

DEPARTMENT OF STATE . . . . . IS/EPC/CDR *PC* Date: *5/20/97R* **E7**

(X) RELEASE . . . . . (X) DECLASSIFY . . . . . MR Cases Only:  
 ( ) EXCISE . . . . . ( ) DECLASSIFY . . . . . EO Exemptions

( ) DENY . . . . . IN PART . . . . . TS authority to.  
 ( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info . . . . . ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or  
 FOIA Exemptions . . . . . ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or  
 PA Exemptions . . . . .

<<<<>>>>  
 CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 01 OF 06 211325Z  
 ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
 ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
 (AS-01 ACDA-12)/086 W

-----150405 211641Z /44/48

O 201703Z OCT 89  
 FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1317  
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
 AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
 USAFSB BERLIN GE  
 USDEL NST GENEVA  
 USDOC WASHDC  
 USIA WASHDC 3380

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

CORRECTED COPY - TEXT

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC  
 SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

REFS: EMBBERLIN 8447 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.  
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 EMBBER 08466 01 OF 06 211325Z

2. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: TWO WEEKS AGO THE GDR WAS  
 EASTERN EUROPE'S MOST PROMINENT HOLDOUT AGAINST

DELETED

REFORM. IN DAY TWO OF THE KRENZ ERA IT IS EMBARKED ON REFORMS, BOTH OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED AND DEVELOPING SPONTANEOUSLY. THE MIX IS UNCERTAIN AND SHIFTING. THE NEW LEADERSHIP'S DEGREE OF TACTIC AND COMMITMENT UNKNOWN. IT IS GLASNOST OR, TO USE THE NEW IN SLOGANS, "RENEWAL" (ERNEUERUNG) OR A "TURN" (WENDE), BUT NOT REALLY PERESTROIKA, AT LEAST NOT YET. HOW GENUINE, CONSEQUENTIAL AND PERMANENT THESE CHANGES ARE, HOW MUCH THEY ARE HIS DOING AND HOW MUCH THEY ARE TO HIS LIKING, NO ONE CAN YET SAY, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT KRENZ' GDR IS RAPIDLY DISTANCING ITSELF FROM HONECKER'S.

3. THE NEW LEADER USED OCTOBER 19 TO TALK CANDIDLY WITH BERLIN WORKERS ABOUT PROBLEMS -- NOT LEAST THAT THE PARTY HAD NOT BEEN LISTENING TO THEIR COMPLAINTS -- AND TO MEET WITH THE SENIOR GDR PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN, BISHOP LEICH, IN AN OBVIOUS GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION. MEDIA GLASNOST SPREAD. TELEVISION, ONE OF THE LAST BASTIONS OF ORTHODOXY, FELL WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED CALL-IN-YOUR-COMPLAINTS TALK SHOW DURING WHICH POLITICIANS SOUNDED NEW NOTES ON TOPICS LIKE OPPOSITION, PRICE SUPPORTS AND TRAVEL. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTED THE DEBATE AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING WHICH DEPOSED HONECKER AND INSTALLED KRENZ. IT PORTRAYED THE REFORMERS' HOPE, DRESDEN BOSS HANS MODROW, AS FIGHTING AND LOSING TO OPEN UP THE DEBATE BUT SUCCEEDING IN MODIFYING KRENZ' SPEECH TO THE NATION.

4. MEANWHILE, INDEPENDENT ACTIVISTS, WHO ARE HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS OF KRENZ' INTENTIONS, CONTINUE THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 EMBBER 08466 01 OF 06 211325Z

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, ESTABLISHMENT INSTITUTIONS ARE SHOWING INDEPENDENCE, AND SMALL-SCALE, PEACEFUL STREET DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE MADE THEIR FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE NORTH (GREIFSWALD AND NEUBRANDENBURG). END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

KRENZ REACHES OUT TO A FORGOTTEN CONSTITUENCY...

