

file

STRASBOURG PERSONAL FOR WALL - No distribution

SUMMARY

DETAIL

2. I HAVE DISCUSSED THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE GDR IN RECENT DAYS WITH SEITERS (CDU), LAMBSDORFF AND MISCHNICK (FDP) AND VOGEL, BRANDT AND BAHR (SPD). I HAVE SET OUT OUR CASE THAT SELF-DETERMINATION WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE RESULT IS THE SUBJECT NOW ON THE AGENDA, THAT REUNIFICATION IS NOT A CURRENT ISSUE, THAT A MEASURED TREAD AND PRESERVATION OF STABILITY ARE ESSENTIAL, AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO COMPLICATE THINGS FOR GORBACHEV. I HAVE SAID THAT THE ALLIES ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THEIR RIGHTS AND HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NATO FOR THE FUTURE. THESE POINTS ARE NOT CONTESTED. BUT THE FUTURE SHOULD BE SHAPED BY THE GERMANS THEMSELVES. MOST OF MY DISCUSSIONS ARE REPORTED BY BAG. BUT SEITERS, AS THE RESPONSIBLE CABINET MINISTER, AND VOGEL, AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, ARE WORTH REPORTING HERE.

3. BRIEFING THE US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AND MYSELF TODAY, SEITERS SAID THAT THE SED WAS COLLAPSING. THE PARTY CONGRESS TOMORROW COULD PRODUCE NO CREDIBLE LEADERSHIP AND MIGHT WIND UP THE PARTY OR ITS MAJOR INSTITUTIONS. THE GDR COULD BECOME A COUNTRY WHERE THE GOVERNMENT (NOT THE PARTY) DID THE GOVERNING. BUT EVEN THAT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE: ALL AUTHORITY COULD FAD AWAY WITHIN WEEKS. IT WAS MORE A QUESTION OF THE DEATH OF INSTITUTIONS THAN OF CHAOS IN THE SENSE OF PUBLIC ORDER BREAKING DOWN. SEITERS MADE CLEAR THAT THIS PREDICTION WAS NOT THE ONLY POSSIBLE ONE. THINGS MIGHT NOT COLLAPSE FAST, BUT THE MAJOR LESSON OF RECENT EVENTS WAS THAT THE PACE OF CHANGE HAD ACCELERATED. IT WAS STILL ACCELERATING. A DEPRESSING NOVELTY IN RECENT DAYS WAS THE AGGRESSIVE MOOD OF THE DEMONSTRATORS IN THE GDR. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HOPED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT ON TRAVEL BY WEST GERMANS TO THE GDR (MY TELNO 1136) AND THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S VISIT TO DRESDEN ON 19 DECEMBER (MY TELNO 1193) MIGHT CALM THE EAST GERMAN POPULATION, BUT THIS WAS ONLY AN UNCERTAIN POSSIBILITY. IT WAS PROBABLE THAT 60-80 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR WERE NOW FOR UNITY, AND THE MAIN REASON WAS THAT THEY HAD BECOME CONVINCED THAT THEIR OWN LEADERS COULD NOT COPE AND THAT REFORM COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED IN A SEPARATE GDR. ELECTIONS IN THE GDR WERE NOW LIKELY BEFORE AUTUMN 1990: THEY MIGHT BE EVEN SOONER OR MIGHT BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. IF THINGS GET WORSE IN THE GDR, THE RUSH OF EMIGRATION WOULD RESUME. SEITERS AGREED THAT THE EAST MARK WAS EXTREMELY WEAK BUT THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE COMPLETELY SWAMPED BY THE DMARK IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

