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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 03400

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, CSCE, GE  
SUBJECT: GENSCHER OUTLINES HIS VISION OF A NEW EUROPEAN  
ARCHITECTURE

1. (U) SUMMARY AND COMMENT: IN A MAJOR POLICY ADDRESS  
DELIVERED ON JANUARY 31, GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER  
HAS OUTLINED HIS VISION OF A UNITED GERMANY AND ITS PLACE  
WITHIN A NEW EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE. FOLLOWING FREE  
ELECTIONS IN THE GDR, GENSCHER SEES EAST AND WEST GERMANY  
ESTABLISHING A TREATY FRAMEWORK FOR THE GROWING NETWORK OF  
INTRA-GERMAN CONTACTS ALREADY TAKING PLACE AT ALL LEVELS.  
THIS GERMAN-GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD OCCUR IN A EUROPEAN  
CONTEXT, INCLUDING, EVENTUALLY, MEMBERSHIP OF A UNITED  
GERMANY IN BOTH NATO AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. GENSCHER  
WARNS, HOWEVER, THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO EXTEND "NATO MILITARY  
STRUCTURES" TO THE TERRITORY OF TODAY'S GDR WOULD BLOCK  
GERMAN UNITY. IN HIS VISION OF EUROPE, GENSCHER SEES THE  
ALLIANCES CONTINUING BUT ASSUMING MORE OF A POLITICAL THAN  
A MILITARY ROLE. GENSCHER ALSO STRESSES THE NEED TO  
MAINTAIN NATO AS A FRAMEWORK FOR A CONTINUING -- AND  
NECESSARY -- U.S. PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Robert Homme, Senior  
Reviewer

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2. (U) GENSCHER'S VISION OF THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE OF  
EUROPE ALSO ACCORDS A LARGE PLACE TO THE CSCE PROCESS.  
GENSCHER CALLS FOR A CSCE SUMMIT THIS YEAR TO: SIGN CFE AND  
CSBM AGREEMENTS (TO BE FOLLOWED WITHOUT PAUSE BY CFE II AND  
CSBM II NEGOTIATIONS); CONSIDER ESTABLISHING A SERIES OF  
NEW EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS; DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF EUROPE;  
AND POSSIBLY OFFER A SETTING FOR A DECLARATION BY THE TWO  
GERMANIES GUARANTEEING THEIR NEIGHBORS' BORDERS. GENSCHER  
ENVISAGES THE CSCE PROCESS FORMING THE BASIS FOR A NEW

"PARTNERSHIP OF STABILITY" BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WHICH WILL BE INCREASINGLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING PEACE IN EUROPE.

3. (C) WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY THE FOREIGN OFFICE THAT GENSCHER'S SPEECH MERITS OUR CLOSE ATTENTION. OUR INITIAL READING IS THAT IT IS GENSCHER'S MOST AMBITIOUS ATTEMPT YET TO PUT TOGETHER THE IDEAS WHICH HE HAS BEEN FLOATING IN RECENT WEEKS. PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IS GENSCHER'S REAFFIRMATION OF HIS APPROACH TO SOLVING THE THORNY SECURITY PROBLEM POSED BY A UNITED GERMANY BY ADVOCATING A UNITED GERMANY IN NATO AND THE EC, BUT WITHOUT NATO MILITARY STRUCTURES BEING EXTENDED TO TODAY'S GDR. THE LARGE ROLE GENSCHER ASSIGNS TO THE CSCE PROCESS AS THE FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL, SECURITY, AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS ALSO ESPECIALLY STRIKING. GENSCHER IMPLIES THAT IT IS THROUGH CSCE -- RATHER THAN IN ANY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC -- THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE NEW EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE. THERE IS NO MENTION OF U.S - EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP, AND THE OLD IDEA OF U.S. AND EUROPEAN "PILLARS" HAS DISAPPEARED COMPLETELY. THIS SUGGESTS THAT, WHILE GENSCHER SEES AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN A FUTURE EUROPE, HE EXPECTS MAJOR ADJUSTMENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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GERMAN UNITY FROM BELOW CREATES IRREVERSIBLE FACTS

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4. (U) GENSCHER OPENS HIS SPEECH, GIVEN TO AN ACADEMIC CONFERENCE IN TUZING ON JANUARY 31, BY POINTING OUT THAT ACCORDING TO THE FRG'S BASIC LAW, THE GOAL OF NATIONAL UNITY IS ONLY TO BE PURSUED WITHIN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT AND IN A PEACEFUL FASHION. HE MAKES CLEAR THAT THE PROCESS OF A GROWING TOGETHER BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES, "THE EVER CLOSER CONNECTION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ON ALL LEVELS," IS ALREADY IN FULL SWING AND THIS "UNITY FROM BELOW" IS "CREATING IRREVERSIBLE FACTS."