5. KRENZ WENT TO A BERLIN FACTORY IN EFFECT TO SHOW THAT HE COULD TALK FACE TO FACE WITH WORKERS AND TO APOLOGIZE THAT THE PARTY HAD BEEN IGNORING A FUNDAMENTAL PILLAR OF THE STATE. GDR TELEVISION CARRIED LONG SEGMENTS OF APPARENTLY SPONTANEOUS DEBATE WITH WORKERS WHO LOOKED AND SOUNDED AS IF THEY HAD NOT

DECLASSIFIED

BEEN COACHED BY PARTY HACKS.

6. WHAT PARTICULARLY STRUCK US, IN ADDITION TO THE OVERALL IMPRESSION THAT THIS IS A SKILLED DEBATER WHO BELIEVES HE HAS NO REASON TO SHY FROM UNSTRUCTURED INTERACTION, AS HONECKER SO CLEARLY DID IN HIS LAST YEARS, WERE A FEW ISOLATED MOMENTS:

-- A WORKER TOLD KRENZ THAT MANY FLED THE GDR IN RECENT MONTHS BECAUSE THEY HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT NO ONE IN THE PARTY WAS PAYING ATTENTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS, OR EVEN THAT THE PRESS TALKED ABOUT THEM. THIS HAS BEGUN TO CHANGE, HASN'T IT, ASKED KRENZ, AND THE WORKER AGREED THAT IT APPEARED TO BE DOING SO IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

-- TO KRENZ' PLEA THAT SURELY THERE WERE COMMON INTERESTS BETWEEN WORKERS AND PARTY LEADERS, CAME THE ANSWER THAT THE POLITBURO DIDN'T KNOW WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO RUN ABOUT TRYING TO FIND SPARE PARTS FOR THE CAR AFTER WORK.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 EMBBER 08466 01 OF 06 211325Z

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 02 OF 06 211114Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
/074 W

-----140253 211207Z /44/47

O 201703Z OCT 89  
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1318  
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
USAFSB BERLIN GE  
USDEL NST GENEVA  
USDOC WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC 3381

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC

SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

-- A WORKER TOLD KRENZ TO HIS FACE THAT HE FOUND HIS OCTOBER 18 SPEECH TOO FULL OF GENERALITIES. THE ANSWER: "I THANK YOU FOR TELLING ME THAT I DIDN'T CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 EMBBER 08466 02 OF 06 211114Z

ADDRESS SOME THINGS CONCRETELY. I'LL TRY TO DO BETTER NEXT TIME, BUT SOME THINGS CAN'T BE ANSWERED CONCRETELY TODAY. WE DON'T HAVE A MAGIC WAND TO SOLVE EVERYTHING AT ONCE."

...AND TO AN IGNORED CONSTITUENCY

7. PERHAPS THE DAY'S BIGGEST NEWS WAS THAT KRENZ PUT DISCUSSION WITH THE CHURCH LEADERSHIP SO HIGH ON HIS AGENDA. IN DOING SO, HE SEEMED TO BE SAYING

THAT THE PARTY, WHICH HAD SHUNNED DIALOGUE FOR TWO YEARS, WAS NOW EAGER TO USE THE BISHOPS TO HELP IT COMMUNICATE WITH THE DISCONTENTED ACTIVISTS WHO ARE A GROWING POLITICAL FACTOR.

8. THE MEETING WITH BISHOP LEICH AND HIS LAY DEPUTY, MANFRED STOLPE, OUR CONTACTS SAY, WAS A SURPRISE. A PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED MEETING WITH HONECKER TO DISCUSS THE CHURCH'S VIEW OF THE LOOMING CRISIS HAD BEEN FIRMED UP ONLY LAST WEEK. THE CHURCH LEADERSHIP WAS CONVINCED THAT IT WOULD BE CANCELLED OR POSTPONED. INSTEAD, THEY WERE TOLD THAT THE NEW LEADER WOULD BE HAPPY TO KEEP THE APPOINTMENT.

