

German Unification
and Its Discontents

Documents from the Peaceful Revolution

RICHARD T. GRAY

and

SABINE WILKE

Editors and Translators

University of Washington Press

Seattle and London

Contents

List of Illustrations	x
Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction: How the East Was Won	xiii
Chronology of Significant Events	xxxi

Documents

1. "Böhlen Platform": Communiqué after a Meeting of Representatives of Diverse Socialist Reform Groups of the GDR	3
2. "New Beginning '89": Call for the Founding of the Political Grouping "New Forum" in the GDR	5
3. "A Call for Intervention in Our Own Affairs": Flyer of the Citizens' Movement "Democracy Now"	7
4. "Call for an Initiative Group 'Social-Democratic Party' in the GDR"	11
5. Joint Declaration of Oppositional Groups in the GDR	12
6. "I'm Staying": Essay by the GDR Historian Karlheinz Blaschke in Response to the Fortieth Anniversary of the GDR	13
7. Statement by the "New Forum" on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the GDR	15
8. "Great Things Were Accomplished by the People and for the People": Erich Honecker's Speech on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the GDR	16
9. "We Are United by the Ideals of Socialism and Peace": Michail Gorbachev's Speech on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the GDR	20
10. Flyer to Welcome East German Emigrants at the Border Crossing in Passau	23
11. Declaration by Participants at a Meeting of the "Unified Left" in Böhlen near Leipzig	25
12. Erich Honecker's Resignation Speech	32
13. Egon Krenz's Television Address After Assuming the Post of General Secretary of the SED	33
14. Preliminary Declaration of Principles and Discussion Paper of the Reform Group "Democratic Awakening"	36
15. Egon Krenz's Television and Radio Address to the Citizens of the GDR	40
16. Call for the Founding of a Green Party in the GDR	44

17. Speeches at the Protest Demonstration on Alexanderplatz in East Berlin	47
Speech by Christoph Hein	47
Speech by Stephan Heym	48
Speech by Christa Wolf	49
Speech by Friedrich Schorlemmer	51
18. Egon Krenz's Speech Before the Central Committee on the Occasion of the Restructuring of the Politburo	53
19. Resolution of the <i>Ministerrat</i> of the GDR Regarding the Opening of the Border to the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin	59
20. Walter Momper's Acceptance Speech upon his Election as President of the West German <i>Bundesrat</i>	60
21. Speeches at the Schöneberg City Hall in West Berlin	61
Speech by Willy Brandt	61
Speech by Helmut Kohl	64
Speech by Hans-Dietrich Genscher	66
22. "The Wall has Fallen": Statement by the "New Forum" Regarding the Opening of the Border	69
23. Hans Modrow's Government Policy Statement Before the GDR <i>Volkskammer</i>	71
24. " 'We Must Not Falsify Once More.' What Preceded and What Followed the Events of October 9 in Leipzig": Speech by Kurt Masur, Director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra	77
25. Call for an Autonomous GDR	80
26. Helmut Kohl's Ten-Point Plan for Overcoming the Division of Germany and Europe: Speech before the <i>Bundestag</i>	81
27. Stefan Heym, "Ash Wednesday in the GDR"	86
28. Statement by Günter Schabowski Announcing the Resignation of the Central Committee and the Politburo of the SED	90
29. Egon Krenz's Speech on the Occasion of His Resignation as Chair of the <i>Staatsrat</i> and as Chair of the National Defense Council	91
30. Self-Definition of the East German Round Table, Formulated at its First Meeting	92
31. Speech by Gregor Gysi, Chair of the SED, Before the Special Party Congress	93
32. "On the Formation of a Common German State": Declaration by the "New Forum"	96