VOGEL

4. VOGEL, ON WHOM I CALLED TODAY, SAID THE SED WAS IN RUINS AND EVEN THE GOVERNMENT WAS WEAK. MODROW WAS THE ONLY FIGURE ON THE SCENE BUT HE WOULD PROVE TRANSITIONAL. PUBLIC CALLS FOR UNITY WERE MULTIPLYING IN THE GDR. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT, WITHIN A MATTER OF WEEKS OR MONTHS, IT WOULD BECOME CLEAR AND CERTAIN THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR IN GREAT MAJORITY WANTED GERMAN UNITY. ALL THE WEST GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES EXCEPT THE GREENS WOULD SUPPORT UNITY IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. VOGEL WONDERED WHETHER THERE WOULD BE A REFERENDUM ON UNITY IN THE GDR IN 1990 AND WHETHER THAT WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY ONE IN THE FRG. HE SAID THAT A TRANSITION PERIOD OF YEARS WOULD BE NEEDED BETWEEN A DECISION FOR UNITY AND THE COMPLETION OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION. LIKE BRANDT AND BAHR IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ME, AND BRANDT IN PUBLIC, VOGEL K OF CONFEDERATION AS A DESIRABLE STRUCTURE OF GERMAN UNITY, WHERE THE TWO GERMANIES WOULD RETAIN THEIR IDENTITY WITHIN A NEW ARRANGEMENT AND THUS COULD STAY IN THEIR ALLIANCES. SUCH A CONFEDERATION MIGHT LAST UNTIL A PAN-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT WAS ACHIEVED AND THE GERMAN QUESTION THUS LOST ITS SEPARATE IMPORTANCE. HE SAID THAT THE GERMAN QUESTION WOULD BE THE BIGGEST ISSUE IN THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN NEXT YEAR. THE SPD WOULD CLAIM THAT THE CHANGES IN EASTERKKOPE WERE THE FRUIT OF THE OSTPOLITIK OF BRANDT AND SCHMIDT. THE SPD SUPPORTED KOHL'S TEN POINTS BECAUSE THEY HAD INVENTED MOST OF THEM. ONE ISSUE THAT MIGHT BE SENSITIVE IN THE RUN-UP TO THE FEDERAL ELECTION WOULD BE HOW LIVING STANDARDS IN THE FRG WOULD BE AFFECTED IF THE LATTER UNDERTOOK A VAST ECONOMIC RESCUE OPERATION FOR THE GDR.

COMMENT

5. ON TOP OF THE UNITY OF NATION, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE WHICH HAS CONTINUED TO EXIST IN GERMANY, THE NEW FREEDOM OF TRAVEL IN BOTH DIRECTIONS IS A BIG EVENT. A PROLIFERATION OF COOPERATION AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND A BURST OF JOINT VENTURE ACTIVITY BY FRG INDUSTRY IN THE GDR ARE LIKELY TO BE THE NEXT STAGES. THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR'S VISIT AND THE OTHER MINISTERIAL MEETINGS PLANNED THIS MONTH (MY TELNO 1193) ARE LIKELY TO SET THE SCENE FOR THAT STAGE.

6. THE GENERAL VIEW IN THE FRG NOW IS THAT THE SED CAN NO LONGER PLAY A SERIOUS ROLE AND COULD DISAPPEAR AT ANY MOMENT, AND THAT THE ONLY LEADERSHIP IN THE GDR WILL BE A VERY WEAK GOVERNMENT. ALMOST NO ONE BUT THE GREENS IS TALKING ANY LONGER ABOUT THE ANSWER TO THE GERMAN QUESTION BEING TWO GERMAN DEMOCRACIES.

A UNITED AND UNMISTAKABLE CALL FOR GERMAN UNITY IN THE GDR IS CONSIDERED POSSIBLE WITHIN WEEKS, SINCE THAT IS SEEN AS THE ONLY WAY THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR CAN BE CONFIDENT OF DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY. POLITICIANS INCREASINGLY ASSUME THAT 1990 WILL BE THE YEAR WHEN UNIFICATION BECOMES A CERTAINTY, THOUGH THE MEANS BY WHICH THAT WOULD HAPPEN REMAIN UNCLEAR. THE METHODS DISCUSSED ARE THE GDR ELECTION, REFERENDA IN THE GDR AND THEN THE FRG, OVERWHELMING DEMONSTRATIONS, OR A NEW WAVE OF EMIGRATION.

7. THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE FRG, EXCEPT THE GREENS, ARE COMING OUT FOR REUNIFICATION AS THE GOAL. IF THERE WAS A CLEAR CALL FOR UNITY IN THE GDR, I AM SURE THEY WOULD ALL SUPPORT IT. I EXPECT THAT KOHL, AGAIN FEARING BEING LEFT BEHIND BY THE DEBATE, WOULD MAKE ANOTHER MAJOR SPEECH MOVING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POSITION FORWARD. AT PRESENT THE SPD IS AHEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PLAYING UP A PARTICULAR FORM OF UNIFICATION, NAMELY CONFEDERATION. OTHER SUBJECTS THAT I THINK MAY APPEAR SOON IN THE PUBLIC DEBATE IN THE FRG ARE A TIMETABLE FOR MOVING TOWARDS UNITY, INCLUDING THE IDEA OF A LONG TRANSITION PERIOD BETWEEN THE DECISION AND THE ACT OF UNITY, AND THE POSSIBLE NEED FOR A VAST PACKAGE OF WEST GERMAN ECONOMIC HELP FOR THE GDR THIS WINTER SOME POLITICIANS MAY START SAYING THAT, WITH THE GDR WEAK AND WITHOUT LEADERSHIP, THE FRG WOULD NEED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN MOVING TOWARDS UNITY.

3. OUR LINE CAN HOLD AT PRESENT. BUT WE NEED TO PREPARE TO COPE WITH FASTER MOVEMENT ON THE GERMAN QUESTION IN CASE WE ARE FACED WITH IT.

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