9. THE 75-MINUTE SESSION AT A HUNTING LODGE NEAR BERLIN PRODUCED LITTLE SPECIFIC, BUT KRENZ WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO BE OPEN AND FORTHCOMING. LEICH SAID THAT KREN HAD SPOKEN CLEARLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN THE SMALL CIRCLE AND WAS A BETTER COMMUNICATOR THAN HIS

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 EMBBER 08466 02 OF 06 211114Z

WOODEN TV-APPEARANCES WOULD INDICATE. (COMMENT: THIS MATCHES OUR IMPRESSION AS WELL, FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH KRENZ. END COMMENT.)

10. THE CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES URGED KRENZ TO TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE CHURCH'S POSITION ON SOCIETAL PROBLEMS. THE CHURCH WAS NOT A FLATTERER OR KNOW-IT-ALL, BUT A RESPONSIBLE ENTITY. IT URGED QUICK, CLEAR SIGNALS OF A NEW BEGINNING. KRENZ HAD AGREED THAT TO REDUCE TENSIONS IT WAS NECESSARY TO GET THINGS MOVING. HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD GONE PERSONALLY TO LEIPZIG OCTOBER 9 TO PREVENT A POLICE-DEMONSTRATOR CONFRONTATION.

11. THE BISHOP STRESSED THE NEED FOR OPEN DIALOGUE WITH EVERYONE -- INCLUDING UNOFFICIAL GROUPS. A DISCUSSION OF THEIR PLATFORMS IN GOVERNMENT-PROVIDED FACILITIES WOULD REDUCE PRESSURE FOR PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS. KRENZ NEITHER AGREED NOR DISAGREED. THE CHURCH LEADERS ALSO URGED TRAVEL EXPANSION, INCLUDING ISSUANCE OF A PASSPORT TO EVERYONE; CLEAR ELECTORAL PROCEDURES; DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. ALSO, THEY SAID, SIMPLE PROCEDURES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED TO REINTEGRATE ANY RETURNING EMIGRES. KRENZ TOOK CAREFUL NOTES BUT GAVE NO PROMISES.

12. CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES TOLD US, HOWEVER,

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 03 OF 06 221311Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
/074 W

-----205602 221318Z /47/47

O 201703Z OCT 89  
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1319  
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
USAFSB BERLIN GE  
USDEL NST GENEVA  
USDOC WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC 3382

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC  
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

THAT THEY BELIEVED THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS  
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING CHANGES, INCLUDING  
EXPANSION OF THE SYSTEM OF LAWS (RECHTSSTAATLICHKEIT).  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 EMBBER 08466 03 OF 06 221311Z

INCREASING PARLIAMENTARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR  
DRAFTING LEGISLATION, AND RELAXING TRAVEL  
RESTRICTIONS. KRENZ TOLD THEM THAT, CONTRARY  
TO RUMORS, THE 1991 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS  
WERE NOT GOING TO BE ADVANCED; THE CHURCH  
PEOPLE TOOK THAT AS A POSITIVE SIGN THAT  
THE TIME WOULD BE USED TO DRAFT NEW ELECTORAL  
REGULATIONS AND PREPARE A DIALOGUE BETWEEN  
GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS ON THE LOCAL LEVELS --  
COUNTY AND TOWN.

13. CHURCH LEADERS DO NOT TILT TOWARD  
EUPHORIA AND HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH REASONS  
TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT KRENZ. HOWEVER,  
THEIR OPINION IS THAT KRENZ IS SERIOUSLY  
INTERESTED IN GETTING THE GDR OUT OF A  
CRISIS THROUGH MANAGED CHANGE. THERE IS,  
OF COURSE, A POSSIBILITY THAT HE MAY PUT OUT  
VERBIAGE AND LITTLE ELSE, CHURCH CONTACTS SAY,  
BUT FOR THE TIME BEING, THEY ARE WILLING TO  
GIVE HIM THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT.

GLASNOST COMES TO NEUES DEUTSCHLAND...