33. Statement by the Round Table Regarding the Visit of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Dresden	98
34. Helmut Kohl's Speech at the Ruins of the Church of Our Lady in Dresden	99
35. Günter de Bruyn, "Pious Wishes, Open Questions"	102
36. Helmut Kohl's New Year's Television Address to the German People	106
37. Government Policy Statement by Hans Modrow, Chair of the <i>Ministerrat</i> of the GDR, Before the <i>Volkskammer</i>	108
38. Statement by the Chair of the <i>Ministerrat</i> of the GDR, Hans Modrow, Addressed to the Participants at the Round Table	115
39. Resolutions of the Eighth Meeting of the Round Table Concerning Relations Between the Round Table and the Government of the GDR	120
40. Plan for a Unified Germany, Presented by Hans Modrow, Chair of the <i>Ministerrat</i> of the GDR	123
41. Martina Krone, "No More Chances for Us?"	125
42. Communiqué by Helmut Kohl after his Discussion with Soviet General Secretary Michail Gorbachev in Moscow	130
43. Positions of the Round Table for the Negotiations Between the Two German Heads of State, Helmut Kohl and Hans Modrow, in Bonn	130
44. Press Conference after the Meeting between Helmut Kohl and Hans Modrow in Bonn	134
Statement by Helmut Kohl	134
Statement by Hans Modrow	138
45. Policy Statement by Chancellor Helmut Kohl Before the <i>Bundestag</i> of the FRG	141
46. Policy Statement by Prime Minister Hans Modrow Before the <i>Volkskammer</i> of the GDR	147
47. "Alliance for Germany": Mail Circular of the "Alliance for Germany" in the District of Böhlitz-Ehrenberg in the Vicinity of Leipzig	155
48. Wolf Biermann, "'That was it. Trap Shut. The Monkey lives': An Obituary for the GDR, a Farewell from 131 Chaussee Strasse, and a Few Frank Words about the Perpetrators Who Now View Themselves as Victims"	156
49. Preamble of the Social Charter Proposed by the Round Table	167
50. Election Poster of "Alliance 90"	168

51. Klaus Hartung, "The Great Changing of the Wheel, or The Revolution Without Utopia"	169
52 Jürgen Habermas, "D-Mark Nationalism"	186
53. Government Policy Statement by Lothar de Maizière, First Freely Elected Prime Minister of the GDR, Before the <i>Volkskammer</i>	205
54. "Article 23 of the Basic Law: No Connection at this Number": Pamphlet of the Green Party of Lower Saxony	219
55. Statements by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the Opening of the Two-Plus-Four Talks in Bonn	224
56. Preamble to the Treaty Creating a Currency, Economic, and Social Union Between the FRG and the GDR	230
57. Summary of the Most Important Points of the Treaty Creating a Currency, Economic, and Social Union	231
58. Speeches on the Occasion of the Signing of the Treaty Creating a Currency, Economic, and Social Union	232
Speech by Helmut Kohl	232
Speech by Lothar de Maizière	235
59. "No to the State Treaty": Declaration of Opposition to the State Treaty by Renegade West German Social-Democratic Parliamentarians	238
60. Television Address by Hans-Jochen Vogel, Leader of the West German Social-Democratic Party, on the Enactment of the Treaty Creating a Currency, Economic, and Social Union	242
61. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Report on His Discussions with Michail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union	245
62. "The Remains of Approximately 15,000 Days of a Socialist Planned Economy": GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maizière's Speech on the Occasion of the Signing of the German Unification Treaty	249
63. The Wording of the Two-Plus-Four Treaty, signed by the Foreign Ministers of the USA, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, the GDR, and the FRG	252
64. The Unification Treaty	258
65. Television Addresses on the Eve of the Day of German Unity	261
Speech by Lothar de Maizière	261
Speech by Helmut Kohl	263

66. Günter Grass, "A 'Steal' Called the GDR": Speech Given at the Reichstag on October 2, 1990, Before the Delegations of the Greens and Alliance 90	265
67. Speech by Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, Former President of the GDR <i>Volkskammer</i> , at the State Ceremony on the Day of German Unity	278
68. Address by President Richard von Weizsäcker at the State Ceremony on the Day of German Unity	280
69. Stefan Heym, "Built on Sand"	292
Glossary	301
Bibliography	314
Index of Persons	315