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TWO PLUS FOUR: STATE OF PLAY IN PREPARATION FOR MINISTERIAL MEETING
IN MOSCOW

FROM WESTON

SUMMARY

1. AFTER THREE DAYS HARD SLOG, GOOD PROPORTION OF FINAL SETTLEMENT TEXT AGREED, BUT SOME POL-MIL ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED, IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION OF WHETHER DUAL CAPABLE SYSTEMS CAN BE STATIONED IN THE FORMER GDR. SO DOES QUESTION OF SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN GERMAN UNITY AND ENTRY INTO FORCE OF FINAL SETTLEMENT. FULL FORMAL SIGNATURE OF COMPLETED TREATY TEXT BY FOREIGN MINISTERS IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER STILL NOT ASSURED, AS OF TODAY.

DETAIL

2. THREE DAYS OF DISCUSSION AMONG TWO PLUS FOUR POLITICAL DIRECTORS, PRECEDED BY A MEETING OF THE WESTERN FOUR, HAVE PRODUCED TEXTS ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT: PREAMBLE, AND ARTICLES ON BORDERS, TERMINATION OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRRS), GERMANY'S RIGHT TO MEMBERSHIP OF ALLIANCES, GERMAN STATEMENTS ON NBC WEAPONS AND LIMITS ON THE BUNDESWEHR, NON-STATIONING OF OTHER NATO FORCES IN EAST GERMANY, STATIONING OF FORCES IN BERLIN, AND PROCEDURES RELATING TO RATIFICATION AND ENTRY INTO FORCE.

3. THESE TEXTS, ON THEIR OWN, LARGELY MEET WESTERN CONCERNS (AND REFLECT STAVROPOL) AND WOULD THUS ALLOW US TO DISPOSE OF THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION. THE REMAINING PARTS OF THE DRAFT STILL TO BE NEGOTIATED REFLECT SOVIET CONCERNS. THE POSSIBILITY OF MINISTERS SIGNING IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER WILL HINGE UPON THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE RUSSIANS ARE PREPARED TO MOVE EITHER AT THE ONGOING OFFICIAL

TALKS OR AT HIGHER LEVEL. MAIN CONTENTIOUS POINTS ARE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO EXCLUDE DUAL CAPABLE WEAPONS FROM EAST GERMANY: THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO PRECLUDE ANY MOVEMENT INTO EAST GERMANY BY NATO ARMED FORCES (EG FOR EXERCISES OR MANOEUVRES): END DATE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GDR: VERIFICATION ISSUES: THE FUTURE OF MILITARY LIAISON MISSIONS AND A RANGE OF PROPOSED UNDERTAKINGS ON THE PART OF GERMANY ABOUT NAZI PARTIES, PROPERTY, ETC.

4. THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS THE NEW SOVIET POSITION ON THE STATIONING OF DUAL CAPABLE EQUIPMENT IN THE FORMER GDR WHERE THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO RESIST THE STAVROPOL AGREEMENT. AFTER CONSULTING MOSCOW BONDARENKO INSISTS THAT NO DUAL CAPABLE EQUIPMENT CAN BE BASED IN THE GDR IN PERPETUITY, THUS RULING OUT THE STATIONING OF EG TORNADO AIRCRAFT AND HEAVY ARTILERY. BAKER INTENDS TO SPEAK TO SHEVARDNADZE ABOUT THIS IN HELSINKI, BUT THE PROBLEM IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNRESOLVED UNTIL MOSCOW.

5. THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN EXCRUCIATING. BONDARENKO HAS PROVED INCAPABLE OF ENGAGING IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AND MAY HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY THE TEMPORARY ILLNESS IN MOSCOW OF KVITSINSKI, HIS IMMEDIATE BOSS. BUT THE RUSSIANS STILL PROFESS TO WANT SIGNATURE IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER AND HAVE EVENTUALLY PROVED AMENABLE TO SOME COMPROMISE.

