Kohl urges Americans to aid Soviet Union and republics

by Brian Lantz

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl presented a major policy address at the University of California at Berkeley Sept. 13. By what have become normal standards of diplomatic protocol, Kohl's remarks were direct, speaking clearly to the enormous potentials and dangers that exist in the aftermath of the attempted Moscow coup. The chancellor's address could not have come at a more urgent moment.

Kohl, the first German chancellor to address the California university since Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, called on the United States to join in offering major economic aid to the Soviet Union and the newly formed republics. Further, he demanded that recognition of Slovenia and Croatia as independent nations now be considered. In his concluding comments, he appealed directly to the students in the audience to learn from the history of the past century in order to make the most of the potentials that have now emerged after a century of war and other horrors. Kohl soberly warned that Germany cannot meet the crisis of eastern Europe alone.

The chancellor clearly intended his remarks to reach the ear of George Bush. But, he went "over the head" of Bush, whose administration is publicly refusing to aid the former East bloc nations. It is important therefore to note that on more than one occasion, Kohl departed from his text so as *not* to mention the President.

Kohl received an exceptionally warm response from his Berkeley audience, including a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech. His address was preceded with fanfare, including a color guard and processions of gowned professors representing all departments and university graduating classes dating from 1925. It was attended by an estimated 4,000 people, including students, interested citizens, and media. Kohl's address was the official centerpiece of the university's fall convocation.

One can say that even the weaknesses of Kohl's remarks are instructive. Reflecting the pressures that Germany is under, squeezed by the Anglo-Americans on the one hand and the collapsing Soviet empire on the other, outside of general notions regarding European integration Kohl mentioned nothing that even faintly reflected recognition of the need for a massive East-West infrastructure program, as envisioned in the European "Productive Triangle" proposal of Lyndon LaRouche and the Schiller Institute. At one point, in the context of urging the completion of the General Agreement

on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, Kohl added that German economic recovery after World War II had occurred "by fighting protectionism"—an odd misreading of history.

Certainly millions, particularly in eastern Europe and in the Russian confederation, hope that Chancellor Kohl will rise to the great demands that now rest with him, and find the allies in the capitals of Europe and the U.S. who will share those world historic responsibilities. Weaknesses notwithstanding, Kohl would do us all a favor. Are we listening?

Documentation

Stabilizing the East means peace for the whole world

Excerpts from German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Sept. 13 address in Berkeley, California:

Thirty-one years ago the University of California honored one of my predecessors, Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. Never before in history, Konrad Adenauer said then during his visit to California, had a victorious nation helped the defeated to such an extent as the American people had aided the Germans. At that time our country was still divided, and an end to this division was not in sight. . . .

Today I am here as the first head of government of a united Germany to thank you for everything that the American nation has done for the good of Germany. . . .

The recovery of political unity in free self-determination for us Germans coincided with the end of the East-West conflict, at the focus of which the Germans had been for over 40 years. Today we jointly face the new challenges of securing political and economic, social and ecological stability in those European countries which have after decades liberated themselves from the yoke of communist tyranny and want to establish a liberal economic and social order.

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Probably nobody in the West is more familiar than we are with the terrible legacy of the communist rulers: an uncompetitive and moribund economy, dilapidated towns and villages, transport links in a disastrous state, and a highly polluted environment. But above all the tyranny left deep wounds in the heart of the people. The people in the eastern part of Germany must now gain faith in themselves and each other as well as confidence in life under a new, liberal system.

Optimism and a pioneering spirit are the decisive prerequisites for the success of the reconstruction work ahead of us. Even more than economic factors, it was this creative spark that passed from America with the Marshall Plan to Europe and Germany over 40 years ago. The Marshall Plan was the American response to an epochal challenge. Today we can build on that encouraging example. . . .

For us Germans, one of the most urgent tasks on the agenda for the 1990s is to eliminate the disastrous legacy left by over 40 years of communism in the [former] G.D.R. Reconstruction in the eastern *Länder* [states] is a pioneering task in two respects: It is a pioneering task because it is unprecedented in history. It is also a pioneering task because its success is of great importance—and this far beyond my country's borders. It will be a source of hope and encouragement for the Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, for the Romanians and Bulgarians, for the Albanians, and not least for the peoples in Yugoslavia, the Baltic states and the Soviet Union.

All of them face far more difficult starting conditions than the Germans in the former $G.D.R.\dots$

I know that some people take a very gloomy view of the situation in the new *Länder*. It is not my intention to embellish it. But every day I discover that the people there want to work; they want to use the opportunities afforded by freedom. My message to you is *we will make it*. . . . Thanks to the newly emerging enterprises and a new infrasturcture, the eastern part of Germany will become one of the world's most modern industrial sites in the 1990s. . . .

