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GERMAN UNIFICATION AND THE ALLIANCE

SUMMARY

1. THE U S PROPOSES DETAILED NATO DISCUSSION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION.
INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTED.

DETAIL

2. AT TODAY'S PERMREPS LUNCH, KORNBLUM (U S) TOLD US THAT HE WAS ON THE POINT OF CIRCULATING THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM SECRETARY BAKER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL PROPOSING DISCUSSION AT 16 OF THE GERMAN QUESTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. TEXT IN MIFT. IT IS BEING COPIED TO ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS.

3. IN AMPLICATION OF THE LETTER KORNBLUM SAID THAT, BEYOND THE GENERAL ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, GERMAN UNIFICATION REAISED MANY DETAILED QUESTIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. A SYSTEMATIC AND STRUCTURED APPROACH TO THEIR RESOLUTION WAS REQUIRED. THE U S WOULD LIKE TO SEE EXCHANGES OF VIEW BEGUN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM ME KORNBLUM CONFIRMED THAT THIS MEANT BEFORE THE END OF FEBRUARY. (VON PLOETZ (FRG) CONFIRMED PRIVATELY THAT HE HAD NO IDEA BAKER'S LETTER WAS IN THE OFFING.)

4. THE NEXT PRIVATE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL IN THESE ISSUES IS DUE TO TAKE PLACE AT 1600 HOURS TOMORROW 21 FEBRUARY. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR A PRELIMINARY REACTION TO BAKER'S LETTER. ARE WE CONTENT THAT THIS KIND OF DEBATE SHOULD START SOON? THE GERMANS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE AT ALL HAPPY AT THE PROSPECT BUT I DOUBT WHETHER IT WILL NOW BE POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO DELAY MATTERS.

5. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE DUTCH, ON INSTRUCTIONS, ANNOUNCED IN THE COURSE OF THIS MORNING'S MEETING OF THE CSCE SUMMIT WORKING GROUP THAT THEY REGARDED THE WORKING GROUP AS A SUITABLE PLACE TO DISCUSS GERMAN UNIFICATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ALLIANCE SECURITY. THIS

DISCUSSION SHOULD BE INITIATED BEFORE DELIBERATIONS IN THE 2 PLUS 4 FORMAT BEGAN, AND CERTAINLY BEFORE DECISIONS WERE TAKEN. (FOR REPORT PLEASE SEE MY TELS NOS 73 AND 74.) JACOBVITS (NETHERLANDS) CONFIREMD AT LUNCH TODAY THAT THE DUTCH WERE LIKELY TO CIRCULATE A PAPER ON THE SUBJECT BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP ON 10 MARCH.

6. OTHER INTERVENTIONS AT TODAY'S LUNCH EG FROM SMITH (CANADA), THUYSBAERT (BELGIUM) AND FULCI (ITALY), CONFIREMD EARLIER INDICATIONS OF UNHAPPINESS AMONG THE ALLIES ABOUT THE PRESENT COURSE OF EVENTS. THE BASIC TEME WAS THAT IF THE GERMANS WANTED THEIR ALLIES 'TO KEEP QUIET' THEY WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE MORE INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT WAS GOING ON AND ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS. THE OUTCOME OF YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN KOHL, GENSCHER AND STOLTENBERG (BONN TLENO 218 REFERS) WAS MUCH IN EVERYBODY'S MIND. THE POINT LEFT UNRESOLVED BY YESTERDAY'S MEETING (BONN TEL UNDER REFERENCE PARA 3) ABOUT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE FORMER TERRITORY OF THE DDR WAS RAISED MORE THAN ONCE - AS INDEED IT HAD BEEN LAST WEEK.

7. THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES ARE, AS EVERYBODY HERE RECOGNISES, ENGAGED IN A SINGULARLY COMPLICATED OPERATION. BUT IT DOES NOT HELP THE SITUATION THAT THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED (IN THE WORDS OF OJEDA (SPAIN)) IN GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE VIEWS OF THE REST OF THE ALLIANCE. THEY WILL HAVE TO WORK HARD TO REMOVE THIS IMPRESSION. VON PLOETZ HAD MADE IT OBVIOUS THAT HE IS UNCOMFORTABLY AWARE OF THIS. HOWEVER HE SO FAR SEEMS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IN THE WAY OF HELPFUL GUIDANCE FROM BONN. HE IS THEREFORE REDUCED TO PLEADING THE EXTREME DELICACY OF THE SITUATION AND THE UNDESIRABILITY OF PREMATURE OR DETAILED DISCUSSION HERE.

ALEXANDER

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MIPT: GERMAN UNIFICATION AND THE ALLIANCE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY BAKER'S LETTER:

BEGINS:

EVENTS IN EUROPE CONTINUE TO MOVE RAPIDLY, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE PROSPECTS FOR GERMAN UNIFICATION. AT OUR RECENT MEETING IN OTTAWA, I BELIEVE WE MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN ASSURING THAT THESE CHANGES GO FORWARD IN A PEACEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER, CONSISTENT WITH THE INTERESTS OF ALL EUROPEAN STATES.

OUR AGREEMENT IN OTTAWA TO SET UP A GROUP INCLUDING THE TWO GERMAN STATES AND THE FOUR STATES WITH RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE ESTABLISHES AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF OVERALL PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS. THIS IS THE FORUM IN WHICH THOSE ISSUES RELATED TO RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH THE U.S., UK, FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION RETAIN AS THE RESULT OF AGREEMENTS MADE DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II CAN BEST BE ADDRESSED.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN UNITY ALSO RAISES ISSUES OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO NATO. I BELIEVE WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT GERMANY'S CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION IN NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE, AND THE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF NATO FORCES TO THE SECURITY OF GERMANY IS OF ENDURING IMPORTANCE TO STABILITY AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE. AS THE PROCESS OF UNIFICATION MOVES FORWARD, SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS MAY BE APPROPRIATE AS REGARDS THE TERRITORY OF EAST GERMANY. THESE AND OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES -- INCLUDING THOSE POLITICAL ISSUES THAT GROW OUT OF THE REVIEW OF SECURITY ISSUES -- WILL NEED TO BE DISCUSSED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. SIMILARLY, THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF GERMAN UNITY WILL, I KNOW, BE CONSIDERED WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE WILL BE CONSIDERING IN THE COMING WEEKS HOW BEST TO STRUCTURE THESE NATO CONSULTATIONS AND I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS.

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THE CSCE PROCESS WILL ALSO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN INSURING THAT ALL THE CHANGES UNDERWAY IN EUROPE MOVE FORWARD IN A MANNER WHICH STRENGTHENS OUR COMMON SECURITY AND COOPERATION. I AM PLEASED THAT WE WERE ABLE TO AGREE IN OTTAWA TO ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP WITHIN NATO TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR A CSCE SUMMIT. NATO IS THE PROPER FORUM -- RELYING ON DISCUSSIONS IN THE SPECIAL GROUP WHICH WOULD REPORT PERIODICALLY TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL -- FOR ARRIVING AT AN INTEGRATED WESTERN APPROACH TO THESE CHANGES.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU ON THESE CRITICAL ISSUES THROUGHOUT WHAT I KNOW WILL BE AN EXCEPTIONALLY ACTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE YEAR.

ENDS:

ALEXANDER

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