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FRG-GDR TREATY ON HOW TO ACHIEVE GERMAN UNITY IN EUROPE

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5. (U) GENSCHER NOTES THAT AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN THE GDR, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE A TREATY BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE GERMAN-GERMAN UNIFICATION PROCESS. THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, PUT "A STRAITJACKET" ON THE PROCESS, NOR EVEN SPECIFY A TIMEFRAME. WITH THE CONCLUSION OF SUCH A TREATY, GERMAN-GERMAN RELATIONS WILL TAKE ON A NEW QUALITY

GENSCHER REITERATES, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WILL INVOLVE NOT ONLY GERMAN CONCERNS, BUT HAS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE "EUROPEAN STRUCTURE AND ARCHITECTURE, TOUCHING ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS AND THE EXISTING ALLIANCES." THEREFORE, ADDS GENSCHER, THE TWO GERMAN

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STATES ARE CALLED UPON TO "GIVE NOT ONLY A GERMAN, BUT ALSO A EUROPEAN ANSWER TO THEIR ASPIRATIONS TOWARDS NATIONAL UNITY."

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DETERMINING GERMANY'S PLACE IN A FUTURE EUROPE  
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6. (U) THAT IS AT STAKE HERE, GENSCHER STATES, IS  
"DETERMINING THE PLACE OF THE GERMANS IN A FUTURE

EUROPE." HE EMPHASIZES THAT "THE GERMANS, LIKE ALL EUROPEANS WANT MORE, NOT LESS SECURITY AND STABILITY," WHICH MEANS THAT THEY DO NOT WANT UNITY AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. THEREFORE, THE FIRST QUESTION THE GERMANS HAVE TO ANSWER IS ABOUT THE EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY OF A FUTURE REUNITED GERMANY. GENSCHER INSISTS THAT THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE, UNEQUIVOCAL ANSWER: "THE TWO GERMAN STATES  
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INCLUDING BERLIN, NOT MORE, BUT ALSO NOT LESS." THIS REQUIRES A GUARANTEE OF THE BORDERS OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBORS, A STEP WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN AS THE FIRST JOINT DECLARATION OF INTENT BY THE TWO FREELY ELECTED GERMAN PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS.

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GERMAN MEMBERSHIP IN EC AND NATO IRREVOCABLE  
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7. (U) MOVING TO THE NEXT QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND NATO AFTER GERMAN REUNIFICATION, GENSCHER EXPLAINS: "OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC IN THE CASE OF (GERMAN) UNITY IS IRREVOCABLE AND AS IS OUR WILL TO CONTINUE THE INTEGRATION PROCESS IN THE DIRECTION OF A POLITICAL UNION. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE MEMBERSHIP (OF A UNITED GERMANY) IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. WE DO NOT WANT A NEUTRAL REUNITED GERMANY."

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TERRITORY OF TODAY'S GDR NOT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO  
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8. (U) ON THE OTHER HAND, GENSCHER MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE GERMAN UNIFICATION PROCESS MUST NOT LEAD TO AN "IMPAIRMENT OF SOVIET SECURITY INTERESTS." THEREFORE, NATO SHOULD RULE OUT AN "EXPANSION OF ITS TERRITORY TOWARDS THE EAST, I.E. MOVING IT CLOSER TO THE SOVIET BORDERS," GENSCHER ADDS THAT "CONSIDERATION OF INCLUDING THAT PART OF GERMANY WHICH CONSTITUTES TODAY'S GDR IN NATO'S MILITARY STRUCTURES WOULD BLOCK THE GERMAN-GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT."  
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THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCES  
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9. (U) ON THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE TWO ALLIANCES GENSCHER REMARKS THAT AS CONFRONTATION CHANGES TO COOPERATION, THE ALLIANCES WILL BECOME ELEMENTS OF "COOPERATIVE SECURITY STRUCTURES" FOR ALL OF EUROPE. "THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST IN KEEPING WITH THE DESIRE OF ITS MEMBERS...THIS INCLUDES OUR CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN NATO." IN THIS CONNECTION, GENSCHER POINTS OUT THAT THE U.S. ROLE IN ENSURING SECURITY AND STABILITY IN EUROPE IS "DEPENDENT ON THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE" AND THAT THE UNITED STATES, BY PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE PROCESS, SHARES RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. GENSCHER ALSO STRESSES, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIANCES TO DEFINE THEIR ROLES MORE AND MORE IN POLITICAL TERMS. GENSCHER ALSO CALLED FOR A "PARTNERSHIP OF STABILITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST" TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE CSCE PROCESS.

