

1107e/1-2911: comments by federal chancellor dr. helmut kohl
in the german parliamentary budget debate
on november 29, 1990
concerning

policy towards germany

(unofficial translation)

since the opening of the inner-german border and sector
boundary in berlin on november 9th, german-german
politics has entered into a new phase, which offers new
chances and new challenges.

we are all overjoyed about the newly won freedom of
movement for those living in divided germany. we, along
with those germans in the gdr, are happy that the wall
and border blockades could finally, after decades, be
overcome peacefully.

we are also proud that germans in the gdr have, with
their powerful and peaceful intercession for freedom,
human rights and self-determination, provided an example
of their courage and love of freedom for the whole world,
an example which is being esteemed throughout the world.

we are all deeply impressed by the lively and unbroken
desire for freedom, which is moving the people of leipzig
and other cities. they know what they want. they want to
determine their own future, in the original sense of the
word. we will, of course, respect every decision met by
the people of the gdr via free self-determination.

we, in the free part of germany, stand in solidarity
alongside our fellow countrymen.

at the beginning of last week, federal minister seifers
spoke with the chairman of the state council, krenz, and
prime minister, modrow about the new east german
leadership's position. we wanted to learn how the
announced reform programme shall be put into effect and
in which time frame concrete steps are to be expected.

it has been agreed to continue discussions at the
beginning of december. if, as we hope, initial results
can be seen in these discussions, i myself would like to
meet the responsible parties in the gdr before christmas.

Prime Minister

The full text of kohl's
speech. Points 5 e
(to some extent) 10 are the
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in berlin, federal minister seifers also spoke with representatives of the opposition and the church. in the last few weeks, i myself have welcomed representatives of the opposition in bonn. we regard it as advisable, in all we are currently doing and in all the decisions we are making, to take into account the views, opinions and recommendations of the opposition in the gdr. we continue to place great value upon these contacts. we want to carefully cultivate these in the future.

chances are arising to overcome the division of europe and that of our fatherland. the germans, who are reuniting in the spirit of freedom, will never pose a threat to, but will rather be an asset for, a europe which is growing together.

the move to change, which we are currently experiencing, is primarily the deserts of the people who are so impressively demonstrating their will for freedom. it is also, however, the result of the many political developments of past years. we have, with our policy, substantially contributed to this.

- decisively important was the fact that we initially conducted this policy based on the solid foundation of our integration in the community of free democracies. the uniformity and steadfastness on the part of the alliance during the difficult test of 1983 have paid off. we have strengthened the backbone of the reform movement in central, eastern and south-eastern europe by pursuing our clear course within the atlantic alliance and in the european community.

- we have, with the transition to new stages of economic and political integration within the european community, successfully further developed the model for the free coalition of european peoples, which has attractive powers far beyond the community.

- on the other hand, general secretary gorbachev's reform policy within the soviet union and the new way of thinking in soviet foreign policy were a decisive prerequisite. without the recognition of the rights of peoples and countries to choose their own way, the reform movements in other countries of the warsaw pact would not have been successful.

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- the dramatic occurrences in the gdr would not have taken place if poland and hungary had not led the way with far-reaching political, economic and social reforms. i welcome the fact that changes are also becoming apparent in bulgaria, and the cssr. i am particularly pleased that this year's german book trade peace prize winner, vaclov havel, is now finally able to harvest the fruits of his longstanding work and suffering for freedom. his magnificent acceptance speech at the paulskirche in frankfurt, which he himself could not deliver, was an impressive final reckoning with the socialist-communist system.

- the csce process also played an important role, whereby we, together with our partners, have always insisted on the dismantling of sources of tension, on dialogue and co-operation, and most particularly on the respect of human rights.

- thanks to the continual summit diplomacy of the major powers and the numerous intensive east-west meetings of heads of state and government, a new trust was able to develop in east-west relations. the historical breakthrough in disarmament and arms control is a visible expression of this trust.

- the broadly based contractual policy of the federal government towards the soviet union and all other warsaw pact states has made considerable contributions to the development of east-west relations and has given them important impulses.

- the consistent policy with regard to the coherence of our nation is amongst the causes of the most recent changes. since 1987, millions of fellow countrymen from the gdr have visited us, amongst them many young people. our "small step policy" has, in difficult times, kept awake and sharpened the consciousness for the unity of the nation, and has deepened the germans sense of togetherness.

this is particularly apparent at the present time. (if)

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1107e/2-2011: chancellor kohl (cont.)

these developments refute all gloomy predictions by those people who, since the beginning of my term of office, have been predicting a new "ice age" in east-west relations, and who have accused us and myself personally - of being unable to foster peace. exactly the opposite has occurred. today, we have a greater sense of understanding and community in germany and europe than has ever been felt since the end of world war ii.

