

HELMUT KOHL

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HELMUT KOHL studied law, social and political science, and history at the Universities of Frankfurt and Heidelberg, and received a Ph.D. degree in 1958. He joined the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) in 1947, was later Chairman of the CDU, Rhineland-Palatinate, for six years, and in 1964 became a member of the CDU national executive. He served as Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate from 1969 to 1976, then as Leader of the Opposition in the German Bundestag from 1976 to 1982. Since 1982 he has been Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I

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 to thank you for everything that the American nation has done for the good of Germany. For decades the American people have defended freedom in Europe. Germany owes the recovery of its unity in freedom not least to the untiring commitment of America and its presidents for more than four decades, from Harry S Truman to George Bush.

Ronald Reagan rightly assessed the historic opportunity for German unity at a very early stage when he called out in front of the Brandenburg Gate during his visit to Berlin in June 1987: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall."

In three weeks' time, on October 3, the dream of Germany's freedom and unity will have been reality for exactly one year. I thank George Bush for his assistance. 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 forty years.

Today we jointly face the new challenges of securing political, 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.

Probably nobody in the West is more familiar than we Germans are with the terrible legacy of the Communist rulers: an un-

competitive 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 hearts 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 forty years ago. The Marshall Plan was the American response to an epochal challenge. Today we can build on that encouraging example.

II

I know that here in California, too, my country's major scientific institutions enjoy special esteem. You will appreciate that first and foremost I would like to mention my alma mater, Heidelberg. President Bush's reference to "partners in leadership" should also apply to science and technology in the future. Let us work jointly to attain this goal.

An important step toward scientific and technological partnership has been made by Americans and Germans in the form of the successful international institute of computer science here at Berkeley. This example should be emulated in other scientific fields and at other locations.

California's great intellectual affinity with European culture is now as detectable as when Berkeley was founded 123 years ago. But looking out on the ocean always reminds one of the opposite coast. Just as I visualize the familiar images of America and its cities when standing on Europe's Atlantic coast, the view of the Pacific conveys a picture of the forces of attraction between California and the East Asian region from Japan to Singapore. Where else than here in California is the visitor made more aware of the in-

terlinkage and interdependence of the world's three main economic and industrial centers: North America, Europe, and East Asia?

III

As a united and sovereign country, Germany has acquired greater responsibility in Europe and worldwide. We know that we can live up to this responsibility only together with our American and European friends. For us Germans, being partners in leadership means assuming our share of responsibility in the family of free nations. We are willing to do so. In Western burden-sharing, we are ready to play a part commensurate with our economic and political potential. German policy must prove its worth above all in the following fields.

First: now that the two parts of my country which were separated for over four decades have been politically united, we must also achieve economic, social, and cultural unity. We can solve the economic and social problems in a few years. But over forty years of division — and this is the real problem facing the Germans — have become deeply embedded in the hearts and minds of the people. We need patience, compassion, and mutual understanding to heal those wounds.

Second: in Europe we seek not only economic but also political union as a precondition for our future. Europe must in future be more than a deluxe free-trade area.

Third: German-American friendship and close partnership between Europe and America are decisive prerequisites for Europe and America succeeding, through joint efforts, in coping with the global tasks of the future.

Fourth: the establishment of stable democracies and of a social market economy in the reformist countries of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe and political and economic restructuring in the Soviet Union and its republics call for our joint support. This is in the European and American interest; it is in our common interest.

Fifth: we want to contribute toward a peaceful order worldwide founded on the rule of law, respect for human rights, the right of nations to self-determination, and a common commitment to the integrity of Creation as entrusted to humanity.

IV

For us Germans, one of the most urgent tasks on the agenda for the 1990s is to eliminate the disastrous legacy left by over forty years of communism in the GDR. Reconstruction in the eastern federal 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 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 of Yugoslavia, the Baltic states, and the Soviet Union.

All of them face far more difficult starting conditions than the Germans in the former GDR. The conditions for a fresh start in eastern Germany are favorable. The western federal states have for almost nine years now been characterized by an excellent economy and an outstanding investment climate. The economic upswing there is undiminished, with growth during the first six months of this year amounting to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ % compared with last year. It is true that the weaker economic situation of our partners is making itself felt in Germany. Nonetheless, experts forecast growth in excess of 3% for the year as a whole. Together with Japan we thus still head the league of industrial nations.

In the new federal states a change for the better is in sight. Not least because of the high demand from the eastern federal states, Germany has become a kind of economic locomotive. Under numerous programs we are making available in the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years from mid-1990 to the end of 1992 the equivalent of over \$100 billion for reconstruction in the new federal states. Many experts believe that the economy there will pick up by the end of this year. What

we need now above all is private investment—and I hope it comes from the United States, too. Never before have there been such attractive conditions in Germany to encourage investors from all over the world.

The speed of structural change is best illustrated by the increased pace of privatization in the new federal states. By the end of July, 3,000 former state enterprises had been transferred to new owners. They will invest over DM 70 billion in the coming years. Potential investors from the United States are now able to obtain information from an agency set up in New York specifically for this purpose.

