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SIC ECA

GERMAN UNIFICATION: 2 PLUS 4 MINISTERIAL MEETING 5 MAY

SUMMARY

1. GENSCHER THINKS SOVIET UNION'S UNCERTAINTY ABOUT SUBSTANCE FOR 2 PLUS 4 NEGOTIATIONS LIES BEHIND ITS MORE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS. SEES DEVELOPMENT OF CSCE AS A MAJOR WAY OF BRINGING THE RUSSIANS TO AGREEMENT ON THE COMPLEX OF EUROPEAN ISSUES. EXPECTS SOVIET POSITIONS TO BECOME MUCH CLEARER BEFORE MINISTERIAL 2 PLUS 4 MEETING ON 5 MAY.

DETAIL

2. I ASKED GENSCHER AT A RECEPTION TODAY WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET POSITIONS ON GERMANY AND ARMS CONTROL HAD RECENTLY HARDENED. HE SAID THAT THEY HAD HARDENED DE FACTO. BUT HE DID NOT THINK THIS WAS A CHANGE OF POLICY. RATHER IT REFLECTED A TENDENCY TO STONEWALL WHILE SOVIET POSITIONS ON KEY ELEMENTS IN THE 2 PLUS 4 NEGOTIATIONS WERE WORKED OUT. THERE WAS MUCH EVIDENCE OF HESITATION AND CONTRADICTION IN SOVIET THINKING ON 2 PLUS 4 MATTERS SO FAR. BUT THE RUSSIANS HAD AGREED READILY TO THE MINISTERIAL MEETING ON 5 MAY. THERE WAS GOOD REASON TO HOPE THAT THEY WOULD FORM CLEARER VIEWS BY 5 MAY, WHICH SHEVARDNADZE THEN WOULD PUT FORWARD.

3. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE PROBLEM WITH 2 PLUS 4 WAS TO FIND POINTS FOR AGREEMENT WHICH THE RUSSIANS COULD PRESENT AS ADVANCING THEIR INTERESTS. THE MAJOR AREA FOR THIS WAS CSCE. THE SOVIET UNION WAS EXCLUDED FROM MANY OF THE MAIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, FOR INSTANCE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE SUMMIT 7. GIVING THEM A MAJOR, LASTING ROLE IN A FURTHER DEVELOPED CSCE WOULD ADVANCE THEIR SUBSTANTIVE INTERESTS AND THEIR NEED TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF BEING THE LOSERS IN THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS. WESTERN LEADERS ALSO WANTED TO DEVELOP CSCE, THOUGH OF COURSE NOT INSTEAD OF NATO, SO THERE SHOULD BE SCOPE FOR GOOD PROGRESS. THE OUTLINES OF NEW CSCE PROVISIONS MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN 2 PLUS 4 BUT THE REAL NEGOTIATION

WOULD FOLLOW IN THE FULL CSCE FORUM. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT ALSO GAIN SOME REASSURANCE AND ADVANTAGE ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, ESPECIALLY IN TRADE RELATIONS WITH GERMANY. HAUSSMANN, THE FEDERAL ECONOMICS MINISTER, TOLD ME TODAY THAT HE WOULD VISIT MOSCOW IN LATE MAY AND THAT THE VISIT WOULD BE THOROUGHLY PREPARED BY OFFICIALS.

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