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MY TELNO 95 : GERMAN UNIFICATION *ms*

SUMMARY

1. GDR FOREIGN MINISTER SUMMONS ME TO GIVE WEIGHT TO MODROW'S REMARKS ON UNIFICATION. HE EMPHASISES THE NEED TO PROTECT FOUR POWER INTERESTS AND THE DANGERS OF RENEWED NATIONALISM.

DETAIL

2. I WAS SUMMONED TO SEE THE GDR FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING, FISCHER APOLOGISED FOR ADDRESSING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES RATHER THAN BILATERAL ONES AT OUR FIRST MEETING, BUT HE HAD COVERED BILATERAL ISSUES VERY SATISFACTORILY WITH YOU AND WHAT HE HAD TO SAY WAS PRESSING.

3. THE SITUATION IN THE GDR HAD NOT IMPROVED SINCE YOUR VISIT. IF ANYTHING, TENSIONS HAD INCREASED AND THERE HAD BEEN NO REDUCTION IN THE STREAM OF EMIGRANTS. THIS WAS THE BACKGROUND TO MODROW'S STATEMENT YESTERDAY. HE WISHED TO UNDERLINE CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THIS.

4. THE FIRST WAS THAT MODROW WAS WORKING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE FOUR POWERS MUST BE PROTECTED. THERE MUST BE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND NO RETURN TO NATIONALISM. THE INTERESTS OF THE FOUR WERE, MOREOVER, SHARED BY ALL EUROPEAN STATES.

5. SECONDLY, HE WISHED TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF GERMAN MILITARY NEUTRALITY. THE GENERAL PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT AS IT PROCEEDED WOULD ALLOW GERMAN MILITARY NEUTRALITY. THE GDR'S ANTI-FASCIST AND HUMANIST TRADITION WOULD BE MAINTAINED.

6. THIRDLY, THE GDR WAS AGAINST THE TERM REUNIFICATION BECAUSE THOSE WHO USED IT INTENDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOURTH REICH. BUT

THE GDR WAS IN FAVOUR OF UNIFICATION, ACHIEVED WITH JUDGEMENT AND AT A STEADY PACE. ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD THE INTERESTS OF THE FOUR POWERS BE PRESERVED. IF UNITY CAME QUICKLY THERE WOULD BE NATIONALIST EXCESSES. THERE MUST BE NO NEW NAZI MOVEMENT. UNIFICATION MUST BE BEDDED IN THE PROCESS THAT PUT AN END TO THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. MECHANISMS ALREADY EXISTED: THE CSCE PROCESS AND THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE. IN THIS CONNECTION HE FOUND PRESIDENT MITTERAND'S IDEAS FOR A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION OF INTEREST. A SEPARATE GERMAN SOLUTION WOULD CREATE DANGERS. HE ASKED THAT THE UK SHOULD GIVE ITS SUPPORT TO THESE IDEAS, NOTABLY IN THE ALLIANCE.

7. FISCHER WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE GDR NEEDED TO PROCEED WITH CALM AND REFLECTION. THE INTERFERENCE COMING FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THE GDR ELECTORAL PROCESS WAS UNHELPFUL. HOWEVER RIDICULOUS IT WAS THAT WEST GERMAN POLITICIANS SHOULD SPEAK OF STANDING FOR ELECTION, SUCH REMARKS DISTURBED PEOPLE HERE. IN PARTICULAR IT ADDED TO TIME PRESSURE.

8. I REPLIED, WELCOMING HIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE ROLE THE UK HAD TO PLAY, AND STRESSING OUR INTEREST IN PEACE AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE, ADDING THAT IT HAD TO BE RECOGNISED HOWEVER THAT EVENTS DID NOT ALWAYS ALLOW THE CALM PACE WHICH HE DESIRED. FISCHER TOOK ME UP ON THIS AND SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE AREA SURROUNDING THE TWO GERMAN STATES SHOULD REMAIN CALM IF A MAELSTROM WAS TO BE AVOIDED. SPONTANEITY WAS DANGEROUS. HE RETURNED TO THE GDR AUTHORITIES' CONCERNS AT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEO NAZI PHENOMENA, SAYING THAT HE EXPECTED THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE TO MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THESE SINCE THEY WERE INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GDR.

9. FISCHER SAID HE WOULD BE SPEAKING IN SIMILAR TERMS TO OTHER AMBASSADORS. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ME WHETHER HE MEANS JUST THOSE OF THE FOUR POWERS OR OTHERS AS WELL. I KNOW HE HAS SEEN MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE.

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