today, as everyone can see, we have reached a new epoch in european and german history, an age which points beyond the status quo, and beyond the former political structures in europe.

the change is primarily the work of people who insist on the concession of freedom, on the respect of their human rights and on their right to determine their own future.

all who carry responsibility in and for europe have to make allowance for the will of people and nations. we are all called upon to design a new architecture for the house of europe and for a permanent and just order of peace on our continent as both general secretary gorbachev and i reaffirmed in our common declaration of june 13th this year.

hereby the legitimate interests of all parties concerned must be guaranteed. this, of course, is also true of german interests.

we are therefore approaching the goal already set by the atlantic alliance in december 1967 - i quote: "a final and stable settlement in europe is not possible without a solution to the german question, which forms the nucleus of the current tensions in europe. any settlement of that kind must remove the unnatural barriers between eastern and western europe, which are manifested in the clearest and ugliest fashion in the division of germany."

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we cannot plan the way to unity from our "armchairs" or with our appointment calendars. abstract models will help us no farther. we can today, however, already prepare those stages which lead to this goal. i would like to elucidate these using a ten-point-programme:

+ firstly: immediate measures need to be taken. these result from the events of the past few weeks, particularly from the movement of refugees and the new dimensions of inter-german traffic.

the federal government is prepared to provide immediate concrete aid where it is needed. we will assist in the humanitarian sector and provide medical assistance as far as is required.

we are also aware that the welcoming money, which is given once a year to every visitor from the gdr, can provide no long-term solution for the financing of journeys. the gdr must equip its nationals with the necessary currency. we are, however, prepared to contribute to a currency fund for the transition period. the prerequisites for this are, that the minimum sum of exchange imposed when travelling to the gdr must be relinquished, that entry into the gdr must be made easier and that the gdr itself makes a considerable contribution to this fund.

our aim is to establish the most unhindered form of tourist traffic possible in both directions.

secondly: the federal government will, as before, continue its co-operation with the gdr in all areas where it is of direct benefit to people on both sides. this is particularly true of economic, scientific and technological co-operation and of co-operation in cultural fields. it is of particular importance to intensify co-operation in the field of environmental protection. here we will be able to shortly take decisions concerning new projects.

additionally, we also want to help to ensure that the telephone network in the gdr is extended as quickly as possible.

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we are continuing negotiations pertaining to the extension of the railway network hanover-berlin. in addition, dialogue is necessary concerning fundamental questions of rail traffic within a europe with open borders, and concerning the linking of the gdr network, with particular reference to modern high-speed trains.

thirdly: i have offered to extensively extend our aid and co-operation should fundamental change of the political and economic system in the gdr be firmly agreed upon and put irrevocably into effect. by irrevocable, we mean that the east german leadership comes to an understanding with opposition groups concerning constitutional change and a new electoral law.

we support the demands for free, equal and secret elections in the gdr which incorporates independent and non-socialist parties. the power monopoly of the sed must be lifted.

the introduction of constitutional state conditions means, above all, the abolition of laws concerning political crimes.

economic aid can only be effective if fundamental reforms within the economic system take place. former experience with all comecon states proves this. the bureaucratic planned economy must be dismantled.

we do not want to stabilize conditions which have become indefensible. economic improvement can only occur if the gdr opens its doors to western investment, if conditions of free enterprise are created and if private enterprise becomes possible. there are already examples of this in hungary and poland, examples which can be used by the gdr for orientation. under these conditions, joint-ventures would soon be possible. there is already a large degree of willingness to undertake such ventures both at home and abroad.

these are not official preconditions but factual prerequisites needed before our aid can take effect. additionally there can be no doubt that the people in the gdr want an economic order which can also provide them with economic freedom and prosperity. (if)

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1107e/3-2811: chancellor kohl (cont.)

fourthly: prime minister modrow spoke in his governmental declaration of a contractual community. we are prepared to accept these thoughts. the proximity and the special nature of the relationships between our two states in germany demand an increasingly close-knit network of agreements in all sectors and at all levels.

this co-operation will also increasingly demand common institutions. commissions which already exist can be given new tasks and further commissions can be called into being. here i am particularly thinking of the economic, transport, environmental, scientific and technical, health and cultural sectors. it goes without saying that berlin will be fully included in these co-operative efforts.

i call upon all social groups and institutions to actively participate in the development of such a contractual community.

fifthly: we are also prepared to take a further decisive step, namely, to develop confederative structures between the two states in germany with the goal of creating a federation, a federal state order in germany. a legitimate democratic government within the gdr is unrelinquishable prerequisite.

we can envisage that after free elections the following institutions be formed:

- a common governmental committee for permanent consultation and political harmonization,
- common technical committees,
- a common parliamentary gremium.

