

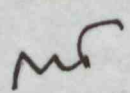
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MY TELNO 758

KOHL'S SPEECH TO THE BUNDESTAG ON 21 JUNE: SOVIET UNION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

SUMMARY

1. KOHL ASSERTS NEED TO INVOLVE SOVIET UNION IN ALL ASPECTS OF SHAPING EUROPE'S FUTURE. PUBLIC STATEMENT OF UNIFIED GERMANY'S READINESS TO PUT RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION ON BROADER CONTRACTUAL BASIS. RENEWED PROPOSAL FOR NON-AGGRESSION PACT BETWEEN MEMBER STATES OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT, TO BE OPEN ALSO TO OTHER MEMBERS OF CSCE. APPEAL TO WESTERN PARTNERS TO JOIN WITH GERMANY IN GIVING MATERIAL HELP TO REFORM PROCESS IN EASTERN EUROPE.

DETAIL

2. THE FINAL SECTION OF KOHL'S SPEECH CONCENTRATED ON THE SOVIET UNION'S PLACE IN EUROPE, FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. MAIN POINTS AS FOLLOWS.

SOVIET UNION/EUROPE

3(A) INVOLVING THE SOVIET UNION IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SECURITY ASPECTS OF SHAPING EUROPE'S FUTURE WOULD BE ONE OF THE GREAT CHALLENGES IN COMING YEARS. THE SOVIET UNION WAS JOINED TO EUROPE NOT JUST GEOGRAPHICALLY BUT ALSO HISTORICALLY AND CULTURALLY. THE WORKS OF KANDINSKY, SHOSTAKOVITCH, SOLZHENITSYN, PASTERNAK AND CHAGALL ALL BELONGED TO EUROPEAN CULTURE.

(B) THE CSCE WAS ONE IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF PAN-EUROPEAN COOPERATION. THE OTHER WAS THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, WHICH SHOULD BE EXPLOITED MORE FULLY IN FUTURE.

FRG/SOVIET UNION

4(A) GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS MUST SERVE THE COMMON AIM OF EUROPEANS: TO BUILD A EUROPE OF FREEDOM, PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGH FREE

SELF-DETERMINATION. WORLD WAR TWO WAS THE MOST TERRIBLE, PAINFUL EXPERIENCE THAT GERMANS AND RUSSIANS HAD IN COMMON. THE TWO COUNTRIES NOW HAD TO BE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

(B) THE ENDING OF THE DIVISION OF GERMANY AND A UNITED GERMANY'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WERE IN THE SOVIET UNION'S INTEREST. THE CHANCE OF A NEW PHASE IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, WHERE COOPERATION REPLACED CONFRONTATION, OFFERED THE SOVIET UNION THE CHANCE OF A BREAKTHROUGH TO A NEW QUALITY OF SECURITY.

(C) AFTER UNIFICATION THE GERMANS WOULD BE READY TO PUT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A BROADER CONTRACTUAL BASIS.

5. THE HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY SHOWED THAT NOTHING WAS MORE HARMFUL TO STABILITY THAN A GERMANY SWAYING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. CONVERSELY, GERMANY IN A SOLID ALLIANCE WITH FREE DEMOCRACIES AND IN GROWING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE EC WAS THE IMPERATIVE FACTOR FOR STABILITY WHICH EUROPE NEEDED AT ITS CENTRE.

6. THE THREE DECISIVE AREAS OF PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE, WHERE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SOLVING THE QUESTIONS NOW ON THE TABLE IN 2 PLUS 4 WERE:

(A) RESHAPING OF THE ALLIANCES. KOHL WELCOMED THE WARSAW PACT'S DECISION TO CHARGE A COMMISSION WITH MAKING PROPOSALS BY THE AUTUMN FOR ITS TRANSFORMATION INTO A TREATY OF SOVEREIGN EQUAL STATES BASED ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. NATO WOULD TAKE FAR-REACHING DECISIONS AT THE LONDON SUMMIT IN JULY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUSH'S PROPOSALS. THESE DECISIONS WOULD DEFINE ANEW THE FUTURE ROLE, STRATEGY AND MILITARY STRUCTURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. MOREOVER, THERE WAS THE POLITICAL KEY TASK OF SHAPING THE RELATIONSHIP TO THE WARSAW PACT STATES WITH AN EYE TO THE FUTURE IN A JOINT DECLARATION BY THE ALLIES, AND OF PREPARING THE WAY FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. 'THEREFORE I HAVE PROPOSED THAT THE MEMBERS OF BOTH ALLIANCES SHOULD CONSIDER A NON-AGGRESSION PACT IN THE CSCE FRAMEWORK. SUCH A TREATY SHOULD THEN BE OPEN FOR ACCESSION TO ALL OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS'.

(B) ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. CFE 1 MUST BE COMPLETED THIS YEAR, IN TIME FOR THE CSCE SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER. KOHL WELCOMED THE FACT THAT BUSH AND GORBACHEV HAD AGREED ON THIS AT THEIR WASHINGTON SUMMIT. IN THE COURSE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS THERE SHOULD ALSO, BY GENERAL

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AGREEMENT, BE A NEGOTIATION OVER THE FUTURE FORCES OF A UNITED GERMANY AND OF THE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES.

(C) ECONOMIC COOPERATION (MY TELNO 764).

