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GERMANY AND NATO

SUMMARY

1. GENSCHER STATES PUBLICLY THAT IN A UNITED GERMANY TODAY'S GDR SHOULD NOT BECOME A PART OF NATO. CONSISTENT WITH STATEMENTS BY OTHER FEDERAL MINISTERS, BUT GENSCHER HAS MORE CLEARLY DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE US POSITION THAT A UNIFIED GERMANY MUST BE A MEMBER OF NATO. CDU/CSU REACTION.

DETAIL

2. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MASS-CIRCULATION BILD AM SONNTAG ON 28 JANUARY, GENSCHER WAS ASKED WHETHER TODAY'S GDR SHOULD BECOME PART OF NATO IN A UNITED GERMANY. HE REPLIED: 'NO, THAT WOULD BE THE END OF OUR EFFORTS FOR UNITY. WHOEVER WANTS TO EXTEND NATO'S BOUNDARY TO THE ODER AND NEISSE IS SLAMMING THE DOOR SHUT FOR A UNITED GERMANY. ON THE OTHER HAND OUR (COMMENT INTERPRETED HERE AS THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S) REMAINING IN NATO IS NOT IN DISPUTE'. GENSCHER ADDED THAT THE ALLIANCES WOULD BECOME BUILDING BLOCKS OF COOPERATIVE SECURITY STRUCTURES FOR THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. THE SOVIET UNION'S SECURITY INTERESTS MUST ALSO BE KEPT IN VIEW: 'WE DO NOT WANT TO DESTABILISE EUROPE, BUT TO ACHIEVE MORE SECURITY THROUGH A STABILITY PARTNERSHIP'. GENSCHER ALSO SAID THAT HE DID NOT (NOT) ENVISAGE THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM GERMAN SOIL FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE: 'WE NEED THE US FOR STABILITY IN EUROPE.'

3. FRAU GEIGER, CDU/CSU FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESWOMAN IN THE BUNDESTAG, REACTED ON 30 JANUARY TO GENSCHER'S STATEMENT. SHE SAID THAT SINCE THE WESTERN ALLIANCE HAD HITHERTO BEEN A FACTOR FOR STABILITY, IT WAS ONLY CONSISTENT TO SAY THAT A GROWING TOGETHER OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES WAS POSSIBLE ONLY ON THE FIRM GROUND OF THE FRG'S MEMBERSHIP OF NATO. OF COURSE THE ALLIANCES WOULD ACQUIRE COMPLETELY NEW TASKS, WHICH MADE A 'ROOF OF OVERLAPPING INTERESTS' CONCEIVABLE. 'FOR THE TRANSITION', IT WAS POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT NO NATO FORCES WOULD BE STATIONED ON GDR TERRITORY, AND EVEN THAT A LIMITED CONTINGENT OF SOVIET TROOPS WOULD REMAIN IN THE GDR. BUT THE OPTION

OF A NEUTRAL GERMANY WAS COMPLETELY EXCLUDED.

COMMENT

4. GENSCHER'S REMARKS, HIS FIRST PUBLIC UTTERANCE ON THIS QUESTION, ARE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE TOLD ME ON 4 JANUARY (MY TELNO 018). HIS WISH TO KEEP THE FRG IN NATO, AND TO KEEP SOME US FORCES HERE, IS WELCOME. BUT GENSCHER HAS DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE US POSITION THAT A UNITED GERMANY, AS A WHOLE, SHOULD BE IN NATO. KOHL'S VIEWS ARE STILL UNCLEAR (MY TELNO 92), WHILE PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER'S VIEWS ARE CLOSE TO GENSCHER'S (BMG BERLIN TELNO 015). DEFENCE MINISTER STOLTENBERG, WHILE EXPRESSING SIMILAR VIEWS TO GENSCHER ON THE SUBSTANCE (CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND US TROOP PRESENCE, POSSIBLE SPECIAL STATUS FOR GDR TERRITORY) HAS BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO APPEAR TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THE US (BRINKLEY'S TELELETTER OF 25 JANUARY TO LEVER, SECURITY POLICY DEPT).

5. ONE MOTIVE FOR GENSCHER STAKING OUT HIS OWN POSITION MAY HAVE BEEN RECENT SPD STATEMENTS (BY EHMKE AND BAHR) THAT A UNIFIED GERMANY WAS ONLY THINKABLE IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISSOLUTION OF THE BLOCS THROUGH A EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

6. GENSCHER, LIKE KOHL, IS CLEARLY HOPING THAT CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF THE ALLIANCES WILL EASE THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING GERMAN UNITY AND NATO MEMBERSHIP. FOR THE TIME BEING HIS AIM APPEARS TO BE TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING FRG MEMBERSHIP OF NATO AND FOR THE PRESENCE OF US TROOPS WHILE KEEPING OPEN THE PROSPECT OF GERMAN UNIFICATION.

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