---

14. KRENZ SIGNALLED IN HIS SPEECH THAT EVEN NEUES  
DEUTSCHLAND HAD TO BECOME WORTH READING, AND THE  
PARTY DAILY BEGAN TO COMPLY OCTOBER 20 WITH A REPORT  
THAT MADE CLEAR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM HAD  
SOME CONTROVERSY DESPITE THE "UNANIMOUS" DECISION  
TO RETIRE HONECKER.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03      EMBBER 08466 03 OF 06 221311Z

15. MANFRED EWALD, THE EX-SENIOR SPORTS FUNCTIONARY,  
CRITICIZED THAT THE PARTY WAS NOT PREPARED TO BE MORE  
FORTHCOMING IN TELLING PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY ITS PLANS  
TO DEVELOP CONCRETE NEW POLICIES. HE SAID IT WAS  
TIME FOR THE SED TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND NOT LEAVE  
THIS TO THE BLOC PARTIES IF IT WAS TO REGAIN LOST  
CONFIDENCE.

16. HANS MODROW, THE DRESDEN MODERATE WHO HAS SO LONG  
BEEN TREATED AS A BLACK SHEEP BY THE POLITBURO INNER  
CIRCLE, NEXT CALLED FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO HOLD



A REAL DEBATE, THEN AND NOW. "TRUTH," MODROW SAID, "MUST BE SEARCHED FOR IN DIALOGUE AND NOT PROCLAIMED FROM ABOVE."

17. MODROW'S PROPOSAL TO EXPAND THE DEBATE WAS BLOCKED FIRST BY THE CULTURE MINISTER, HOFFMANN, WHO SAID "WE HAVE NO TIME. EGON KRENZ MUST GO BEFORE THE CAMERAS," THEN BY PUTATIVE KRENZ RIVAL AND BERLIN BOSS SCHABOWSKI WHO SUPPORTED THE MOTION TO BREAK OFF THE DEBATE BUT CLAIMED THAT HE FAVORED IT BEING RESUMED SOON.

18. MOST INTRIGUING, FOR WHAT IT SUGGESTS ABOUT MODRO'S POTENTIAL SUPPORT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IF NOT THE POLITBURO, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTED THAT HE PROPOSED THAT THE TEXT OF KRENZ' SPEECH TO THE NATION (A FORM OF THE REPORT WHICH HE HAD JUST READ TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE), BE EXPANDED TO DEAL MORE WITH CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM. ADN, THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY, IS RUNNING TODAY A SPECIAL NOTE TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS AMENDMENT WAS IN FACT ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 EMBBER 08466 03 OF 06 221311Z

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 04 OF 06 221320Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
/074 W

-----206006 221323Z /47/47

O 201703Z OCT 89  
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1320  
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
USAFSB BERLIN GE  
USDEL NST GENEVA  
USDOC WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC 3383

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 04 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

CORRECTED COPY (FOR TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC

SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

19. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ALSO SOUGHT TO UNDERLINE CHANGE IN AN EDITORIAL WHICH CONTAINED SCARCELY VEILED SHARP CRITICISM OF HONECKER: "THE PARTY...IS INITIATING A  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 EMBBER 08466 04 OF 06 221320Z

TURN. IT HAS BEGUN THEREBY TO ASSESS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT REALISTICALLY AND TO DRAW FROM THAT CONCLUSIONS. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT IN ORDER FOR PROBLEMS IN THE FUTURE TO BE RECOGNIZED IN A TIMELY WAY AND ERRORS TO BE AVOIDED. OUR PARTY IS SHOWING ITS COURAGE TO FACE TRUTH. IT IS MAKING AN END TO OPTIMISTIC WHITEWASHES AND BRAGADOCIO."

