GENSCHER SAID THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE EVENTS IN THE GDR. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WAS CALLING FOR FREE ELECTIONS BUT DECISIONS ON FUTURE INTERNAL MOVEMENTS IN THE GDR MUST BE TAKEN BY THE PEOPLE THERE. HE SAID THAT THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR INTENDED TO MEET KRENZ IN THE GDR (NOT IN BERLIN), AT A TIME TO BE AGREED IN THE TALKS THIS COMING WEEK BETWEEN SEITERS AND GDR MINISTERS. HE SAID THAT THE FEDERAL CABINET THIS MORNING HAD AGREED THAT ECONOMIC HELP FOR THE GDR WOULD BE FUTILE UNLESS THERE WAS

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GENUINE ECONOMIC REFORM. IF SUCH REFORM TOOK PLACE, THE GDR ECONOMY SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS, SINCE THE SKILLS, THE BASIC INDUSTRY AND THE INFRASTRUCTURE THERE WERE BETTER THAN ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

9. GENSCHER ALSO MADE SOME REMARKS ABOUT KOHL'S VIST TO POLAND. THE CHANCELLOR WOULD RETURN THERE TODAY, TO RESUME HIS PROGRAMME (WHICH INCLUDED A MEETING WITH JARUZELSKI). DURING THE FIRST PART OF KOHL'S VISIT IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THAT THE POLES, WHILE THEY WELCOMED EVENTS IN THE GDR, FEARED THAT THESE COULD CAUSE WESTERN INTEREST IN REFORM IN POLAND TO DIMINISH. GENSCHER HAD CAUSE TO BELIEVE THAT HUNGARY FELT THE SAME. THESE WERE ARGUMENTS FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE 24 WESTERN COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN HELPING POLAND. IT MIGHT TAKE PLACE BEFORE OR AFTER THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING, WHEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD ANYWAY BE IN EUROPE. THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO SIGNAL CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT REFORM IN POLAND AND HUNGARY. GENSCHER DID NOT SUGGEST THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE SHOULD DISCUSS THE GDR.

COMMENT

10. GENSCHER'S PURPOSE IN CALLING THIS MEETING WAS CLEARLY TO DEMONSTRATE CONFIDENCE AND TO CONVINCe NATO AMBASSADORS THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD NOT WAVER IN ITS WESTERN COMMITMENTS. HE WAS IN GOOD FORM AND PUT THE MESSAGE ACROSS CLEARLY. THIS MESSAGE IS ALSO A KEYNOTE OF HIS CURRENT PUBLIC LINE: SEE FOR INSTANCE MY TELNO 1076.

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