COMMENT

7. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT KOHL HAS MENTIONED IN PUBLIC THE NEED TO PUT FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS ON A BROADER TREATY BASIS (OUR TELNO 684). HIS PROPOSAL FOR A NON-AGGRESSION PACT IS CAREFULLY FORMULATED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE BETWEEN MEMBER STATES, NOT BETWEEN BLOCS, AND OPEN TO THE OTHER CSCE STATES.

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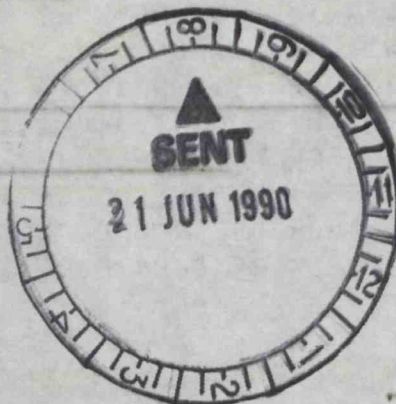
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KOHL'S BUNDESTAG SPEECH OF 21 JUNE: GERMAN-POLISH RELATIONS

SUMMARY

1. KOHL CALLS FOR RECOGNITION OF POLAND'S WESTERN BORDER AND A NEW ERA IN GERMAN-POLISH RELATIONS.

DETAIL

2. MAIN POINTS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) KOHL SAID HE WANTED THE POLISH NATION TO KNOW THAT GERMANY WOULD BE A GOOD NEIGHBOUR AND RELIABLE PARTNER ON THE 'ROAD TO EUROPE'.

(B) 'TODAY THE GERMAN BUNDESTAG, TOGETHER WITH THE GDR'S VOLKSKAMMER, IS ADDRESSING A CLEAR MESSAGE TO POLAND: POLAND'S BORDER WITH GERMANY, AS IT STANDS TODAY IS FINAL. AT NO TIME, EITHER TODAY OR IN THE FUTURE, WILL IT BE QUESTIONED THROUGH TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON THE PART OF US GERMANS. AFTER GERMANY HAS BEEN UNIFIED, THIS WILL BE REAFFIRMED IN BINDING FORM UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW BY MEANS OF A TREATY WITH THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND. ONLY AN ALL-GERMAN GOVERNMENT CAN PROVIDE A SIGNATURE WHICH IS BINDING UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW ON BEHALF OF A FUTURE UNITED GERMANY. AND ONLY AN ALL-GERMAN PARLIAMENT CAN RATIFY SUCH A TREATY. BUT THERE IS CLEARLY NO DOUBT AS TO THE WILL OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AS TESTIFIED BY THE GERMAN BUNDESTAG AND THE VOLKSKAMMER.'

(C) QUOTING CYPRIAN NORVID, THE 19TH CENTURY POLISH WRITER, KOHL SAID THAT A NATION DID NOT CONSIST SIMPLY OF THOSE THINGS WHICH DISTINGUISHED IT FROM OTHERS BUT ALSO OF THE THINGS WHICH LINKED IT WITH OTHERS. HE NOTED THE SHARED CULTURAL AND POLITICAL HERITAGE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND URGED THAT THESE SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN BECAUSE OF THE EXPERIENCES OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

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(D) HE ACKNOWLEDGED NAZI GUILT FOR THE WAR AND RESPONSIBILITY (WITH STALIN) FOR THE LOSS OF THE EASTERN TERRITORIES. HE RECOGNISED THE SORROW THE EXPELLEES MUST FEEL AT THE LOSS OF THESE FORMER GERMAN LANDS BUT 'WHOEVER WANTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS HISTORIC CHANCE FOR GERMAN UNITY HAD TO GIVE A CLEAR REPLY TO THE BORDER QUESTION'. NOT ONLY POLAND BUT ALSO THE 4 POWERS EXPECTED THIS FROM GERMANY. THE CHOICE WAS CLEAR: EITHER TODAY'S BORDERS WERE CONFIRMED OR THE GERMANS WOULD LOSE THEIR CHANCE FOR UNITY.

(E) FOR 700 YEARS THE TERRITORIES IN QUESTION HAD BEEN GERMAN. THE EXPULSION OF THE GERMANS AFTER THE WAR HAD BEEN LEGALLY AND MORALLY UNJUST. IT WAS MUCH TO BE WELCOMED THAT MAZOWIECKI AND THE POLISH WRITER ANDRZEJ SZCZYPIORSKI, ALONG WITH OTHER GERMAN AND POLISH CATHOLICS, HAD ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1989 FORMALLY EXPRESSED SORROW OVER THE EXPULSION. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY OFFERED THE CHANCE FOR A FINAL AND PERMANENT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE POLES.

(F) THERE WAS STILL MUCH TO BE DONE TO ENSURE THAT THE GERMANS IN POLAND COULD PROTECT THEIR CULTURE AND USE THEIR LANGUAGE, ESPECIALLY IN RELIGIOUS SERVICES - RIGHTS THEY SHOULD BE ASSURED OF IN A EUROPE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

(G) EUROPEAN UNIFICATION COULD NOT HAVE COME THUS FAR WITHOUT FRANCO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP. IT COULD NOT BE COMPLETED WITHOUT POLISH-GERMAN PARTNERSHIP.

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