Of course, we are confronted with large problems, and we have no reason to conceal them. But every day I see that the people who are now free want to work and to use the opportunities afforded by freedom. My message to you is this: we shall make it. I am certain that in a few years' time the regions of the former GDR will be flourishing.

V

For us Germans, the momentous change that we have all been witnessing since the autumn of 1989 bears out a policy whose foundations were laid by Konrad Adenauer in the 1950s. Now as then, our policy is based on the conviction that German unity and European unification are two sides of the same coin. We want the free and united Germany to be part of a free and united Europe.

Following German reunification, Germany is dedicating itself in a special manner and with all its strength to continuing the process of European unification. In his famous speech at Zurich in 1946, Winston Churchill already spoke of a "United States of Europe." We Germans associate that term with the vision of a federal Europe. En route to that goal we shall complete by the end of next year a large single market in Europe encompassing 340 million people —an area without borders for people, goods,

and services. In the next few months the tracks will be laid for the period after 1992: our aim is that the heads of state or government of the European Community should sign two treaties in December establishing a uniform timetable for the Economic and Monetary Union as well as the Political Union.

A European Political Union must, *inter alia*, lay clear-cut foundations for a common foreign and security policy. In future this will also include a common defense policy. Let me make two things absolutely clear in this context:

1. My government does not want to weaken the tried-and-tested Atlantic Alliance in any way. NATO will remain a decisive prerequisite of our common security.

2. I also strongly oppose any considerations that run counter to the principle of indivisibility of our common security and would ultimately erode the transatlantic security linkage.

But the experience we are now gaining shows that Europe must at last speak with one voice in foreign and security affairs. The importance of this is illustrated by the civil war in Yugoslavia, the Gulf war, and the events in the Soviet Union. Only if it speaks with one voice can the European Community ultimately play a role in Europe and worldwide commensurate with its economic weight and political responsibility.

This responsibility will increase as the Community gains in size. We are making every effort so that the negotiations on association agreements between the European Community and Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are completed as quickly as possible. Accession to the Community must also be open to those three countries, once appropriate conditions exist there. Europe includes not just Paris, London, and Berlin, but also Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest —and naturally Vienna and Stockholm as well.

VI

Germany and the European Community will remain closely linked to the democracies of North America. We want to expand

this partnership. Europe needs America, but let me also add this: America needs Europe, I have already referred to the common cultural assets of the Old and New Worlds. I am firmly convinced that cultural exchange in the fields of literature and the fine arts, music, and films will gain further importance. Cultural bonds will thus become the source of new and multifaceted artistic achievements.

It is important to speak of economic aspects, but we should not forget that we must also reach people's hearts. Man cannot live by bread alone. Cultural and scientific cooperation is just as essential as economic and security cooperation.

The economic dimension of our relations will acquire greater prominence. Europe as an economic area will become all the more important for the United States, the more Europe merges and the larger the European Community becomes. Alongside North America and East Asia, the European Community will be one of the three centers of the world economy.

For us Germans in the heart of our continent, the role and responsibility of the United States and Canada in and for Europe continue to be of vital importance for peace and security. The North Atlantic Alliance remains the indispensable security link between Europe and North America. This includes the guaranteed presence of substantial North American forces in Western Europe and on German soil in the future, too.

Let me add a personal remark: I come from a region of Germany, the Palatinate, where a particularly large number of American soldiers and their families live — in good-neighborliness with the local population. The human contacts that have evolved there cannot be overrated in terms of their significance for friendship between our two peoples.

Even after the end of the East-West conflict we cannot dispense with the capability to protect peace and our common freedom effectively. This is the mission of the Bundeswehr and of the troops of our American and European allies.

VII

Just under a month ago, on August 21, the citizens of the Soviet Union achieved a great victory for democracy, freedom, and justice. Their resistance caused the coup to fail. This was exactly twenty-three 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. Thus not only Stalin has been overcome in the USSR, but also Marx and Lenin since August 21.

What event could bring this home to us more clearly than the ban on the political activities of the Communist party of the Soviet Union? I am certain that the fundamental reforms will take place even faster in the future. The people in Moscow, Leningrad—the old and new St. Petersburg—and many other regions in the Soviet Union deserve our respect for their courage and firmness. This particularly applies to President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Republic, without whose courage the coup would hardly have failed so quickly.

The unanimous condemnation of the coup by the free democracies of the West helped considerably to force the perpetrators to give up. During the coup numerous heads of state or government assured President Yeltsin of their support.

We Germans associate with Mikhail Gorbachev the memory of the turning point that made it possible to achieve German unity in agreement with all our friends and European neighbors. I am therefore personally grateful to him. When we met in the Caucasus in July 1990, he acknowledged for the first time the right of the Germans to decide for themselves on their membership in an alliance. Our decision was clear. It was a decision in favor of the West, in favor of NATO and a future at the side of free nations.

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. In reestablishing diplomatic relations on August 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 victory of freedom and democracy, the motto now cannot be “business as usual.” Not least we owe this to the men and women who lost their lives during the days of that Russian “August Revolution.”

