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FM BONN

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GERMAN QUESTION : SEITERS/MODROW MEETING

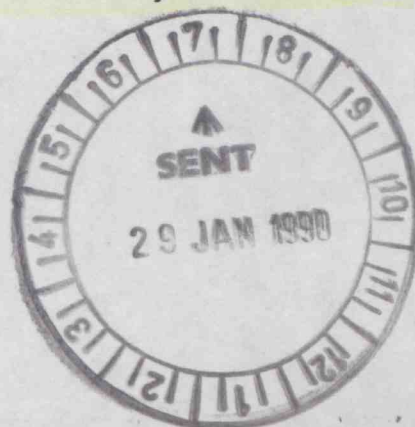
SUMMARY

1. MODROW TO VISIT BONN 13 FEBRUARY. SEITERS, BRIEFING THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS, PROFESSES CONFIDENCE THAT BRINGING FORWARD OF GDR ELECTIONS SHOULD ENABLE GDR TO REACH ELECTIONS WITHOUT MAJOR BREAKDOWN. BUT HIS DESCRIPTION OF COLLAPSING AUTHORITY IN GDR TALLIES ILL WITH THIS. EVEN MODROW NOW DOES NOT EXCLUDE GERMAN UNITY. SEITERS SEES RATIFICATION BY DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED EAST GERMAN PARLIAMENT OF A TREATY FORESEEING GERMAN UNITY AS AN ADEQUATE ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN GDR.

DETAIL

2. SEITERS BRIEFED THE US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AND ME TODAY ON HIS VISIT TO THE GDR ON 25 JANUARY AND ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE GDR. HE SAID THAT MODROW WOULD VISIT BONN AS PLANNED ON 13 FEBRUARY DESPITE THE ADVANCING OF THE GDR ELECTION TO 18 MARCH. MODROW WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY NEW GDR MINISTERS REPRESENTING NON-COMMUNIST GROUPS. THE PURPOSE OF THE KOHL/MODROW MEETING WOULD BE TO TAKE STOCK OF THE GROWING CONTACTS IN MANY FIELDS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES. JOINT COMMISSIONS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN ONE OR TWO TECHNICAL AREAS. THIS SHOULD MAINTAIN AN IMPRESSION OF PROGRESS IN COOPERATION CONTINUING UP TO THE GDR ELECTION. THAT MIGHT BE AN INFLUENCE AGAINST MIGRATION, WHICH WAS STILL RUNNING AT ABOVE 2,000 PER DAY.

3. SEITERS SAID THE PROPOSED TREATY ESTABLISHING A CONTRACTUAL COMMUNITY COULD BE CONCLUDED ONLY AFTER THERE WAS A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT IN THE GDR. IT SHOULD FORESEE THE FUTURE AIMS OF CONFEDERATIVE STRUCTURES AND ULTIMATELY A FEDERATION. I EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIES BEING CONSULTED ABOUT ANY SUCH TREATY (SUDHOFF, PUS AT THE AUSWAERTIGES AMT, TELLS ME THAT HIS MINISTRY HAVE NOT YET SEEN A DRAFT OF THE TREATY). SEITERS SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD MODROW THAT A DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT IN THE GDR, BY RATIFYING

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SUCH A TREATY, WOULD BE TAKING A DEMOCRATIC DECISION FOR GERMAN UNITY. THIS WOULD BE EAST GERMANY'S ACT OF SELF DETERMINATION. MODROW HAD NOT CONTESTED THIS, BUT HAD SAID THAT CONFEDERATION SHOULD BE A LONG PHASE IN THE APPROACH TO GERMAN UNITY. I ASKED WHETHER THE EAST GERMAN CONSTITUTION PROVIDED FOR REFERENDA. DUISBERG (FEDERAL CHANCELLERY) REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY ON SEITERS'S BEHALF. I SAID THAT SOME OPPOSITION PEOPLE IN THE GDR WERE TALKING OF A REFERENDUM ON UNITY AFTER THE ELECTIONS. SEITERS SAID THIS WAS NOT NECESSARY BUT MIGHT OCCUR.

4. SEITERS SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE ADVANCING OF THE GDR ELECTIONS SHOULD ENABLE THE COUNTRY TO REACH THE ELECTIONS WITHOUT BREAKDOWN. I SAID THAT THIS WAS BOUND TO BE TRUE IN SO FAR AS THE DISTANCE IN TIME WAS LESS. BUT WHAT PRACTICAL CHANGES MIGHT PERSUADE PEOPLE TO STOP EMIGRATING BEFORE 18 MARCH? SEITERS SAID THAT PEOPLE WOULD CONCENTRATE INCREASINGLY ON THE ELECTION AND POSTPONE DECISIONS ON EMIGRATION UNTIL AFTER IT. HE ALSO HOPED THAT THE CREDIT OF DM6 BILLION OFFERED BY KOHL IN DECEMBER FOR STARTING NEW FIRMS IN GDR WOULD QUICKLY BE BROUGHT INTO PLAY. MODROW HAD MADE CLEAR TO SEITERS THAT JOINT VENTURE FIRMS WITH FEWER THAN 500 EMPLOYEES COULD HAVE MORE THAN 49 PER CENT WEST GERMAN CAPITAL PARTICIPATION.

5. SEITERS SAID THAT MODROW HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE SED WAS IN A PROCESS OF UNRAVELLING. MODROW THOUGHT THAT THE SED'S ROLE IN THE GDR ELECTIONS WOULD BARELY BE SIGNIFICANT. HE HAD SPOKEN OF A COLLAPSE OF STATE AUTHORITY ALREADY TAKING PLACE AND OF MAJOR POTENTIAL FOR STRIKES JUST BELOW THE SURFACE. MODROW HAD SAID THAT THIS AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE GDR MADE THE GOVERNMENT THERE DEPENDENT ON CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE FGR.

6. SEITERS SAID THAT THE NEW COALITION IN THE GDR, DESIGNED TO CARETAKE UNTIL THE ELECTIONS, WOULD INCLUDE MINISTERS FROM ALL SIGNIFICANT OPPOSITION GROUPS, EXCEPT POSSIBLE THE DSU (THE CENTRE RIGHT GROUP NOW BEING FOSTERED BY THE WEST GERMAN CSU). PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT BY THESE GROUPS WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THEIR ALREADY WEAK CREDIBILITY. THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE IN PRACTICE TO DO LITTLE, BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DIVIDED AND THE MINISTRIES WERE IN DISARRAY. THE ADVANCING OF THE GDR ELECTION WOULD FORM THE SPD THERE, WHICH WAS UP AND RUNNING, AGAINST CDU-TYPE GROUPS, WHICH WERE NOT YET ON THEIR MARKS. THE COALITION GOVERNMENT TO BE FORMED AFTER THE ELECTION WOULD FAVOUR GERMAN UNITY. BUT IT WOULD INCLUDE A NUMBER OF GROUPS AND MIGHT BE WEAK AND UNCONVINCING. THE RISK OF BREAKDOWN IN THE GDR WOULD STILL EXIST

AFTER THE ELECTION.

7. SEITERS DID NOT SAY THAT HE HAD PRESSED FOR THE GDR ELECTION TO BE ADVANCED IN THE INTEREST OF AVOIDING CHAOS. BUT THAT MAY BE THE CASE. IN TRYING TO ARGUE THAT THE GDR WOULD MUDDLE THROUGH UNTIL MARCH, SEITERS WAS UNCONVINCING. HIS PICTURE OF THE GDR GOVERNMENT AND THE SED SUGGESTS AN EXTREMELY PRECARIOUS SITUATION.

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