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FM EAST BERLIN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 488

OF 201405Z DECEMBER 89

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INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS, CICC(G), ACTOR, BRIXMIS
INFO SAVING EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS, UKDEL STRASBOURG, PEKING

MY TELNO 486: KOHL'S VISIT TO DRESDEN ON 19 NOVEMBER

SUMMARY

1. AN EMOTIONAL BUT PEACEFUL DAY IN DRESDEN. KOHL CONSISTENTLY ADVISED PATIENCE IN SETTING OUT HIS CONCEPT FOR ACHIEVING THE UNITY OF THE GERMAN NATION

DETAIL

2. AFTER HIS FIRST MEETING WITH MODROW, KOHL SPOKE FOR ABOUT 10 MINUTES TO SEVERAL THOUSAND PEOPLE IN FRONT OF THE FRAUENKIRCHE (HE FIRST LAID A WREATH AT THIS CHURCH WHICH HAS BEEN PRESERVED AS A RUIN IN MEMORY OF THE THOUSANDS WHO DIED IN THE ALLIED BOMBING IN FEBRUARY 1945). AFTER EXPRESSING ADMIRATION FOR THE 'PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IN THE GDR' AND PROMISSING THAT WEST GERMANS WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HELP IN THE FUTURE KOHL SAID: 'THE UNITY OF THE NATION REMAINS MY GOAL WHENEVER HISTORY ALLOWS IT. AND, DEAR FRIENDS, I KNOW THAT WE CAN REACH THIS GOAL AND THAT THE TIME WILL COME IF WE WORK TOGETHER WITH REASON, MODERATION AND AN APPRECIATION OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE.

I KNOW ALSO THAT THIS IS NOT TO BE DONE FROM TODAY TO TOMORROW. WE GERMANS DO NOT LIVE ALONE IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. WE SAY YES TO SELF-DETERMINATION, A RIGHT THAT BELONGS TO ALL NATIONS ON THIS EARTH, INCLUDING THE GERMAN ONE. BUT, DEAR FRIENDS, THIS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION ONLY MAKES SENSE FOR THE GERMANS, IF WE DO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE SECURITY NEEDS OF OTHERS. THE GERMAN HOUSE, OUR HOUSE, MUST BE BUILT UNDER A EUROPEAN ROOF, AND THAT MUST BE THE GOAL OF OUR POLICY.

I WISH YOU, AND ALL OF US A PEACEFUL CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION, A HAPPY NEW YEAR IN 1990 AND MAY GOD BLESS OUR GERMAN FATHERLAND.'

3. KOHL WAS GREETED EMOTIONALLY WHEREVER HE WENT IN DRESDEN

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BY PEOPLE WAVING THE BLACK, RED AND GOLD FLAG WHICH WAS THE SYMBOL OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND OF GERMAN FREEDOM AND UNITY UNTIL 1871. KOHL WAS ALSO GREETED AS 'OUR CHANCELLOR IN THE FEDERAL GERMAN PROVINCE OF SAXONY'.

4. MEANWHILE, LATE ON 19 DECEMBER THERE WAS A DEMONSTRATION OF SOME 50,000 PEOPLE IN EAST BERLIN AGAINST A SELL OUT OF THE GDR. THE NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE SED-PDS, GREGOR GYSI, SPOKE TO THE CROWD ABOUT THE NEED TO PRESERVE AN INDEPENDENT GDR VERY MUCH AS HE HAD DONE THE AY BEFORE TO MR KINNOCK (MY TELNO 478).

COMMENT

5. AS SEEN FROM HERE, KOHL MADE A SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO CONTROL BOTH HIS OWN EMOTIONS AND THOSE OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAILED HIM AS THEIR SAVIOUR (FROM THE SED) IN DRESDEN. HIS REMARKS ABOUT THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS WERE GREETED WITH RESPECTFUL SILENCE, WHEREAS HIS REFERENCES TO GERMAN UNITY (NOT REUNIFICATION) PROVOKED ECSTATIC APPLAUSE. IT IS A COMMENT ON KOHL'S PREFORMANCE THAT THINGS DID NOT GET OUT OF CONTROL, WHICH THEY EASILY COULD HAVE DONE. AT THE JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE HE ALSO WARNED AGAINST OVER HASTY ACTION AND COUNSELLED PATIENCE AND MODERATION. THE DEMONSTRATION IN EAST BERLIN WAS ALSO IMPRESSIVE IN ITS WAY, BUT IN MY VIEW, MUCH STRONGER TREND OF OPINION HERE IS THE ONE REFLECTED IN KOHL'S RECEPTION IN DRESDEN.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 486

