

RESTRICTED

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MDHIAN 1915

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FM PRAGUE
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 235
OF 191415Z MARCH 90
INFO PRIORITY MODUK, MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN, BONN, SOFIA, BUDAPEST
INFO PRIORITY WARSAW, BUCHAREST, UKDEL NATO, ACTOR

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WARSAW PACT: PRAGUE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

SUMMARY

1. CZECHOSLOVAKIA PROPOSES A EUROPEAN SECURITY COMMISSION TO GUARANTEE PEACE IN A POST-BLOC EUROPE. RANGE OF WARSAW PACT VIEWS ON NATO MEMBERSHIP OF A UNITED GERMANY - USSR STILL OPPOSED. UNIVERSAL CONCERN AT POTENTIAL SIZE OF UNIFIED GERMAN ARMY. SUPPORT FOR EXISTING POLISH BORDERS. REAFFIRMATION OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DETAIL

2. FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ALL 7 WARSAW PACT MEMBER STATES (INCLUDING THE GDR AND ROMANIA) MET IN PRAGUE ON 17 MARCH AT DIENSTBIER'S (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) INVITATION. AFTER A BRIEF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL THE MINISTERS HAD TWO FORMAL SESSIONS TOGETHER AND A WORKING LUNCH. THE BLAND FINAL COMMUNIQUE MERELY SAID THEY DISCUSSED GERMAN UNIFICATION WITHIN EXISTING FRONTIERS, FUTURE EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURES AND OTHER MILITARY AND POLITICAL ISSUES (COPY BY BAG TO EED).

3. DIENSTBIER'S SPEECH ADDRESSED THE GERMAN QUESTION AND PRESENTED CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S PROPOSALS FOR NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY INSTITUTIONS. HE SAID THAT ATTEMPTS TO PRESSURISE GERMANY MIGHT STRENGTHEN EXTREMISM AND RENEW THE 'VERSAILLES COMPLEX'. GERMAN UNIFICATION WAS A MATTER FOR THE GERMANS, SO LONG AS IT WAS BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS. CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE INTEGRATION OF THE GDR INTO THE EC. THE MORE GERMANY WAS INTEGRATED INTO EUROPE THE BETTER IT COULD BE CONTROLLED. ANXIETIES WOULD BE EASED IF A NEW UNITED GERMAN STATE RENOUNCED ALL WEAPONS OF MASS DETRUCTION, CONFIRMED BY TREATY ITS BORDER WITH POLAND ON THE ODER-NEISSE LINE AND RADICALLY REDUCED ITS MILITARY FORCES. CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUPPORTED THE 4 PLUS 2 TALKS AS A PRELIMINARY STEP, WITH FINAL DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS. POLAND

SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT ANY TALKS ABOUT ITS FRONTIERS. DIENSTBIER ALSO CALLED FOR A HELSINKI SUMMIT IN 1991.

4. TURNING TO FUTURE SECURITY STRUCTURES, DIENSTBIER SAID THAT ARGUMENTS FOR THE RETENTION OF THE TWO MILITARY-POLITICAL BLOCS WERE BASED ON AN OUTDATED CONCEPT OF THE BALANCE OF POWER. CZECHOSLOVAKIA WANTED A NEW EUROPEAN ORDER, WITHOUT BLOCS. THE CORE OF ANY COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT ON EUROPEAN SECURITY MUST BE A TREATY COMMITTING SIGNATORIES TO COME TO THE HELP OF ANY MEMBER WHICH WAS ATTACKED. SUCH AN AGREEMENT SHOULD COVER PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES 'FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO VLADIVOSTOK'. A EUROPEAN SECURITY COMMISSION WOULD BE THE EXECUTIVE BODY OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT. IT WOULD HAVE TWO CHAMBERS: A CHAMBER OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AND A SUBORDINATE MILITARY CHAMBER OF DEFENCE MINISTERS. A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT WOULD RUN THE COMMISSION ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. CZECHOSLOVAKIA OFFERED PRAGUE AS THE SITE FOR THE COMMISSION.

5. FINALLY DIENSTBIER LOOKED AHEAD STILL FURTHER. IF A COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT ON EUROPEAN SECURITY WERE SUCCESSFUL, THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE THE FOUNDATION OF AN ORGANISATION OF EUROPEAN STATES, EVENTUALLY FOLLOWED BY A EUROPEAN FEDERATION.

6. SKUBISZEWSKI (POLAND) AND DIENSTBIER GAVE A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE AFTERWARDS. THE MFA PRESS SPOKESMAN SAID THERE HAD BEEN A RANGE OF VIEWS ON A UNITED GERMANY'S NATO MEMBERSHIP BUT ONLY SHEVARDNADZE HAD CATEGORICALLY OPPOSED IT. DIENSTBIER SAID HIS PROPOSALS HAD BEEN SYMPATHETICALLY HEARD. THE WORST ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE A NEUTRAL UNITED GERMANY. THE WARSAW PACT WOULD BE NEEDED TO NEGOTIATE DISARMAMENT. HE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN ON HOW LONG HE THOUGHT NATO AND THE PACT WOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST. SKUBISZEWSKI SAID POLAND'S MAIN CONCERN WAS ITS BORDERS. NEUTRALITY WOULD ISOLATE GERMANY AND THIS WOULD NOT BE IN POLAND'S INTERESTS. THE USSR NEEDED GUARANTEES THAT IT WOULD NOT BE THREATENED BY A UNITED GERMANY. MINISTERS AT THE MEETING ALL WANTED A GREAT REDUCTION IN THE ARMED FORCES OF A UNITED GERMANY. THE WARSAW PACT STILL EXISTED AS A MILITARY ORGANISATION WITH A UNIFIED COMMAND, BUT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF IT EVER AGAIN IMPOSING A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT ON ANY MEMBER STATE. ON LITHUANIA, BOTH DIENSTBIER AND SKUBISZEWSKI SAID THEY SUPPORTED SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NATIONS, BUT THIS SHOULD COME ABOUT PEACEFULLY AND IN DIALOGUE WITH THE USSR.

COMMENT

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7. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING HAS SHOWN (IF PROOF WERE NEEDED) THAT THE WARSAW PACT STRUCTURES, BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY, ARE BECOMING IRRELEVANT. THE CZECHOSLOVAKS WILL HOWEVER BE GLAD THAT THIS IS BEING DONE WITHOUT ACRIMONY, EVEN IF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FLESHING-OUT OF THE HAVEL-DIENSTBIER SCHEME FOR A PAN-EUROPEAN STRUCTURE IS SOMEWHAT MUTED.

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