The recent developments give rise to the conclusion that the Western nations must now jointly provide swift and extensive aid to the Soviet Union so that it can progress further toward 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 established for effective — and additional — Western assistance. The dialogue by the West with the Soviet Union and the provision of assistance will take account of the new distribution of powers between the union and the republics.

This year’s economic summit in London already paved the way for the integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy. We must now quickly implement the decisions taken there. I myself shall make every effort to ensure that this dialogue soon leads to tangible results for the sake of the people in the Soviet Union.

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 a few in Europe. 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 world. Freedom, democracy, and the rule of law are a contribution toward peace not just for Russia, but for the whole world, for each of us.

Since 1989, the Federal Republic of Germany has supported the reform process in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe with over DM 90 billion, over DM 60 billion of this going to the Soviet Union alone. At present, 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. With this we have reached the limits of our potential. We cannot solve this problem on our own. Naturally, 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 partnership, open still further our markets for those countries, and support them extensively in reorganizing their social and economic systems.

The conflict in Yugoslavia is a source of great concern for us. In view of the large-scale military activity of the last few weeks and the terrible pictures that we see daily, the main priority is to ensure that the 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 to self-determination, consider the question of recognizing under international law those republics which no longer wish to belong to Yugoslavia. Historical experience shows that a state cannot be held together with tanks. The international community, particularly the Europeans, will continue to work toward a peaceful solution on the basis of the Charter of Paris.

VIII

The completion of Germany's internal unity and the exceptional challenges posed by the far-reaching changes in Europe demand major exertions on our part. But we Germans want to live up to our responsibility as a large democracy and industrial nation. We are therefore also willing to make our contribution toward solving global problems.

The great poverty in Third World countries, the diseases, hunger, and environmental destruction in large parts of the world, as well as oppression — we must not be indifferent to any of these things. Our moral duty of solidarity with our fellow beings demands this, as do our common sense and our awareness of interdependence and responsibility for each other.

We must therefore continue to pursue a development policy which actively supports the poorest and weakest and above all helps them to help themselves. We realize that the successful use of our resources depends on the basic political, economic, and social conditions in Third World countries. We expect respect for human rights, democratic structures based on the rule of law, and a social, ecologically orientated market economy. Above all, scarce resources in the Third World must not be wasted by disproportionately high spending on armaments.

It remains crucial that we give our partners in the Third World an opportunity to earn funds for their development through equitable trade. In other words, we the industrial nations must open our markets still further. In this context, too — and not least in view of the transatlantic relationship — the GATT Uruguay Round is of vital importance. As a major trading nation we Germans — and this also applies to the European Community as a whole — have a special interest in open world markets.

We Germans have achieved economic success since the war not least by consistently rejecting protectionism. Free world trade alone holds the key to our future. All of us, including the Europeans and Germans, must therefore contribute at the GATT negotiations toward a solution which produces balanced results. Of course, this also applies to our American friends.

An area which similarly calls for global efforts is that of environmental protection. This will be a particularly important subject at the next economic summit in Munich. In the past few years I have on numerous occasions suggested that environmental protection be linked to the debt problem. For example, cancellation

of the debt of Third World countries should, *inter alia*, be made dependent on the funds thus released being used for specific environmental measures. The destruction of tropical rain forests and the hole in the ozone layer over the Antarctic concern people in America just as in Europe. The danger of changes in the world's climate hits a vital nerve of all peoples without distinction. We therefore need universal partnership in environmental matters.

The last few years have seen splendid headway being made by the ideals of freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. But in many parts of the world people are still arbitrarily arrested, humiliated, tortured, and murdered. They deserve our solidarity.

America and Germany are united in the goal of fashioning a world in which there is more freedom, peace is more secure, and our national environment is protected and conserved more effectively. We want to do so jointly.

IX

Allow me finally to say a few personal words to the students here. This is a good opportunity for me to speak to young Americans.

When I entered this auditorium just now, I recalled the days when I was eighteen or twenty years old. That was 1948/50. The Deutschmark had just been introduced. Our country had been destroyed to an extent inconceivable to many today. We were not only materially finished, but also morally at rock bottom. The disgraceful Nazi crimes were fresh in the minds of people.

As I said at the beginning of my lecture, the Americans were the first to extend their hand to us in partnership and then friendship. Inspired by this spirit and driven by the energy of the people we achieved the reconstruction of our country —just as we shall achieve it in the eastern federal states in the next few years.

At that time we young Germans, as pupils and students, had a dream: that of regaining German unity and building a United States of Europe. There have been many setbacks, much pessimism,

and a great deal of skepticism along this road. Yet we accomplished German unity and have advanced substantially toward the unification of Europe. In a few years' time we shall also fully attain this goal.

I regard this as the fulfillment of a dream. In the 1990's at the end of a century which has seen so much death, suffering, and misery, we have the opportunity jointly to build a better world.

Yours is the time now coming. Those who are at present eighteen, twenty, or twenty-two years old have the opportunity to take part in shaping the next century. Remember the experience gained by the generation of your parents and grandparents: peace and freedom, democracy, and the rule of law are the indispensable prerequisite for personal happiness, too.

This is your opportunity. God bless you.