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A CALL FOR RESOLUTE DISARMAMENT STEPS  
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10. (U) GENSCHER STRESSES THAT THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS MUST NOT LOSE STEP WITH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, SAYING THAT "WITHOUT RESOLUTE DISARMAMENT STEPS, THERE WILL BE NO EUROPEAN AND NO GERMAN UNITY." IT IS IMPORTANT, GENSCHER STATES, THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE VIENNA CFE AND CSBM NEGOTIATIONS, TALKS ON A SECOND CFE AND CSBM AGREEMENT FOLLOW. WITH THE START OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST CFE AGREEMENT, THE WAY WILL BE OPEN TO NEGOTIATIONS ON SNF.

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NUCLEAR ARTILLERY MUST ALSO BE INCLUDED IN ARMS CONTROL.  
IN ORDER TO MAKE 1990 THE YEAR OF DISARMAMENT, GENSCHER  
CALLS FOR THE FIRST AGREEMENTS ON CFE AND CSBM THIS YEAR,  
A WORLDWIDE BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND A FIFTY-PERCENT

REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS.

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A CSCE SUMMIT AS THE STARTING POINT FOR A NEW CHAPTER  
IN EUROPEAN HISTORY  
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11. (U) GENSCHER SUPPORTS THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL CSCE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN 1990 AS THE APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR THE SIGNING OF THE FIRST CFE AND CSBM AGREEMENTS. SUCH A SUMMIT WILL BE "SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM ALL PREVIOUS CSCE MEETINGS" AND IS TO BECOME THE "STARTING POINT FOR A NEW CHAPTER IN EUROPEAN HISTORY." GENSCHER REMINDS HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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AUDIENCE THAT AT THIS CONFERENCE TWO DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GERMAN GOVERNMENTS WILL BE REPRESENTED WHICH WILL BE FAR ALONG ON REALIZING THEIR COMMON GOAL OF GERMAN UNITY. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REFERS TO A SPECIAL EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GERMANS, I.E. OF BEING A "DRIVING FORCE FOR THE STRENGTHENING AND DEEPENING OF THE CSCE PROCESS, THE EAST-WEST COOPERATION AND DISARMAMENT."

12. (U) GENSCHER CALLS FOR THE CSCE SUMMIT TO ADDRESS THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF EUROPE AND CITES MITTERRAND'S CALL FOR A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION AS AN "IMPORTANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION." IN ADDITION, THE SUMMIT SHOULD CONSIDER ESTABLISHING A SERIES OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING: AN INSTITUTION TO COORDINATE EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION; A EUROPEAN HUMAN RIGHTS BODY; A CENTER FOR EUROPEAN LAW; A EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY; THE EXPANDING OF EUREKA TO ALL OF EUROPE; EUROPE-WIDE SPACE COOPERATION; A EUROPEAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS STRUCTURE; A EUROPEAN TRANSPORTATION CENTER; A EUROPEAN VERIFICATION CENTER; AND A EUROPEAN CONFLICT REDUCTION CENTER. IN ADDITION, THE SUMMIT ALSO COULD SET UP A COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE CSCE COUNTRIES WHICH COULD MEET REGULARLY. THROUGH STRENGTHENING THE CSCE PROCESS, A "FRAMEWORK OF STABILITY IS TO BE CREATED BOTH FOR THE FORESEEABLE AND UNFORESEEABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE," GENSCHER EXPLAINS. FYI: FURTHER ON GERMAN THINKING ON CSCE FOLLOWS SEPTEL. END FYI.

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GERMAN UNITY ONLY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT  
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13. (U) GENSCHER CONCLUDES BY REITERATING THAT GERMAN UNITY CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT. THE PROCESS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION, AS DEFINED IN A "TREATY ON GERMAN UNITY IN EUROPE," IS TO TAKE PLACE WITHIN SUCH A CSCE FRAMEWORK OF STABILITY SO THAT THERE WILL BE NO SHIFT IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES AND NO DESTABILIZATION IN EUROPE. GENSCHER ADDS THAT THE GERMANS, IN PURSUING THEIR GOAL OF NATIONAL UNITY, ARE NOT FOLLOWING THEIR OWN, SPECIAL PATH ("SONDERWEG"), BUT ARE FULLY AWARE OF THEIR EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY AND WANT "NOTHING MORE THAN LIVING IN PEACE AND FREEDOM WITH ALL OF THEIR NEIGHBORS."

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