

UNCLASSIFIED

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

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MY TELNO 1164 : THE GERMAN QUESTION

SUMMARY

1. SPD'S UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR KOHL'S PLAN PROVES SHORT-LIVED. KOHL'S SPOKESMAN GIVES A FRANK ACCOUNT OF ITS GENESIS. SOME FRANCO-GERMAN FRICTION. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTINUES GLOBAL DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN. SUPPORT FOR KOHL FROM TWO MAJOR NEWSPAPERS.

DETAIL

2. THE ORIGINAL SPD WELCOME FOR KOHL'S TEN POINTS (MY TUR) COOLED ON 29 NOVEMBER AS ARGUMENT DEVELOPED OVER A DRAFT RESOLUTION EXPRESSING THE BUNDESTAG'S SUPPORT FOR THE CHANCELLOR. A SECTION OF THE PARTY CLEARLY REGRETTED THE ORIGINAL DECISION TO SUPPORT THE PLAN, AND IN NEGOTIATION WITH THE COALITION PARTIES THE SPD NOW SOUGHT TO ADD TO THE RESOLUTION NOT ONLY A REITERATION OF THE CONTROVERSIAL STAND ADOPTED BY THE BUNDESTAG ON 8 NOVEMBER (MY TELNO 1069) BUT ALSO A FIRM STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO SNF MODERNISATION AND A COMMITMENT TO A SUBSTANTIAL CUT IN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE, DESIGNED TO FREE RESOURCES FOR INVESTMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE. THE COALITION PARTIES NOT SURPRISINGLY THEN BROKE OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. FEDERAL SPOKESMAN KLEIN TOLD THE PRESS ON 29 NOVEMBER THAT KOHL HAD ONLY DECIDED TO PREPARE THE NEW PLAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK. IT HAD BEEN DRAWN UP OVER THE WEEKEND BY KOHL AND HIS CLOSEST ASSISTANTS, AND PUT FORWARD WITHOUT HAVING BEEN AGREED WITH THE FDP, THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT OR THE WESTERN ALLIES.

4. THE FRENCH SEEM TO BE READY TO LET THEIR IRRITATION SHOW: THEIR EMBASSY HERE RELEASED ON 29 NOVEMBER A BULLETIN QUOTING A NEWS AGENCY REPORT STRESSING THAT BONN'S PLAN WAS NOT COORDINATED WITH THE ALLIES WHO CARRY RESPONSIBILITY FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE. FOR THEIR PART THE GERMANS ARE IRRITATED THAT MITTERRAND DID NOT CONSULT THEM OVER DATES FOR HIS VISIT TO THE GDR, WHICH HAS MADE DATES FOR A

VISIT BY KOHL BEFORE CHRISTMAS VERY HARD TO FIND.

5. TODAY'S FRG PRESS REPORTS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS MOUNTING A WORLDWIDE EXERCISE IN SUPPORT OF KOHL'S PLAN. ALL FRG AMBASSADORS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SEND THE FULL TEXT TO THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS. KOHL TELEPHONED PRESIDENT BUSH ON 29 NOVEMBER. GENSCHER IS IN PARIS TODAY AND WILL BE IN MOSCOW FROM 4-5 DECEMBER.

6. TODAY'S FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE (RIGHT OF CENTRE) COMMENTS THAT MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE DETAILED SUGGESTIONS IN THE TEN-POINT PLAN IS THE DECLARED INTENTION OF THE GERMANS TO ACHIEVE A FEDERATION, A NEW FEDERAL STATE OF THE GERMANS, IF THEY THEMSELVES WANT IT. IF THIS BECOMES THE CHANCELLOR'S POLICY, THEN NOT ONLY THE DEMONSTRATORS IN THE GDR BUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TOO WILL BE PLAYING A ROLE IN DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK. KOHL HAS CONSIDERED HIS POLICIES CAREFULLY. HIS SPEECH CONTAINED CAREFULLY CHOSEN QUOTES TO REMIND THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND MOSCOW OF THE JOINT DECLARATION GORBACHEV SIGNED IN BONN IN JUNE. KOHL HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED MAKING ANY DEMANDS UPON THE GDR WHICH COULD BE REJECTED: INSTEAD HE HAS MADE OFFERS WHICH THEY ARE AT LIBERTY TO ACCEPT. AN ADVANTAGE OF KOHL'S SUGGESTIONS IS THAT THEY CAN BE BROUGHT INTO EFFECT BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES WITHOUT AFFECTING THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT.

7. ROBERT LEICHT ARGUES IN THE ''DIE ZEIT'' (LIBERAL) OF 1 DECEMBER THAT AS A RESULT OF KOHL'S PLAN CONFLICT ABOUT REUNIFICATION HAS OVERNIGHT BECOME CONSENSUS OVER CONFEDERATION. KOHL'S PLAN OFFERS BOTH CHANCES AND RISKS. ON THE PLUS SIDE, THE IDEA OF A CONFEDERATION MAKES A MORE MODERATE IMPACT THAN SCENARIOS INVOLVING UNITY. BECAUSE KOHL'S PLAN INVOLVES THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE GDR AS A SEPARATE STATE AND IMPLIES RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC SECOND GERMAN REPUBLIC, IT NEED CAUSE NO FEAR IN THE EAST OF PATRONISING BEHAVIOUR BY THE GERMANS IN THE WEST. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, RECENT EVENTS HAVE BEEN SO UNPREDICTABLE THAT THE RISK CANNOT BE RULED OUT THAT BOTH GERMAN STATES MIGHT TRY TO GO IT ALONE, EXACTLY BECAUSE CONFEDERATION SEEMS SO MUCH LESS DISTANT A PROSPECT THAN COMPLETE UNITY. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO BE QUITE CLEAR ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM DOES NOT ELIMINATE THE CAUSES OF THE DIVISION OF GERMANY. THIS DIVISION IS DUE TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR, A PRODUCT OF THE FACT THAT FROM 1871 ON THE UNIFIED GERMAN STATE NEVER FOUND A SATISFACTORY PLACE IN EUROPE. BOTH GERMAN STATES NEED TO BE BOUND MORE FIRMLY INTO THE EUROPEAN ORDER OF THINGS.

8. NONNENMACHER IN THE FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU REPORTS ON BRITISH REACTIONS. HE QUOTES GOVERNMENT CIRCLES AS BEING RELIVED THAT KOHL HAS NOT PUT ANY DATES TO HIS PLAN FOR A FEDERATION, AND THAT FREE ELECTIONS FOR THE GDR HAVE BEEN MADE A PRE-REQUISITE FOR THE CONVERGENCE OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES. HE ADDS HOWEVER THAT THE LONG TERM AIM OF REUNIFICATION REMAINS A HEADACHE FOR MANY IN THE UK INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER.

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