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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 516

OF 241329Z APRIL 90

INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, PARIS, WASHINGTON

INFO ROUTINE EAST BERLIN, BM BERLIN, MODUK, UKDEL NATO, UKDEL VIENNA

SIC/ECA

GERMAN UNIFICTION: SOVIET INTENTIONS IN 2 PLUS 4

SUMMARY

1. KVITSINSKY, DESIGNATED SOVIET PARTICIPANT IN 2 PLUS 4 AT OFFICIAL LEVEL, DESCRIBES ASPECTS OF LIKELY SOVIET POSITION ON 5 MAY.

DETAIL

2. AT A RECEPTION TODAY I HAD A TALK WITH KVITSINSKY, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HERE WHO RETURNS TO MOSCOW ON 15 MAY TO BECOME DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AND SOVIET PARTICIPANT IN 2 PLUS 4 AT POLITICAL DIRECTOR LEVEL. I ASKED HIM WHETHER SHEVARDNADZE WOULD HAVE NEW THINGS TO SAY ON 5 MAY. KVITSINSKY GAVE A SURPRISINGLY FULL ANSWER. HE SAID THAT THE MEETING OF 2 PLUS 4 AT OFFICIAL LEVEL ON 30 APRIL MIGHT NOT DO MUCH MORE THAN PREPARE MATERIAL FOR MINISTERS ON 5 MAY. BUT THE PROCESS MUST GET PROPERLY INTO SUBSTANCE ON 5 MAY. TO ACCELERATE THINGS, THE SOVIET UNION WAS CONSIDERING WHETHER TO TABLE THEN A DRAFT OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE 2 PLUS 4 PROCESS. THOSE CONCLUSIONS SHOULD CONSIST OF PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES AGREED IN 2 PLUS 4, WHICH WOULD BE WORKED OUT IN DETAIL AND GIVEN EFFECT THROUGH SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS IN VARIOUS GROUPS.

3. ON FRONTIERS, FOR INSTANCE, 2 PLUS 4 SHOULD AGREE THAT UNITED GERMANY WOULD CONSIST OF THE PRESENT FRG AND GDR AND WOULD HAVE NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS BEYOND THAT. THE POLISH-GERMAN FRONTIER WOULD THEN BE FIXED IN A TREATY, THUS GIVING LEGAL FORCE TO A MAJOR APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL PROPOSITION. I ASKED HOW THE SOVIET FORCES IN THE GDR WOULD BE COVERED. KVITSINSKY SAID THAT 2 PLUS 4 MIGHT AGREE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF REDUCTION OF FOREIGN FORCES OVER A STATED PERIOD, SAY 5 YEARS. THERE MIGHT ALSO BE A PRINCIPLE ABOUT RETENTION OF MILITARY MISSIONS OR SYMBOLIC LEVELS OF FORCES AFTER 5 YEARS. (KVITSINSKY SAID THIS IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION ABOUT SOVIET FORCES, WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHETHER THESE PRINCIPLES MIGHT ALSO APPLY TO WESTERN FORCES IN THE FRG). HE SAID THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF

THE PRINCIPLES ABOUT FORCES SHOULD BE SETTLED IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO DETAILED AGREEMENTS.

4. KVITSINSKY ALSO SAID THAT 2 PLUS 4 COULD AGREE ON A GUIDELINE FOR LIMITS ON NATIONAL FORCES, WITH A VIEW TO SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. THE LIMIT ON THE BUNDESWEHR MIGHT BE 250,000.

5. ANOTHER MAJOR PRINCIPLE FOR AGREEMENT IN 2 PLUS 4 WOULD BE 'PACTA SUNT SERVANDA'. THAT WOULD MEAN THAT THE EXISTING TREATIES BINDING THE FRG AND THE GDR WOULD REMAIN IN FORCE UNLESS AND UNTIL THEY WERE RENEGOTIATED OR TERMINATED IN NEGOTIATION BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE OTHER PARTNER OR PARTNERS. THUS, TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN UNITED GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD CONTINUE MUCH AS BEFORE UNLESS THERE WAS MUTUAL AGREEMENT TO CHANGE. OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD EQUALLY BE FREE TO NEGOTIATE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WITH GERMANY BUT THEIR OLD ONES WOULD STAND MEANWHILE.

6. KVITSINSKY SAID THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES AGREED IN 2 PLUS 4 SHOULD BE BLESSED BY THE CSCE SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER. GERMAN UNITY WOULD FOLLOW THAT. BUT FOUR POWER RIGHTS IN RELATION TO GERMANY WOULD REMAIN IN BEING FOR A FIXED PERIOD, POSSIBLY 18 MONTHS, WHILE FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE IN VARIOUS FORA. THE TERMINATION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS MIGHT BE MADE CONDITIONAL ON AGREEMENT FIRST BEING REACHED ON THE MAJOR MATTERS. AT THIS POINT WE WERE INTERRUPTED, SO I WAS NOT ABLE TO QUIZ KVITSINSKY MORE CLOSELY.

7. KVITSINSKY TOLD ME THAT HE HAD PUT THESE VIEWS TO KOHL. I HAVE INDICATIONS THAT HE HAS ALSO SPOKEN TO LAMBSDORFF. I SHALL FERRET FOR GERMAN REACTIONS.

MALLABY

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