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MY TELNO 049 : THE GERMAN QUESTION

SUMMARY

1. FURTHER RESTATEMENT OF GENSCHER'S VIEW OF HOW BEST TO PAVE THE WAY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN UNITY WITHIN A EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK.

DETAIL

2. SPEAKING AT TUTZING ON 31 JANUARY GENSCHER SET OUT HIS CURRENT VIEWS IN SOME DETAIL. FULL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS BY FAX. MAIN POINTS AS FOLLOWS:

- (A) STRONG APPEAL FOR THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE TO BE DONE, EVEN BEFORE THE GDR ELECTION ON 18 MARCH, TO STRENGTHEN PRACTICAL LINKS OF ALL KINDS BETWEEN THE GERMAN STATES. THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED TO START CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR AN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. THIS COULD BE DONE WITHOUT ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE RIGHTS OF OTHER STATES OR THE RESPECTIVE ALLIANCES. MUCH MORE COULD BE ACHIEVED DURING THIS PERIOD THAN MOST PEOPLE ASSUMED.
- (B) IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BE CLEAR THAT GERMAN UNITY COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT COST, BUT IN THE LONG TERM IT WOULD BE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE GERMANS IN BOTH WEST AND EAST THAN A CONTINUATION, LET ALONE INTENSIFICATION, OF THE PRESENT RATE OF EMIGRATION FROM THE GDR.
- (C) AFTER 18 MARCH, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES TO TAKE DECISIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEM AND THE FUTURE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE. THESE DECISIONS WOULD NEED TO BE REFLECTED IN A TREATY, SETTING OUT THE DESIRED AIM AND THE COURSE TO BE FOLLOWED IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE IT. THE CREATION OF

SUCH A TREATY WOULD GIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES A QUALITY THAT WOULD AFFECT NOT JUST GERMANS BUT OTHERS TOO. IT WOULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STRUCTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE, FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THE EXISTING ALLIANCES. BOTH GERMAN STATES WOULD THEREFORE NEED TO RESPOND TO THE ASPIRATION TOWARDS NATIONAL UNITY IN A EUROPEAN AS WELL AS GERMAN WAY. THESE RESPONSES WOULD HAVE TO FIT INTO THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE. AS THOMAS MANN HAD SAID IN 1953, WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS NOT A GERMAN EUROPE BUT A EUROPEAN GERMANY. THE GERMANS NOW HAD A CHANCE TO FULFIL THEIR EUROPEAN CALLING AND TO MAKE THEMSELVES THE DRIVING FORCE IN THE PROCESS OF OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE.

- (D) IT WAS NECESSARY TO DETERMINE WHERE THE GERMANS WOULD STAND IN THE ERUOPE OF THE FUTURE. SOME POINTS WERE CLEAR: LIKE ALL EUROPEANS, THE GERMANS WANTED MORE AND NOT LESS SECURITY AND STABILITY. THEY DID NOT WANT TO ACHIEVE UNITY AT ANYONE ELSE'S EXPENSE. WHEN THEY SPOKE OF UNITY, THAT MEANT UNITY OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES, INCLUDING BERLIN. NOTHING MORE, BUT ALSO NOTHING LESS.
- (E) THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC ALSO HAD TO SAY HOW GERMAN UNITY WOULD AFFECT ITS MEMBERSHIP OF THE EC AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. ON THE LATTER SEE MIFT. AS REGARDS THE EC, FRG MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE SEEN AS IRREVOCABLE. THE EC WOULD BE ONE OF THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN PEACE ORDER: AN ANCHOR OF STABILITY FOR EUROPE.
- (F) FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CSCE PROCESS WOULD BE THE BEST WAY OF FURTHER DEVELOPING THE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE, TO ALLOW FOR DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT WITHIN A STABLE FRAMEWORK. THE PROPOSED CSCE SUMMIT WOULD BE QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF 1975 IN HELSINKI. NO LONGER WERE THERE TWO BLOCS CONFRONTING EACH OTHER. THE NEED THIS TIME WOULD BE TO LOOK AT THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF EUROPE, TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT SHOULD BE CONFEDERAL IN NATURE, AND WHETHER THE LONG TERM AIM SHOULD BE A EUROPEAN FEDERATION. THE SUMMIT SHOULD EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A NUMBER OF NEW EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS (PARAGRAPH SIX OF TUR REFERS). THESE MIGHT INCLUDE A BODY DESIGNED TO COORDINATE EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION (THE EBRD SHOULD ALSO HAVE A ROLE IN THIS CONNECTION), A PAN-EUROPEAN INSTITUTION TO SAFEGUARD HUMAN RIGHTS, A CENTRE FOR THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN LEGAL SPACE, A EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT AGENCY, EXTENSION OF EUREKA TO THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, DITTO THE ESA, A CENTRE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS NETWORK, DITTO TRANSPORT POLICY AND

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INFRASTRUCTURE, A VERIFICATION CENTRE AND A CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT. CONSIDERATION SHOULD ALSO BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF THE CSCE STATES.

(G) SOME OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS WERE WORRIED THAT THE GERMANS WOULD HAVE A DOMINANT ROLE IN THE NEW EUROPE. IN RELATION TO GERMANS LIVING IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY THIS CONCERN WAS UNFOUNDED. IT COULD BE YET FURTHER ROBBED OF MEANING BY MEANS OF A RESOLUTE PUSH FORWARD TOWARDS EC INTEGRATION AND THROUGH PROGRESS OVER ARMS CONTROL AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CSCE PROCESS. THE GERMANS WOULD BE WRONG TO TURN THEIR BACKS ON EUROPE, BUT EQUALLY THE EUROPEANS WOULD BE WRONG TO HOLD BACK FROM DEVELOPING EUROPE IN ORDER TO SLOW DOWN THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. IN A EUROPE WHICH CARRIED THE STAMP OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY NO STATE AND NO GOVERNMENT COULD IGNORE THE CRY 'WE ARE THE PEOPLE, GERMANY UNITED FATHERLAND'.

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