...AND TO TELEVISION  
-----

20. THE EVENING NEWS HAD JUST FINISHED KRENZ AT THE FACTORY WHEN IT MOVED TO FULLY NEW TERRITORY. IT OFFERED FOR NEARLY AN HOUR A ROW OF SENIOR POLITICIANS AND INSTITUTE LEADERS WHO SAID THEY WERE WILLING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM LISTENERS. THE MEN ON THE HOT SEAT INCLUDED OTTO REINHOLD, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IDEOLOGUE WHO HAD BECOME SOMETHING OF A POINT MAN IN DEFENDING HONECKER POLICIES IN THE PAST YEAR; MAYOR BERGHOFER, THE 46-YEAR OLD MODROW PROTEGE WHO HAS TURNED INTO AN OVERNIGHT NATIONAL FIGURE BY ENTERING INTO AN INCREASINGLY PUBLICIZED DIALOGUE WITH YOUNG ACTIVISTS, AND MAX SCHMIDT, THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. KARL-EDUARD VON SCHNITZLER, FOR DECADES A NOTORIOUS TELEVISION PROPAGANDIST, WAS THERE BUT SAID SCARCELY A WORD. THE EVENING BELONGED TO THOSE WITH A CHANCE OF ESTABLISHING CREDIBILITY IN THE AUDIENCE.

21. REINHOLD SET THE TONE BY APOLOGIZING FOR RECENT TELEVISION APPEARANCES IN WHICH HE SAID HE HAD TO DEFEND POLICIES ON INSTRUCTION. HE LATER MADE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 EMBBER 08466 04 OF 06 221320Z

HEADLINES BY INDICATING THAT THE NEW TRAVEL LAW WHICH KRENZ SAYS IS BEING CONSIDERED, MAY AUTHORIZE EVERY GDR CITIZEN TO HAVE A PASSPORT AS A MATTER OF RIGHT. HE MUDDIED THE WATERS, HOWEVER, WITH THE ADDITION THAT THEY WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO APPLY FOR VISAS. IF HE MEANT EXIT VISAS, THE MERE POSSESSION OF A PASSPORT WOULD ADD LITTLE TO THE EXISTING SITUATION. THOSE INCLUDING CHURCH CONTACTS WHO BELIEVE THAT KRENZ INTENDS AN EARLY DRAMATIC GESTURE ON TRAVEL BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME CONSIDERABLE LIBERALIZATION WILL BE INVOLVED.

22. THE SPEAKERS TOOK A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT PRICE SUBSIDIES, UNTIL NOW A HOLY COW. BERGHOFER, AN IMPRESSIVE, HANDSOME, SELF-POSSESSED YOUNG-GENERATION POLITICIAN WHO OBVIOUSLY FEELS COMFORTABLE IN FRONT OF A CAMERA, SAID THAT DRESDEN HAD MORE APARTMENTS THAN IT NEEDED -- BUT MANY WERE UNLIVABLE, AND THE CITY COULD NOT AFFORD TO RENOVATE THEM WITH THE RENT INCOME AVAILABLE. IF RENTS WENT UP, HE SAID, LIVING CONDITIONS WOULD IMPROVE.

23. REINHOLD, WHO HAD BRUSHED OFF A SIMILAR SUGGESTION LAST MAY WHEN IT WAS MADE TO HIM IN A SEMINAR ATTENDED BY EMBASSY OFFICERS, SPOKE POSITIVELY OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SAVING ENERGY AND GAINING NEW FUNDS FOR THE STATE BY HIKING HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED ELECTRICITY PRICES.

24. THE MODERATOR SAID THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF CALLS HAD BEEN RECEIVED ABOUT THE "OPPOSITION." THE TYPICAL QUESTION, HE SAID, WAS "SHOULD WE NOT LEGALIZE OPPOSITION PARTIES BECAUSE THEY WOULD HELP US ACCOMPLISH OUR REFORMS QUICKER BY DRAWING ATTENTION TO PROB-

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 05 OF 06 221318Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
/074 W

-----205750 221321Z /47/47

O 201703Z OCT 89  
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1321  
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
USAFSB BERLIN GE  
USDEL NST GENEVA  
USDOC WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC 3384

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC  
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

LEMS." NO ONE ON THE PANEL WENT THAT FAR, BUT REINHOLD  
INSISTED THAT NO INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM  
THE DIALOGUE, AND THE DRESDEN MAYOR SAID THAT THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTION WOULD BECOME SUPERFLUOUS, BUT ONLY IF THE SED SOLVED THE REAL PROBLEMS THAT CRITICS WERE IDENTIFYING.