On Aug. 21, the citizens of the Soviet Union achieved a great victory for democracy, freedom, and justice. Their determined resistance caused the coup to fail miserably. This was exactly 23 years after freedom had been crushed by tanks in Prague. August 21, 1991 will go down in history as a belated triumph for the people who had then tried to stop those tanks in Prague. . . .

After the failed coup in the Soviet Union, the tracks were laid for extensive democratic renewal. Historic changes resulted above all for the three Baltic republics. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which had been forcibly annexed by Stalin acting in collaboration with Hitler, have regained their freedom and independence. In reestablishing diplomatic relations on Aug. 28, the Federal Republic of Germany also gave expression to the desire to resume the tradition of peaceful relations reaching far back into the Middle Ages.

Despite all our delight and satisfaction at the historic



German Chancellor

victory of freedom and democracy, the motto now cannot be "business as usual!" Not least we owe this to the men and women who risked and lost their lives during the days of that Russian "August Revolution." The recent developments give rise to the conclusion that we, the Western nations, must now jointly provide swift extensive aid to the Soviet Union so that it can progress further towards democracy and a market economy. The emerging union and the republics must now develop a self-contained economic program. Only in this way can a reliable framework be provided for effective—and additional—Western involvement.

In providing aid for the Soviet Union and the reformist countries of central, eastern, and southeastern Europe, my government has time and again pressed for fair international burden-sharing. This major task cannot be left to only a few in Europe alone. All industrial nations should participate in accordance with their potential because democratization and economic reorientation in those countries are in the interest of the entire Western world. Freedom, democracy, the rule of law: all of this will mean peace for the whole world.

Since 1989, Germany has supported the reform process in central, eastern, and southeastern Europe with over DM 90 billion (\$50 billion), over DM 60 billion of this going to the Soviet Union alone. We are thus providing 56% of all Western aid to the Soviet Union and 32% of Western assistance to the countries of central, eastern, and southeastern Europe. And allow me to be very frank with you here. With all of this we have already reached the limits of our potential. Alone we shall not be able to carry the whole burden. Nevertheless, we shall participate in further multilateral efforts.

However, financial assistance alone is not sufficient. There is a prospect of lasting success only if we actually achieve new, comprehensive economic partnerships, open still further our markets for those countries, and support the reform countries extensively in reorganizing their social and economic systems by providing advice and technical aid.

Recognize Croatia and Slovenia

The conflict in Yugoslavia continues to be a source of great concern for all of us. In view of the large-scale military activity of the last few weeks, and the horrible pictures we see almost every day, the main priority is to ensure that all use of force is stopped immediately without qualification. When dialogue and harmonious coexistence are no longer possible, we must, in line with our understanding of the right of self-determination, consider the question of recognizing under international law those republics which no longer wish to belong to Yugoslavia. But it is equally true, that experience shows, with tanks alone you cannot keep a nation together. The international community, particularly the Europeans, will continue to work towards a peaceful solution on the basis of the Charter of Paris. . . .

Allow me, at the end of my lecture, a more personal word, to the guests, to the students who are here today. This affords me a very good opportunity to me to speak to young Americans.

When I came into this auditorium just now, I thought back to the days when I was 18 or 20 years old. That was around 1948, 1950. The deutschemark had just been introduced in 1948 and our country was destroyed to an extent that is almost unimaginable today. We were at the end, quite literally, not only in the material sense but also reached the bottom of our morale. The shame, the crimes of the National Socialists was known all over the world. In this time, the

Americans were the first to extend their hand, a hand of friendship, but first a hand of assistance and then the hand of friendship. And against this background, this spirit, and also through the sheer strength displayed by the people of the day, we were able to build up our country again, just as we will build up the eastern part of our country.

But in those days the young people, the students, the pupils, had a dream. A dream to regain Germany's unity and, as Churchill said in 1947, to unite Europe and build Europe. There were many setbacks. There was a lot of pessimism, skepticism. Nevertheless, we have now at least partly reached this aim and I predict that in a few years time the dream will have finally come true.

And you see that this is indeed a dream come true. In these '90s that are, actually, at the close of the century, a century that saw many, many people die in wars and are in our conscience, and saw despair, destruction, tears. But that now, finally, and on a much happier note, now we have a chance to address, at least a bit of the imbalances of the past and the problems of the past and what is coming now, what is really opening up now, is your time, your age. Whoever is 20 or 22 years of age just now will probably live to see the middle of the next century.

You should try to look back at the history of this century and learn from the experience that we have made. Peace, freedom, the rule of law and democracy are indispensable prerequisites for personal happiness. And that is your chance.

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