OF 201020Z DECEMBER 89

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INFO ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS, PRAGUE, WARSAW, BUDAPEST

INFO SAVING SOFIA, BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, PEKING

FRG/GDR RELATIONS : CHANCELLOR KOHL'S VISIT

SUMMARY

1. THIS TELEGRAM LISTS THE MAIN PRACTICAL AGREEMENTS REACHED DURING THE FIRST DAY OF KOHL'S VISIT (AS REPORTED IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND). MY TWO IFT'S COVER THE JOINT STATEMENT AND THE ATMOSPHERE. THE FRG WILL GIVE AN EC BRIEFING THIS AFTERNOON.

DETAIL

2. KOHL AND MODROW AGREED TO MEET AGAIN AT THE END OF JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY IN THE FRG.

3. THE CHANCELLOR AND PRIME MINISTER AGREED IN RELATION TO THE 'TREATY PARTNERSHIP' IN RELATIONS BETWEEN FRG AND GDR TO CONCLUDE A JOINT TREATY ON COOPERATION AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLYNESS. THE INTENTION WAS TO SIGN THIS TREATY DURING THE SPRING OF 1990.

4. VISAFREE TRAVEL BY WEST BERLINERS AND WEST GERMANS TO EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR WILL BEGIN ON 24 DECEMBER.

5. ON 24 DECEMBER THE BRANDENBURG GATE SHOULD BE OPEN FOR PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC.

6. POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL BE SET FREE, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

7. A JOINT COMMISSION FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAS BEEN SET UP.

8. A WORKING GROUP ON ENERGY AND AN EXPERT GROUP ON TOURISM WILL BE SET UP.

9. IN JANUARY A MEETING BETWEEN LEADING FIRMS IN THE FRG WITH APPROPRIATE PARTNERS IN THE GDR WILL TAKE PLACE.

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10. IN FEBURARY A SIMILAR MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE BETWEEN MEDIUM SIZED AND SMALL FIRMS.

11. A WIDE RANGING CULTURAL WORK PLAN FOR 1990/91 WAS SIGNED.

12. A JOINT STATEMENT WAS AGREED DETAILING NUMEROUS AREAS (COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORT, AIR TRAFFIC ETC) IN WHICH COOPERAION WOULD BE INTENSIFIED.

13. IN THE MARGINS OF THE CHANCELLOR'S VISIT THE FIRST JOINT VENTURE (TO PRODUCE COMPACT DISCS) WAS SIGNED (70% GDR/30% FRG). THE DRESDEN BANK WILL OPEN A BRANCH IN DRESDEN IN JANUARY 1990.

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INFO SAVING BUCHAREST, BELGRADE, PEKING, BRIXMIS, UKDEL STRASBOURG

MY TELO 486 : FRG/GDR RELATIONS : KOHL'S VISIT TO DRESDEN

SUMMARY

1. FRG CONSIDER THE VISIT A SUCCESS. MAIN AIM WAS TO CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN THE GDR AND PERSUADE PEOPLE TO STAY THERE. GOOD PERSONAL REALATIONSHIP ESTABLISHED BETWEEN KOHL AND MODROW.

DETAIL

2. BERTELE (HEAD OF FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION) GAVE AN EC BRIEFING ON 20 DECEMBER AFTER RETURNING FROM DRESDEN.

3. BERTELE SAID THAT THE VISIT HAD BEEN DIFFICULT TO MANAGE. IN HIS VIEW THE CHANCELLOR HAD ACHIEVED THE MAIN FRG AIMS. THESE WERE TO INITIATE THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR THE GDR ECONOMY AND TO GIVE PEOPLE A FEELING THAT LIFE WAS GOING TO GET BETTER HERE SO THAT THEY WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG.

4. EMOTION IN DRESDEN HAD RUN VERY HIGH. AT THE OUTSET BOTH KOHL AND MODROW HAD BEEN EXTREMELY NERVOUS. BERTELE SAID HE THOUGHT KOHL HAD MANAGED THE PUBLIC MEETING AT THE FRAUENKIRCHE WELL. THE CROWD HAD BEEN EXPECTING A MUCH STRONGER SPEECH ON REUNIFICATION AND HAD BEEN RATHER SUBDUED WHEN THE CHANCELLOR SPOKE OF PATIENCE, RESTRAINT, ETC. NONETHELESS THE STRENGTH OF FEELING FOR UNITY HAD BEEN TREMENDOUS. AT THE END OF THE VISIT EVEN BERGHOFFER (MAYOR OF DRESDEN) HAD TOLD BERTELE THAT IN HIS VIEW ONLY ONE OUTCOME WAS POSSIBLE.