25. AT THE END, THE MODERATOR APOLOGIZED FOR THE SOMEWHAT DISORGANIZED NATURE OF THE PROGRAM. IT WAS A FIRST TRY, HE SAID, BUT IT WOULD BECOME A REGULAR FEATURE, EVERY SECOND WEEK, WITH ADDITIONAL POLITICIANS BEING DRAWN IN.

INDEPENDENT ACTIVISM  
-----

26. AN ESTIMATED 6,000 STUDENTS INVITED BY THE FDJ (PARTY YOUTH ORGANIZATION) SPILLED OVER INTO NINE AUDITORIA AT BERLIN'S HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY OCTOBER 17 TO DISCUSS THE LEGITIMACY OF THE FDJ AS STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES AND CONSIDER THE ROLE THE STUDENTS WANT TO PLAY WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY.

27. WE TALKED WITH A FACULTY MEMBER AND A STUDENT WHO BELONGS TO AN INDEPENDENT ENVIRONMENTAL GROUP. THEY SAID THE MOST HEATED DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE FDJ'S LEGITIMACY AS STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES AND WHETHER THE STUDENTS SHOULD FORM AN INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION. NO DECISIONS WERE REACHED BUT ACTIVITY CONTINUES. OTHER ITEMS RAISED INCLUDED: SHOULD THE UNIVERSITY BE "OFF LIMITS" TO POLICE, MAKING IT A PLACE WHERE ALL CAN COME AND SPEAK THEIR MIND; OPENING THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES FOR FULL RESEARCH; A STUDENT VOICE IN THE CURRICULA; ALTERING THE STRUCTURE OF MARXISM/LENINISM TEACHING AND REDUCING THE WEIGHT ACCORDED IT IN AWARDING MERIT SCHOLARSHIPS; INSUFFICIENT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

HOUSING, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A STUDENT NEWSPAPER.

28. REPORTEDLY THE STUDENTS IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS HAVE UNTIL OCTOBER 20 TO COLLECT SUGGESTIONS, AND A DECISION ON THE FORM OF REPRESENTATION WILL BE MADE BY OCTOBER 31. THE UNIVERSITY'S VICE PRESIDENT ALSO OFFERED TO MEET WITH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS FACULTIES TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION.

DECLASSIFIED

29. THERE HAS BEEN A FAIR AMOUNT OF COVERAGE IN THE LOCAL BERLIN PRESS, THE FDJ JOURNAL, AND THE LIBERAL PARTY'S DAILY. EVENING TELEVISION NEWS CARRIED CLIPS INCLUDING THE POINT THAT THE FDJ'S ROLE WAS QUESTIONED.

30. ON A DIFFERENT FRONT, THE ARTIST'S ASSOCIATION HAS APPLIED FOR PERMISSION TO DEMONSTRATE IN BERLIN NOVEMBER 19 FOR PRESS FREEDOM (30 DAYS ADVANCE APPLICATION IS REQUIRED BY THE LAW). JOURNALISTS, ESPECIALLY AT THE LIBERAL PARTY PAPER DER MORGEN, ARE AGITATING FOR THEIR ASSOCIATION TO JOIN. NOW THAT KRENZ HAS ANNOUNCED THAT AT LEAST A MORE OPEN PRESS IS OFFICIAL POLICY, THE CHANCES OF THE DEMONSTRATION BEING APPROVED HAVE GONE UP, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW A FINAL DECISION.

31. SOME ACTIVISTS ARE TRYING TO TAKE THE PRESS ISSUE INTO THEIR OWN HANDS IN OTHER WAYS, HOWEVER. THE ENVIRONMENTAL LIBRARY, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS ALREADY PUBLISHED SEVERAL ISSUES OF A NEWSLETTER CALLED "TELEGRAPH," INTENDED TO REACT QUICKLY TO EVENTS. THE MOST RECENT 10-PAGE ISSUE WAS PUT TO BED AT MIDNIGHT OCTOBER 18 WITH SKEPTICAL REACTION TO THE LEADERSHIP CHANGE AND KRENZ' SPEECH, AS WELL AS REPORTS ON THE STUDENT MEETINGS AT THE UNIVERSITY, THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND A FEW SMALL WILDCAT STRIKES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 EMBBER 08466 05 OF 06 221318Z

