

periods, at what pace, and under what conditions they will realize their unity.

We thank all our friends and our allies who have stood by us during the past decades in our commitment to unity. Not forgotten are the declarations made by President Bush and President Mitterrand. As we Germans now follow the path to unity for which we have waited for decades, we are aware of the historical dimension of this process.

The historical dimension includes remembering all the suffering inflicted on other nations in the name of Germany. May the German post-war democracy and the resolute stance of the Germans in the GDR for freedom and human rights give all neighbours the reassurance that Germans united in freedom and democracy will contribute to a better Europe.

I reaffirm what Thomas Mann said as early as 1952: "We seek a European Germany, not a German Europe". That is our rejection of the power politics of the past; it is our recollection of the European mission of the Germans.

Vaclav Havel stated in Warsaw: "It is hard to conceive of a United Europe with a divided Germany. Likewise, hard to conceive of is a united Germany in a divided Europe".

The firm linkage of our destiny to that of Europe imposes great responsibility on us Germans. Our geographical position, our history, and the weight of our nation increase that responsibility. We seek our unification out of responsibility for European peace, and we seek it as a contribution to stability in Europe. We seek German unification in the context of integration in the European community. The CSCE process, East-West partnership for stability, the building of the common European house and the creation of a peace order throughout Europe.

We say to all our neighbours what we want to unite: the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the whole of Berlin. No less, but no more. We do not have territorial claims against any of our neighbours. I recall the words I addressed to our Polish colleague before the plenary of the United Nations on September 27, 1989.

We respect the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers with regard to the whole of Germany. The negotiations that the two German states will hold with each other on unification will not take place behind the backs of the Four Powers. We, the Federal Republic of Germany, want the two German states to seek their participation and agreement with them, with the Four Powers.

We want to incorporate the unification of Germany in the pan-European process. We, therefore, attach special importance to the