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OF 161754Z NOVEMBER 89

INFO IMMEDIATE BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, WASHINGTON, PARIS

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FRG/GDR RELATIONS: STATEMENT BY KOHL TO THE BUNDESTAG ON 16 NOVEMBER

SUMMARY

1. MORE DETAIL ON KOHL'S THINKING ON INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS.
DETERMINATION TO HELP.

DETAIL

2. MUCH OF KOHL'S STATEMENT TO THE BUNDESTAG FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO POLAND WAS DEVOTED TO RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. TO SOME EXTENT HE RETRACED THE GROUND COVERED IN HIS STATEMENTS OF 8 NOVEMBER (OUR TELNO 1061) AND 11 NOVEMBER (OUR TELNO 1090).

3. HE SAID THAT SINCE THE NIGHT OF 9 NOVEMBER THE STATE OF THE NATION HAD FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED. AFTER NEARLY THIRTY YEARS OF SEPARATION, THE WORLD HAD SEEN THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN AND GERMANY CELEBRATE SEEING EACH OTHER AGAIN, A FESTIVAL OF TOGETHERNESS AND UNITY. BERLINERS HAD SHOWN THEY WISHED TO LIVE TOGETHER IN ONE CITY. BUT THIS WAS ONLY A BEGINNING. THE RIGHT OF ALL GERMANS TO SELF-DETERMINATION HAD NOT YET BEEN REALISED, NOR HAD THE COMMITMENT OF THE BASIC LAW TO THE UNITY AND FREEDOM OF GERMANY YET BEEN FULFILLED. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO STAY LEVEL-HEADED AND REMAIN COOL.

4. HE THEN TOUCHED ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF RELATIONS WITH THE GDR:

(A) FIRST THERE WERE CERTAIN FORMS OF IMMEDIATE HELP WHICH COULD AND SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ALLEVIATE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE EXODUS. HE INSTANCED ESPECIALLY HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL HELP. TWINNED CITIES SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE CONTACT AND TRAVEL BETWEEN ORDINARY PEOPLE.

(B) THERE WERE ALSO OTHER FIELDS IN WHICH THE FRG STOOD READY TO COOPERATE AT ONCE. FOR EXAMPLE, VISITORS FROM THE GDR NEEDED HARD CURRENCY. THE FRG WANTED TO HELP, BUT THE GDR WOULD HAVE TO MAKE ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION: A PART OF THE HARD CURRENCY EARNED THROUGH INNER-GERMAN TRAVEL SHOULD BE PUT AT THE DISPOSAL OF THOSE WHO

WANTED TO LEAVE ON VISITS. COOPERATION ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, ESPECIALLY ON PROJECTS THAT WERE ALREADY IN THE PIPELINE, SHOULD GO AHEAD. THE INNER-GERMAN TELEPHONE SERVICE SHOULD BE IMPROVED. THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION AGREED AT THE TIME OF HONECKER'S VISIT TO BONN SHOULD GET UNDER WAY. BERLIN SHOULD NOT BE LEFT OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INNER-GERMAN CONTACTS.

(C) IN THE LONGER TERM, AS AND WHEN FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE GDR HAD DEFINITELY AND IRREVERSIBLY BEEN SET IN MOTION, THEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD AS ANNOUNCED ON 11 NOVEMBER BE READY TO OFFER A 'NEW DIMENSION' OF HELP AND COOPERATION. NO ONE SHOULD BE FORCED TO ACCEPT THE FRG'S IDEAS, BUT IN THE GDR AS ELSEWHERE SOCIALISM HAD FAILED. PEOPLE WANTED A SYSTEM THAT ALLOWED THEM THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOURS.

5. THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR WANTED:

- FREEDOM OF OPINION AND INFORMATION (WESTERN NEWSPAPERS SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE):

- A FREE PRESS, FREE TRADE UNIONS AND FREE AND INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTIES:

THE SED WOULD HAVE TO GIVE UP ITS MONOPOLY ON POWER, AND THE CRIMINAL LAW SHOULD BE COMPLETELY REVISED. TRAVEL WITHOUT VISAS SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN BOTH DIRECTIONS.

6. THE FLOW OF PEOPLE FROM THE GDR SEEMED TO BE EBBING, APPARENTLY BECAUSE THE INHABITANTS OF THE GDR WERE NOW MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF FURTHER REFORMS. KOHL HAD TOLD KRENZ IN THEIR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION OF 11 NOVEMBER THAT ALONG WITH POLITICAL REFORMS THE GDR NEEDED TO TAKE QUICK AND COMPREHENSIVE ACTION TO IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS, IN ORDER TO MAKE PEOPLE FEEL THEY HAD NO REASON TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

7. SUPPORTING THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE GDR WAS NOT JUST A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FRG: THE TASK ALSO HAD A COLLECTIVE EUROPEAN DIMENSION. THE FAILURE OF REFORMS IN ONE WARSAW PACT COUNTRY COULD AFFECT PROSPECTS FOR REFORM IN ANOTHER, SO IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL EC COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT REFORM IN THE GDR. KOHL HAD TOLD MITTERRAND THAT HE WANTED THIS TO BE A CENTRAL THEME OF THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL. HE ALSO WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS AT THE PARIS SUMMIT ON 18 NOVEMBER, AND THE READINESS OF THE COMMISSION TO PROPOSE A MANDATE FOR THE

NEGOTIATION OF AN EC/GDR TRADE AGREEMENT.

8. HE THEN REFERRED TO THE SUPPORT THE PRIME MINISTER, BUSH AND MITTERRAND HAD VOICED FOR EVENTS IN THE GDR AND THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE FRG. HE STRESSED THAT THE FRG WOULD REMAIN A PART OF THE WESTERN COMMUNITY. QUOTE WE KNOW THAT THE SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION IS ENSEPARABLY CONNECTED TO THE PROCESS OF BRINGING AN END THE DIVISION OF EUROPE UNQUOTE.

9. IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO SLOW DOWN EC INTEGRATION BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE EC SHOULD REMAIN OPEN FOR ALL (UNDERLINED) DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN STATES.

10. THE CORE OF THE GERMAN QUSTION WAS FREEDOM. THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR MUST BE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE: QUOTE TO DO THAT THEY NEED NO ADVICE FROM OTHERS - FROM ANY QUARTER. THEY THEMSELVES KNOW BEST WHAT THEY WANT. THAT GOES FOR THE QUESTION OF REUNIFICATION AND FOR GERMAN UNITY, TOO UNQUOTE.

COMMENT

11. FURTHER EMPHASIS ON THE FRG'S DETERMINATION TO REMAIN FIRMLY EMBEDDED IN THE WEST. BUT THE MAIN POINT OF INTEREST HERE IS THE TIGHTROPE KOHL NOW HAS TO WALK IN SEEKING TO MOVE FORWARD FRG/GDR RELATIONS. HE KNOWS HE MUST LAY DOWN PRECONDITIONS FOR LARGE SCALE FRG HELP. BUT HE KNOWS TOO THAT HIS AIM MUST BE TO DO THAT WITHOUT SOUNDING PATRONISING AND WITHOUT APPEARING TO TELL THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR HOW TO RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. HENCE THE STRONG EMPHASIS ON SELF-DETERMINATION.

12. THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE DIRECT QUOTATION IN PARA 10 MAY BE A RIPOSTE TO THE STATEMENT BY GORBACHEV REPORTED IN PARA 3 OF MOSCOW TELNO 1920.

13. SEPARATE COMMENT FOLLOWS ON THE FRG VIEW OF KOHL'S VISIT TO POLAND.

14. FCO ADVANCE NO 10.

NEVILLE-JONES

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BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN (WIDE)
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