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 EMBBER 08466 06 OF 06 221316Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-07 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09  
L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 COR-01  
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01  
/074 W

-----205715 221320Z /47/47

O 201703Z OCT 89  
FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1322  
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
USAFSB BERLIN GE  
USDEL NST GENEVA



DECLASSIFIED

USDOC WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC 3385

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 06 OF 06 EMBBERLIN 08466

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

CORRECTED COPY (FOR TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, GC  
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

32. THE LARGEST OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT GROUPS, NEUES FORUM, WHICH CLAIMS THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP HAS PASSED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 EMBBER 08466 06 OF 06 221316Z

30,000 IS ALSO MAKING AN EFFORT TO DEVISE A FORM OF REGULAR INTERNAL COMMUNICATION. REPORTS IN THE WESTERN PRESS THAT IT IS PLANNING A NEWSPAPER OF ITS OWN ARE EXAGGERATED, HOWEVER, A SPOKESMAN TELLS US. IT HOPES TO PUT OUT ABOUT 10 PAGES ONCE EVERY TWO MONTHS DIVIDED EQUALLY BETWEEN NEWS OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND OF THE ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL CHAPTERS. IT FACES CONSIDERABLE PRODUCTION DIFFICULTIES, HOWEVER, SINCE IT HAS NO REPRODUCTION FACILITIES OF ITS OWN AND DEPENDS ON THE ACCESS OF MEMBERS TO INSTITUTE OR FACTORY COMPUTER TERMINALS.

33. DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE ON A SMALL SCALE. FIRST WORD OF STREET ACTIVITY IN THE HITHERTO QUIET NORTH HAS COME IN, IN NEUBRANDENBURG AND GREIFSWALD, WITH 1500 IN THE LATTER CALLING FOR REFORM. DISCUSSION BETWEEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS IS BEING INCREASINGLY INSTITUTIONALIZED IN DRESDEN AND LEIPZIG. IN THE FORMER, THE MAYOR HAS PROPOSED THAT WORKING GROUPS BE ESTABLISHED THAT WOULD MAKE USE OF THE EXISTING TOWN COUNCIL COMMITTEE STRUCTURE.

34. SIMILAR CONTACTS ARE ALSO BEING DEVELOPED IN HALLE, NEUBRANDENBURG AND POSTDAM. IN THE LATTER CITY, NEUES FORUM REPRESENTATIVES HAVE TAKEN PART AND EVEN SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER A SUGGESTION FROM

DECLASSIFIED

A LOCAL PARTY OFFICIAL TO JOIN IN THE DISTRICT'S NATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATION. NEUES FORUM LEADERS IN BERLIN, ON THE OTHER HAND, SAY THEY WILL NOT JOIN CHURCH AND OTHER ACTIVISTS' TALKS WITH THE MAYOR UNTIL THEY ARE ASSURED THAT ALL THOSE ARRESTED IN RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS -- INCLUDING

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 EMBBER 08466 06 OF 06 221316Z

POLICEMEN WHO REFUSED ORDERS TO ATTACK PROTESTORS -- ARE OUT OF JAIL.

COMMENT

-----  
35. KRENZ HAS A LONG WAY TO GO TO ESTABLISH CREDIBILITY OUTSIDE OF THE NARROW PARTY CIRCLE THAT SELECTED HIM, AND GDR REFORM HAS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE ITS CONTOURS CAN BE DETERMINED MUCH LESS BEFORE IT CAN BE CONSIDERED IRREVERSIBLE. BUT FOR NOW AT LEAST, HE IS MAKING GESTURES TO BLUR HIS HARD LINE IMAGE, AND EACH DAY'S KALEIDOSCOPE OF EVENTS IS CHALLENGING THE OLD ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THIS SOCIETY'S PASSIVITY.

BINDENAGEL

CONFIDENTIAL