5. MODROW AND KOHL HAD SPOKEN FOR A FULL TWO HOURS TETE-A-TETE. WHEN THEY EMERGED IT WAS CLEAR THAT A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED.

6. THE KOHL/MODROW MEETING IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY HAD BEEN AGREED PRINCIPALLY TO GIVE A PUBLIC SIGNAL THAT THINGS WERE MOVING AHEAD. BERTELE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE MEETING WOULD BE IN BONN OR OUTSIDE, POSSIBLY IN KOHL'S AREA OF RHEINLAND PFALZ.

7. THE TREATY ON COOPERATION AND GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS WOULD NOT BE A SUBSTANTIAL EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT. IT WAS INTENDED MORE AS A HAT UNDER WHICH SPECIFIC AREAS OF COOPERATION WOULD BE CARRIED ON.

8. MODROW HAD EXPRESSED NERVOUSNESS ABOUT THE INFLUX OF WEST GERMANS AND WEST BERLINERS AFTER 24 DECEMBER. BERTELE COULD NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE EXCHANGE RATE OF 3 EAST MARKS TO 1 DM WOULD WORK. IT HAD BEEN MODROW'S SUGGESTION AND WAS INCORPORATED INTO THE JOINT DECLARATION WITHOUT DISCUSSION. THE IDEA WAS THAT IT SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR TOURISM AND NOT THOSE WHO CONDUCTED REGULAR BUSINESS IN THE GDR. BERTELE SAID THAT THE BRANDENBURG GATE WOULD BE OPENED FOR PEDESTRIANS ON 22 (NOT 24) DECEMBER (SEE PARA 5 OF TUR). HE ASKED THAT THIS INFORMATION BE PROTECTED TO PREVENT CROWDS GATHERING BEFORE THE EVENT.

9. THE FRG WOULD BE SENDING EXPERTS TO ADVISE THE GDR ON THE DETAIL OF THE JOINT VENTURE, INVESTMENT PROTECTION, ETC, LEGISLATION.

10. AT THEIR MEETING WITH HIM THE OPPOSITION GROUPS HAD CRITICISED KOHL FOR SUPPORTING MODROW. THIS WOULD GIVE HIM AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE IN THE ELECTIONS. KOHL HAD REPLIED THAT HIS OVERRIDING AIM WAS TO CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN THE GDR. HE SAID THAT, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRG WOULD DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF THE TREATY TO BE SIGNED WITH THE GDR WITH THE GROUPS. ALL OF THE OPPOSITION GROUPS HAD ASKED FOR HELP FROM THOSE WITH ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE IN MAKING DEMOCRACY AND PARTY POLITICS WORK.

11. I ASKED BERTELE IF THERE WERE ANY POINTS ON WHICH IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. HE SAID ONLY ON THE TENTH POINT OF KOHL'S PLAN (FEDERATION) AND OVER A GDR REQUEST FOR REPARATIONS. IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION HE SAID THAT MODROW INTENDED TO REESTABLISH THE FIVE GDR LAENDER IN PLACE OF THE PRESENT 14 BEZIRKE.

COMMENT

12. I WOULD SCORE THE VISIT AS A CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS FOR THE FRG. THE JOINT STATEMENT REFLECTS POSITIONS EG OVER THE INCLUSION

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OF WEST BERLIN, ON WHICH NO PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE WITH THE PREVIOUS GDR ADMINISTRATION. POLITICALLY AND EMOTIONALLY EVENTS DID NOT GET OUT OF HAND. THE WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH HAS NOW BEEN GIVEN AN INTERGOVERNMENTALLY AGREED BASIS ON WHICH TO ENGAGE WITH THE GDR AND LOOKS LIKELY TO DO SO IN A WELL-ORGANISED AND RAPID WAY. KOHL'S CONCERN ABOUT STABILITY IS NOT MISPLACED SINCE EMIGRATION CONTINUES (ACCORDING TO BERTELE) AT BETWEEN 1500 TO 2000 A DAY.

13. IN MY VIEW, HOWEVER, THE STRONGEST SYMBOLIC POINTER TO THE FUTURE, WHICH I BELIEVE WILL BE SEEN AS SUCH BY THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE GDR, WILL BE THE OPENING OF THE BRANDENBURG GATE ON 22 DECEMBER.

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