

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BONN

TO DESKBY 291300Z FCO

TELNO 1164

OF 291216Z NOVEMBER 89

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

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO

INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS, WARSAW, BUDAPEST, VIENNA, PRAGUE

INFO PRIORITY ACTOR

MY TELNO 1154: THE GERMAN QUESTION: BUNDESTAG DEBATE AND PRESS COMMENT

SUMMARY

1. KOHL'S PLAN SUPPORTED BY ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THE GREENS. IT GETS A GOOD PRESS.

DETAIL

2. AFTER KOHL HAD SPOKEN IN THE BUNDESTAG VOIGT FOR THE SPD WELCOMED KOHL'S TEN POINT PLAN AND OFFERED SUPPORT IN REALISING IT. THE TREATY-BASED ASSOCIATION MENTIONED BY MODROW AND KOHL (POINT 4 IN THE LATTER'S PROGRAMME) COULD LEAD TO A CONFEDERATION OF EQUAL STATES WITH COMMON INSTITUTIONS OR A FEDERAL STATE IN A UNITED EUROPE. NO-ONE HOWEVER SHOULD TRY TO DICTATE TO THE EAST GERMANS WHAT COURSE THEY SHOULD FOLLOW.

3. GENSCHER (MY TELNO 1159) SUPPORTED KOHL'S PLAN. FDP LEADER LAMBSDORFF SAID THAT HELP AND SUPPORT TO THE GDR SHOULD BE CONDITIONAL ONLY ON SELF-DETERMINATION. BUT CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE FULFILLED, TO PREVENT MONEY BEING WASTED.

4. THE GREENS REJECTED KOHL'S PLAN AND CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION OF TWO SEPARATE GERMAN STATES.

5. PRESS COMMENT SUPPORTS KOHL'S PLAN. THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE (INDEPENDENT) SAID THAT THE PLAN POSSESSED A CERTAIN FASCINATION. ITS REAL ATTRACTION WAS THAT IT WAS MORE A CONTRIBUTION TO DISCUSSION ON NEW WAYS OF LIVING TOGETHER IN GERMANY THAN A TIMETABLE FOR REUNIFICATION. KOHL'S SPEECH WRITERS HAD CLEARLY TRIED TO AVOID INTIMIDATING GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS TO THE EAST AND TO THE WEST BUT HAD ALSO BORNE IN MIND THE MORE CONSERVATIVE SUPPORTERS OF THE CDU/CSU. KOHL HAD AVOIDED DEFINING WHAT HE MEANT BY CONFEDERATIVE STRUCTURES. THIS WAS REALLY AN EMPTY PHRASE COVERING ALL FORMS OF PRACTICAL COOPERATION: A CONTINUATION OF THE POLICY OF

SMALL STEPS WITH A NEW LABEL. IN PRINCIPLE, AFTER THIS DEBATE ALL POLITICAL PARTIES COULD DRAW A LINE UNDER THE SUBJECT: BUT IT WAS MORE LIKELY THAT THE PACE OF EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE NEARNESS OF THE NEXT ELECTION WOULD MAKE IT A CONTINUING THEME OF DISCUSSION. THE GENERAL ANZEIGER (INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE) CALLED KOHL'S SPEECH A PERSONAL TRIUMPH TO COMPENSATE HIM FOR RECENT EMBARRASSMENTS, EG HIS BARRACKING IN WEST BERLIN ON 10 NOVEMBER. HIS TEN POINT PROGRAMME SHOWED THE WAY FORWARD IN EASILY MANAGEABLE STEPS, BASED ON A PROJECTION OF THE NEW REALITIES IN THE GDR. KOHL'S PLAN SHOULD HELP THE REFORM PROCESSES IN EASTERN EUROPE BECAUSE IT MEANT A GAIN IN FREEDOM, SECURITY AND STABILITY FOR EUROPE. HOWEVER WORDS HAD TO FOLLOW DEEDS AND THE FULFILMENT OF KOHL'S PROMISES DEPENDED ON SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE EAST GERMANS.

6. THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE (CONSERVATIVE) SAID THAT KOHL UNDERSTOOD THE OPPORTUNITY AND DICTATES OF THE DAY: HE HAD TAKEN THE FORMER AND RESPONDED TO THE LATTER. IT WAS TO THE CREDIT OF THE OPPOSITION THAT THEY HAD SUPPORTED KOHL: THIS COMMITTED THEM FOR THE FUTURE. THE FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU (LEFT OF CENTRE) SAID THAT KOHL HAD AGAIN TAKEN THE LEAD. IN OUTLINING BONN'S POSITION HE HAD DISPELLED LATENT UNCERTAINTY AMONG THE ALLIES IN THE WEST AND PARTNERS IN THE EAST. IN HIS NUMEROUS PHONE CALLS WITH BUSH, MITTERRAND AND GORBACHEV, KOHL HAD REALISED THAT CLARIFICATION WAS URGENTLY NECESSARY. THESE CONTACTS HAD NEVER BEEN SO CLOSE AS IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

MALLABY

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