

## Stepanov-Mamaladze Diary

February 13, 1990

The secret matinee of Baker-Shevardnadze. The American proposed the formula "two + four", with a meeting after November 18 (which means after the GDR election) and mentioned a term "to discuss the external aspects of German unification."

E.A. Shevardnadze ("E.A.") does not like both: *"It needs some thinking"*. Meanwhile, Moscow agrees to the numbers proposed by the Americans, and we inform Baker about it.

Now we need to coordinate the formula with the partners. But the conference continues and the "Open Sky" is still closed by the storm cloud of Germany.

Genscher skillfully plays with words: "We are pursuing the task of creating a European Germany, not Germanic Europe" (Thomas Mann). It is very difficult to imagine a united Europe with a divided Germany, as it is impossible to imagine a divided Europe with a united Germany.

The speech had a very strong literary aspect, but the philological aspect took the lead at the meeting of Genscher and E.A.

- *We do not like the definition "unification of Germany", said E.A. - as if everything was already predetermined.*

- *We have a TASS statement on Kohl's meeting with Gorbachev, Genscher retorts - where they spoke about the unification.*

- *It was said about unity, about the process of building Germanic unity, and these are different things.*

We argued for two hours, tried to taste and touch the words, compared the translations. E.A. skillfully played the role of the slowcoach, torn by doubts, Genscher was nervous.

- *I am in a stupid situation - said E.A. - We are discussing "Open Sky", but my colleagues are talking about the unification of Germany as if it was a fact.*

- *Could you agree with the proposed text of the joint statement if we removed the date of November 18?*

- *This is a very important question. I need to consult.*

- *It is hard for me to argue with you. Use the advantage of all your influence as you did in conversation with me.*

Then immediately there was a conversation with an old dandy, Skubiszewski.

The result: an addition – "*we will include security issues of the neighboring states*" – appeared in the formula. Subsequently, the Dutch [representative] van den Broek vehemently protested against it, but Palazhchenko suggested removing the definite article "the" and everything calmed down.

O. Grinevsky called the formula "2 + 4" and determination of the number of our troops in the Center. Europe as two floats of our German policy.

During the day, active games were taking place between all of them. E.A. met with Baker five times, twice with Genscher, talked with Fischer, Duma, and the ministers of the ATS countries. As a result, the text of the statement took the following form: "*The Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the United States, Britain, France, the GDR and the FRG met in Ottawa. They agreed that the ministers of the GDR and the FRG would meet with the ministers of the USSR, the US, Britain, and France to discuss the external aspects of building German unity, including the security issues of neighboring states...* ". And - the text of the second float: "*They consider an agreement on the reduction of Soviet and US troops outside their national territories in Central Europe to the level of 195 thousand as the greatest achievement [of this meeting]. At the same time, the parties took into account the statement of the US President that US troops in the Europe will not exceed 225 thousand ...* "

[Source: Hoover Institute Archive, Stepanov-Mamaladze Collection. Translated by Ivan Smakhtin].



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