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previous policy with reference to the gdr had to essentially concentrate itself on small steps, these strove to alleviate the results of being a divided nation and uphold and sharpen the consciousness for the unity of the nation. if in the future, a democratically legitimized, that is a freely elected government becomes our partner, totally new perspectives are available.

new forms of institutional co-operation could be created and further developed in stages. such a coming together is in the interest of the continuation of german history. state organizations within germany are always confederations or federations. at this time, we can once again make use of this historical precedence.

nobody knows how a reunified germany will look. i am however sure that unity will come, if it is wanted by the german nation.

sixthly; the development of inner-german relations remains bedded in the pan-european process and in east-west relations. the future structure of germany must fit into the future architecture of europe as a whole. the west has to provide peace-making aid here with its concept for a permanent and just european order of peace.

in our common declaration of june this year, the soviet leader gorbachev and i speak of the building components of a "common european house." i can name, for example:

- the unlimited respect of the integrity and safety of each state. each state has the right to choose its own political and social system.
- the unlimited respect of the principles and standards of international law, particularly respect for the peoples right of self-determination.
- the realization of human rights.

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- respect for, and the upholding of the historically based cultures of the people of europe.

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with all of these points, as mr. gorbachev and i prescribed, we want to link onto the historically based european traditions and help to overcome the divisions in europe.

seventhly: the powers of attraction and the aura of the european community is and remains a constant feature in the pan-european development. we want to strengthen this further.

the european community is now required to approach the reform-oriented states in central, eastern, and southern europe with openness and flexibility. this was ascertained unanimously by the heads of state and government of the eec member states during their recent meeting in paris.

this of course includes the gdr.

- the federal government therefore approves the quick conclusion of a trade and co-operation agreement with the gdr. this would expand and secure the gdr's entry within the common market, including the perspectives of 1992.
- we can envisage for the future specific forms of association which would lead the economies of the reform-oriented countries of central and south-eastern europe to the ec, and thereby dismantle the economic and social gradients on our continent.

we understand the process leading to the recovery of the german unity to be of european concern. it must, therefore, be considered together with european integration. in keeping with this, the european community must remain open to a democratic gdr and to other democratic countries from central and south-eastern europe. the ec must not end on the elba, but must remain open to the east.

only in this way is it possible that the foundation of the ec truly include a comprehensive european unity. only in this way can it maintain, assert and develop an identity characteristic of all europeans. this identity is not only based on the cultural diversity of europe, but also, and especially, on the fundamental values of freedom, democracy, human rights and self-determination.

if the countries of central and south-eastern europe fulfil the necessary prerequisites, we would also greet their entrance into the european council, especially into the convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

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1107e/4-2811: chancellor kohl (cont.)

eighthly: the csce process is and remains a crucial part of the total european architecture and must be further advanced. in order to do this, the following csce forums must be taken advantage of:

- the human rights conference in copenhagen, in 1990, and in moscow, in 1991.
- the conference on economic co-operation in bonn, in 1990.
- the cultural inheritance symposium in cracow, in 1991 and
- last but not least, the next csce meeting in helsinki.

there we should think about new institutional forms for pan-european cooperation. we envisage a common

institution for the coordination of east-west economical cooperation, as well as, the creation of a pan-european environmental council.

ninthly: the surmounting of the separation of europe and the division of germany demands far-reaching and speedy steps pertaining to disarmament and arms control. disarmament and arms control must keep step with political developments and therefore, might have to be accelerated.

this is particularly true of the negotiations in vienna for the dismantling of conventional armed forces in europe and for the agreement upon measures to establish trust, such as the worldwide ban of chemical weapons. this also demands that the nuclear potential of world powers be reduced to a strategic minimal level. the upcoming meeting between president bush and general secretary gorbachev offers a good opportunity to add new impetus to current negotiations.

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we are trying via bilateral discussions with the countries of the warsaw pact, including the gdr to support this process.

venthly: with this sweeping policy, we are working towards the attainment of freedom within europe, whereby the german people can, via free self-determination, restore their unity. reunification, the reattainment of german state unity, remains the political goal of the federal government. we are grateful that we once again found support pertaining to this point from our allies in the announcement made at the nato summit in brussels, in may of this year.

we are conscious of the fact that particularly difficult problems will be encountered on the road to german unity that we can not yet completely answer. this also includes questions pertaining to overlapping security structures within europe.

the joining of the german question with pan-european developments and east-west relations, as i have explained in the previous ten points, enables an organic development which is of concern to all members and guarantees a peaceful co-existence in europe.

we can only peacefully overcome the division of europe and germany together and in an atmosphere of mutual trust. we need discretion, understanding and sound judgement on all sides in order for the current developments to steadily and peacefully continue.

this process could not hampered by reforms, but rather by the non-acceptance thereof. freedom does not cause instability, but rather the oppression thereof. every successful reform step means more stability and increased freedom and security for all of europe. (if) /

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