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KOHL'S SPEECH IN DAVOS ON 3 FEBRUARY

SUMMARY

1. HEAVY STRESS ON EUROPE AS CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH GERMANS SHOULD VIEW THEIR FUTURE. ATTEMPT TO REASSURE OTHER EUROPEANS.

DETAIL

2. FULL TRANSLATION BY FAX TO WED. MAIN POINTS AS FOLLOWS:

- (A) THE RIGHT RESPONSE TO RECENT CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE WAS TO 'STICK TO OUR WELL-TRIED POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND AT THE SAME TIME LOOK TO THE FUTURE'.
- (B) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNSWERVINGLY SUPPORTED NATO. THE TASK NOW WAS TO DESIGN THE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE'S FUTURE SECURITY. THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA REMAINED INDISPENSABLE. NEED TO REVIEW AND ENHANCE NATO'S MILITARY STRATEGY AND STRUCTURE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. THE ALLIANCES MUST FOCUS MORE STRONGLY ON POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. THE CSCE SUMMIT COULD PREPARE THE GROUND BY SIGNING SPECIFIC DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, ADOPTING MANDATES FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS AND TAKING THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS VERIFICATION.
- (C) THE FRG REMAINED FIRMLY ANCHORED IN THE EC. TOGETHER WITH FRANCE IT CONTINUED TO SEE ITSELF AS THE MOTOR FOR INTEGRATION. UNCHANGED LIST OF GERMAN OBJECTIVES FOR EC INTEGRATION.
- (D) THE EC SHOULD REMAIN OPEN BOTH AS REGARDS INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ALSO TO THE REFORMIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A REAL PERSPECTIVE FOR CLOSING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GAP BETWEEN THE TWO HALVES OF EUROPE. FIVE MEASURES FOR PRIORITY IN THIS CONNECTION: THERE SHOULD BE A CONTINUOUS FLOW OF INVESTMENT TO THE REFORMIST STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE, WITH THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED INTRODUCING LEGISLATION ALLOWING FOR

FREE ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY: ACTION TO FACILITATE THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND TO THAT END PRUNE THE COCOM LIST: A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC FOR THOSE REFORMIST COUNTRIES WHICH WERE SO INCLINED: THE BONN CSCE MEETING SHOULD WORK TOWARDS A DYNAMIC AND PROSPEROUS PAN-EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AREA: AND THERE SHOULD BE EFFORTS TO CREATE A PAN-EUROPEAN LEGAL AREA, VIA THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

- (E) IT WAS WITHIN THAT EUROPEAN GRAND DESIGN THAT THE FRG WAS PURSUING ITS POLICY ON THE GERMAN QUESTION. THE CRUCIAL FACTOR WAS FREE SELF-DETERMINATION. THE GERMANS DID NOT WANT TO GO THEIR OWN, NATIONALISTIC WAY. THAT WAS WHAT WAS WRONG WITH THE IDEA OF GERMAN NEUTRALITY: A UNITED GERMANY IN THE HEART OF EUROPE SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY SPECIAL STATUS WHICH WOULD ISOLATE IT. A SOLUTION COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CSCE PROCESS AND THROUGH THE CONTINUATION OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. THE AIM SHOULD BE SECURITY STRUCTURES IN EUROPE SPANNING BOTH ALLIANCES. IT WOULD BE UNHISTORICAL AND IRRESPONSIBLE TO TRY TO OPPOSE THE INTERESTS AND WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR. THE NEED WAS FOR THE GDR TO PRODUCE SENSIBLE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM, COVERING NOT ONLY DEMOCRACY AND FREE ELECTIONS BUT TANGIBLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO GIVE HELP OF A NEW ORDER OF MAGNITUDE. THE ALTERNATIVE WAS A STATE OF CRISIS AND CONTINUED MASS EXODUS, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY. THE FRG'S WESTERN PARTNERS COULD HELP, BY INCLUDING THE GDR IN THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES OF THE EC AND G24 AND BY BUILDING ON THE GDR'S SPECIAL STATUS WITH THE EC.
- (F) THE GERMANS REALISED THAT EVEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN INTEGRATING EUROPE THE PROSPECT OF A GERMANY GROWING TOGETHER AGAIN AROUSED MISGIVINGS, EVEN FEARS, IN SOME PEOPLE IN THE EAST AND WEST. BURDENS ENDURED IN THE PAST WERE MINGLED WITH FEAR OF THE FUTURE. ALL RESPONSIBLE GERMAN POLITICIANS SHOULD TAKE THESE ARGUMENTS VERY SERIOUSLY AND DO THEIR BEST TO SHOW THAT THEY WERE UNFOUNDED. THE FACTS WERE CLEAR. FOR OVER FORTY YEARS THE FRG HAD PROVED ITSELF TO BE A STABLE, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC STATE, BASED ON THE RULE OF LAW AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND A PREDICTABLE AND RELIABLE FRIEND AND ALLY. IT HAD FROM THE START PLACED ITS NATIONAL OBJECTIVE - THE FREEDOM AND UNITY OF ALL GERMANS - WITHIN THE LARGER EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK. IT HAD SHOWN ITSELF TO BE A RESOLUTE CHAMPION OF EUROPEAN UNION AND OF THE CSCE PROCESS. AND IT HAD ALWAYS BEEN, AND WOULD REMAIN, AN ADVOCATE OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WAS A

TRUSTWORTHY PARTNER IN THE TASK OF BUILDING A PEACEFUL ORDER IN EUROPE.

COMMENT

3. THE PRESS HAVE INTERPRETED THE REFERENCE TO NEW HELP FOR THE GDR AS A MOVE AWAY FROM THE CONDITIONALITY IN THE THIRD OF KOHL'S TEN POINTS. KOHL'S INTENTION MAY HAVE BEEN TO REASSURE PEOPLE IN THE GDR THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY PUSHING AHEAD WITH THE PLANNING OF MASSIVE ASSISTANCE, WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE ELECTIONS, AND THAT THE COST TO THE PUBLIC PURSE IS SECONDARY (CF GENSCHER'S COMMENT THAT 'ANY PRICE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE GDR IS WORTH PAYING TO KEEP PEOPLE THERE'). IN PRACTICE HOWEVER THE ASSISTANCE WHICH CAN BE GIVEN BEFORE 18 MARCH IS LIMITED. MEDICAL AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES ARE GETTING THROUGH, BUT MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE AND OTHER PROJECTS WILL INEVITABLY TAKE TIME TO GET UNDER WAY.

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