6. THE TROUBLE IS THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT TO CRACK THE REMAINING ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE AND TO BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A PROPER CONCORDANCE OF THE TREATY TEXT IN FOUR LANGUAGES, IF THESE ARE TO BE PROPERLY CHECKED IN CAPITALS AND MINISTERS ARE TO BE SPARED A DRAFTING JOB ON 12 SEPTEMBER. EITHER THE RUSSIANS MUST AGREE THAT THE FINAL SETTLEMENT NEED NOT COVER SOME OF THEIR CONCERNS, AND HENCE WITHDRAW THEIR LANGUAGE: OR THEY MUST ACCELERATE THEIR EFFORTS TO HAMMER OUT COMPROMISE LANGUAGE IN THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE. FAILING THAT, FURTHER WORK WILL BE NECESSARY IN MOSCOW.

7. WE ARE TIDYING UP TEXTS AND COMPARING THEM LINGUISTICALLY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE AS WE GO ALONG, SENDING THEM BY FAX TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE RUSSIAN TEXT WILL NEED PARTICULAR ATTENTION.

SUSPENSION

8. ONE OUTSTANDING ISSUE IS WHAT HAPPENS TO QRRS DURING THE PERIOD FROM 3 OCTOBER (GERMAN UNITY) TO THE POINT WHERE THE FINAL SETTLEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE. ONE OBVIOUS ANSWER IS AN AGREED SEPARATE FOUR POWER DECLARATION THAT THEY BE SUSPENDED. BUT THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT

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YET WILLING TO ACCEPT THIS, AND WE TOO NEED TO BE SURE THAT ANY NECESSARY ALTERNATIVE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS AMONG THE WESTERN ONE PLUS THREE ARE IN PLACE BEFORE ANY SUCH DECLARATION IS ACTUALLY MADE. THE OPTIMISTIC SOLUTION WOULD BE AGREEMENT AMONG MINISTERS IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER ON THE TEXT OF SUCH A DECLARATION OF SUSPENSION, TO BE MADE PERHAPS ON 2 OCTOBER, THUS ALLOWING MORE TIME FOR ANY REMAINING LOOSE ENDS TO BE TIED UP BETWEEN THE GERMANS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE RUSSIANS AND WESTERN ALLIES RESPECTIVELY ON THE OTHER. BUT IF THAT DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVES WILL BE REQUIRED, AND WE HAVE CIRCULATED INFORMALLY A LEGAL ADVISER'S NOTE TO OUR WESTERN ALLIES WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS.

FALLBACK

9. WE SHOULD ALLOW FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT BY THE TIME MINISTERS ARRIVE IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER IT MAY STILL NOT HAVE PROVED POSSIBLE TO REACH FULL AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. IF MINISTERS THEN CRACK THE REMAINING NUTS FAST ENOUGH IN MOSCOW, SIGNATURE AS FORESEEN IN THE SOVIET PROGRAMME AT 16.00 HOURS THAT AFTERNOON, ALBEIT SOMEWHAT UNTIDILY, MAY NOT BE BEYOND REACH. BUT IF IT WERE TO TAKE MINISTERS LONGER, A LESS SATISFACTORY SOLUTION WOULD BE SOME KIND OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE/PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW, REGISTERING BROAD MINISTERIAL AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE AND A CONSENSUS THAT THE FORMAL SIGNATURE CEREMONY WOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE NEXT CONVENIENT MOMENT WHERE THEY WOULD BE ASSEMBLED TOGETHER. THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE ON 1/2 OCTOBER IN THE MARGINS OF THE CSCE MINISTERIAL IN NEW YORK, BY WHICH TIME OFFICIALS WOULD HAVE PROPERLY CLEANED UP THE TREATY TEXTS. WE CAN PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH THE GERMANS PREFERENCES ON ALL THIS. MY OWN PERSONAL BET IS THAT, AT THE END OF THE DAY, SIGNATURE IN MOSCOW WILL BE ACHIEVED

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