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FM MOSCOW

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 814

OF 080640Z MAY 90

INFO IMMEDIATE BONN EAST BERLIN BM BERLIN WASHINGTON PARIS UKDEL NATO
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GERMAN UNIFICATION: SOVIET VIEWS

1. IZVESTIA COMMENTARY INDICATES SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF LIMITED NATO
MEMBERSHIP FOR GERMANY

DETAIL

2. IZVESTIYA OF 7 MAY PUBLISHED A COMMENTARY 'A CONCESSION TO
COMMON SENSE' BY SERGEI GUK ON THE OUTCOME OF THE 2 PLUS 4 TALKS.
THE FULL TEXT FOLLOWS.

3. 'THE KEY TO UNITY HAS NOW BEEN PASSED TO THE GERMANS' WAS HOW
HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER CHARACTERISED THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF
THE SIX FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BONN. THERE WAS EXCITEMENT IN THE WEST
GERMAN MEDIA: IF THE GERMANS WANTED TO, THEY COULD UNITE BEFORE THE
END OF THE YEAR. MOSCOW WOULD NO LONGER INSIST ON ITS PREVIOUS
DEMANDS - UNITY ONLY AFTER THE QUESTION OF GERMANY'S BLOC MEMBERSHIP
HAD BEEN SETTLED. AN 'HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH' HAD BEEN ACHIEVED -
THANKS TO THE REALISM SHOWN BY THE KREMLIN AT THE LAST MINUTE.

4. 'YES, MOSCOW HAS IN FACT MADE A DECISIVE CONCESSION. NOT TO THE
WEST - BUT TO COMMON SENSE. TO DEMAND THAT THE FRG SHOULD LEAVE NATO
(IN THE SAME WAY THAT THE GDR, WELDING ITSELF TO THE WEST, WILL SOON
LEAVE THE WTO) IS UNREAL, UNREALISABLE.

5. 'WHAT OTHER WAY OUT WAS THERE FOR US FROM THE BLIND ALLEY WE
WERE IN, THE USSR REMAINING ISOLATED. THE IDEA OF GERMAN NEUTRALITY
RECEIVES NO SUPPORT FROM POLAND OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH,
INCIDENTALLY, WERE JUST AS GREAT SECURITY INTERESTS AS US? IMPOSE A
VETO? IN OTHER WORDS, TO PREVENT THE STRONG WISH OF THE MAJORITY OF
EAST GERMANS, THE MAIN CATALYST OF UNITY? BUT IN THAT CASE WE WOULD
ADD TO THE SOURCES OF INSTABILITY WHICH HAVE SPRUNG UP IN EASTERN
EUROPE YET ONE MORE, AND THAT IN THE CENTRE OF THE CONTINENT. IN THE
VERY PLACE WHERE ARE CONCENTRATED THE TROOPS OF SEVEN STATES, WHERE
THE DENSITY OF ARMAMENTS - FROM CONVENTIONAL TO NUCLEAR - LONG
EXCEEDED ALL CONCEIVABLE NORMS, ALLOWED BY SECURITY ALONE. THE
CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH A STEP COULD NOT BE FORESEEN.

5. 'IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE WHY THE WEST HAS INSISTED ON KEEPING GERMANY IN NATO. BUT HOW CAN ONE EXPLAIN THE POSITIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR POLAND, WHO ALSO WANT TO SET THE GERMANS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE? THERE IS ONLY ONE REASON: FEAR OF A GERMANY WHICH COULD BE 'OUT OF CONTROL' WITHOUT THE ENTANGLEMENT OF ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS. THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS IS BEING CHOSEN - NATO EXPANSION SEEMS LESS LIKELY TO THEM THAN THE RISK OF A FUTURE GERMANY WHICH WOULD 'GO ITS OWN WAY' ...

6. 'BUT HAVE WE, WHO SUFFERED THE TERRIBLE COST OF FASCIST AGGRESSION, BEEN RECONCILED TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY ENTERING THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WHICH STILL REMAINS INIMICAL TO US? FAR FROM IT. WHOEVER HAS READ E A SHEVARDNADZE'S INTERVENTION IN BONN (WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN IZVESTIA ON 6 MAY) COULD NOT FAIL TO NOTICE - UNIFICATION WILL BE REALISED ON TWO AXES AT TWO DIFFERENT SPEED REGIMES. THE FIRST ASPECT, PURELY INTERNAL, IS FOR THE GERMANS THEMSELVES. THAT LEAVES THE SECOND, THE EXTERNAL: BORDERS, LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS, SECURITY. WITHOUT THE ELABORATION OF A FORMULA EXCLUDING FOR EVER THE THREAT OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS, THE AGREEMENT OF MOSCOW, OF ALL INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES WILL NOT BE GRANTED. CAN THEY ACT WITHOUT US? NO, THEY CAN'T. TO IGNORE THE JUSTIFIED SECURITY INTERESTS OF TOO MANY COUNTRIES (WE ARE NOT ALONE ON THIS SCORE) WOULD BE TO RETURN TO POSITIONS OF CONFRONTATION, WHICH EAST AND WEST HAVE GRADUALLY ABANDONED AND WHICH EVERYONE IS SICK OF. INDEED, JUDGING BY THE REACTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-HITLER COALITION, THERE ARE NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES ABOUT THIS.

7. 'THERE ARE NUANCES, BUT THEY CONCERN DETAILS: WHETHER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESENCE OF ALLIED FORCES IN GERMANY SHOULD CONTINUE OR NOT? WE ARE IN FAVOUR: NOT IN ORDER TO CONSERVE OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, BUT BECAUSE THE FORCES OF THE FOUR POWERS ARE A STABILISING FACTOR IN THE STORMY PROCESS OF UNIFICATION. WHEN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS OVER, THEY TOO WILL GO.

8. 'BUT THE MAIN ISSUE THAT THE DIVISION OF GERMANY WAS A CONCRETE INCARNATION OF THE DIVISION OF POST-WAR EUROPE. AND IN ORDER TO CREATE TRUE SECURITY IT IS NECESSARY NOT ONLY TO REMOVE THE FIRST FACTOR, BUT EVEN MORE SO TO ELIMINATE THE SECOND. THE WAY TOWARDS IT WILL PROVE MORE DRAWN OUT THAN THE UNIFICATION OF THE GERMANS ALONE. IT IS NECESSARY TO ADVANCE THE DISARMEMENT PROCESS (THERE ARE REAL CHANCES IN VIENNA) AND TO ABANDON BLOC-TO-BLOC CONFRONTATION IN FAVOUR OF A PAN-EUROPEAN STRUCTURE OF SECURITY. SECURITY FOR ALL. THIS IS A LITTLE MORE DIFFICULT. THE WEST IS SCARED OF ABANDONING

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ITS 'LIFE-BELT' NATO. BUT WHEN IT DOES, ALL TALK ABOUT SECURITY FOR ALL WILL REMAIN PIPE DREAMS.

9. 'AS A FIRST STEP THE USSR HAS PROPOSED THE CREATION IN BERLIN OF A CENTRE FOR AVERTING THE RISK OF WAR, WHICH COULD EXERCISE A MONITORING FUNCTION ON THE MILITARY-STRATEGIC SITUATION NOT ONLY IN GERMANY, BUT IN ALL EUROPE. SO FAR NATO'S REACTION HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT ON THIS THE WEST WILL HAVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS: NOT TO THE USSR, BUT TO COMMON SENSE.'

BRAITHWAITE

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