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HELSINKI FOR CSCE DELEGATION

PART TWO OF TWO

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TEXT
SUBJECT: GERMAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT

FOLLOWING IS A REVIEW OF GERMAN MEDIA OF MARCH 30, 1992

D. CSCE: HELSINKI CONFERENCE

SATURDAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER DIE WELT OF BONN CARRIED AN EDITORIAL BY HERBERT KREMP UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"THE CONFLICT SETTLEMENT PROCEDURE OF THE CSCE STILL LACKS BITE."

"THE CSCE IS IN A STRANGE SITUATION: IT HAS INITIATED A MEDITATION PROCESS TO DE-ESCALATE THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT, BUT PARALLEL TO THIS, IT MUST FIRST GET THE MANDATE AND OPERATIONAL MEANS TO ASSERT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FROM THE NEGOTIATION RESULTS.....

"THIS IS A HIGHLY AMBITIOUS GOAL. THIS TWO-TRACK APPROACH IS THE RESULT OF THE PACE WITH WHICH THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS CHANGED SINCE THE DEMOCRATIC TURNABOUT IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE AND SINCE THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THIS IS TOO MUCH FOR THE CSCE AS THE ONLY BODY THAT COMPRISES ALL PARTNERS FROM VLADIVOSTOK TO VANCOUVER. IT GOES BEYOND ITS ORIGINAL FRAMEWORK AND MAKES AN EXTENSION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNAVOIDABLE....

"IN TIMES OF CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS, A SENSE OF REALITY IS NECESSARY AND EVEN SKEPTICS HAVE NOT DOUBTED 'THE UNIQUE ROLE OF THE CSCE AS THE MORAL VOICE AND HIGHEST SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY OF THE NEW EUROPE,' (LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER), AND THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN ITS INSTRUMENTS TO SOLVE ETHNIC CONFLICTS.

"A NUMBER OF REASONABLE PROPOSALS HAVE NOW BEEN SUBMITTED TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL.... ONLY THE REALIZATION OF THESE CONCEPTS WILL ENABLE THE CSCE TO REACT SWIFTLY AND EFFICIENTLY TO CONFLICTS LIKE THE ONE OVER

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NAGORNO-KARABAKH AND TO THREATEN THE USE OF ARMED FORCES TO IMPLEMENT POSSIBLE MEDIATION SOLUTIONS....

"BUT ALL THIS IS STILL IN THE FUTURE. ALREADY DURING THE MEETINGS OF EXPERTS, TRICKY AND DETAILED QUESTIONS WILL COME TO THE FORE.. POLITICAL DECISION CAN BE EXPECTED AT THE EARLIEST IN JULY. UNTIL THEN, THE MEDIATION IN THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT DOES NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY BITE. AND THIS MEANS THAT A QUICK SOLUTION TO SETTLE THE CONFLICT WILL NOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT.

"OF COURSE, THIS SHOULD NOT DISCOURAGE ANYBODY. ON THE CONTRARY: THE MORE DETERMINED THE CSCE MOVES ON BOTH LEVELS - THE COMING TO TERMS WITH CRISES AND THE EXTENSION OF ITS INSTRUMENTS - THE EARLIER IT WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME ETHNIC CONFLICTS. AND IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT, IN ADDITION TO THESE TASKS, IT WILL NOT NEGLECT THE 'CLASSICAL' CSCE TASKS, NAMELY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MINORITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL PARTS OF ITS AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY...."

E. U.S.-ISRAEL: RELATIONS

BEN SEGENREICH COMMENTED FOR SATURDAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER DIE WELT OF BONN UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"ISRAELI CONSENSUS."

"IT SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISING THAT ISRAEL'S OPPOSITION LEADER YITZHAK RABIN DOES NOT ACCEPT THE CONDITIONS WHICH GEORGE BUSH HAS LINKED TO THE TEN BILLION DOLLAR LOAN GUARANTEE FOR NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS. THE TWO GREAT PARTIES IN ISRAEL REPRESENT THE ISRAELI CONSENSUS. FOR THE U.S., RABIN MAY BE MORE LIKEABLE AND EASIER TO GET ON WITH THAN CURRENT PREMIER YITZAK SHAMIR. BUT IT IS AN ILLUSION TO BELIEVE THAT PEACE WILL BREAK OUT AS SOON AS RABIN IS ELECTED PRIME MINISTER....

"THE CRISIS REGARDING THE LOAN GUARANTEES AND THE SETTLEMENTS MUST BE LOOKED UPON IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. THE ECONOMIC PREDICAMENT IN THE U.S. IS FORCING PRESIDENT BUSH TO BE PENNY-PINCHING, ALTHOUGH THE LOAN GUARANTEE WOULD HAVE COST ALMOST NOTHING. A SIGNAL TOWARDS THE ARABS THAT SOMETHING IS BEING DONE TO STOP NEW SETTLEMENTS GUARANTEES ONE OR TWO ADDITIONAL MIDDLE EAST PEACE ROUNDS, WHICH WILL THEN SIGNAL FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS.. AND BY CRITICIZING THE LIKUD PARTY, GEORGE BUSH IS HELPING THE LABOR PARTY.

"IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN, RABIN IS WELL-ADVISED TO SHOW SOME RESERVE TOWARDS THE AMERICANS. WASHINGTON AND RABIN'S CRITICISM OF THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENT POLICY COULD HAVE A BOOMERANG EFFECT AND HELP SHAMIR WIN THE ELECTIONS. BUT RABIN'S REJECTION OF THE 'DICTATE' HAS MORE SUBTLE DISTINCTIONS...AND THESE DISTINCTIONS SHOULD BE ENOUGH TO RECONCILE THE AMERICANS.. INDEED, THESE

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DISTINCTIONS- AND THE RHETORICAL STYLE MAKE UP THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO BIG ISRAELI PARTIES."

F. NATO: COOPERATION COUNCIL

HERBERT KREMP NOTES IN MONDAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER DIE WELT OF BONN UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"WHAT SHOULD NOW BE NATO'S ADVICE TO THE CIS?"

"THE GLOBAL NERVOUSNESS IS ALSO SHOWN IN THE EXTENSION OF THE LARGE-SCALE ORGANIZATIONS. AN EXAMPLE IS NATO'S COOPERATION COUNCIL, TO WHICH ALL EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TRY TO ACCEDE THAT SEEK PROTECTION AND ADVICE FROM NATO.... THE TOPIC OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM THE BALTICS WILL PLAY A GREAT ROLE DURING MEETINGS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' AND CHIEFS OF STAFF IN BRUSSELS. THE WEST IS PRESSING THE BALTS TO SHOW A MORE MODERATE ATTITUDE, BUT IT SHOULD CALL UPON THE SOVIETS TO LEAVE THE SOVEREIGN STATES. MOSCOW, HOWEVER, STATES THAT THE ARMED FORCES 'ARE OUT OF CONTROL.' THE OPINION EXPRESSED IN PRAGUE THAT THE SITUATION IN THE EAST RESEMBLES A 'POLITICAL CHERNOBYL' IS RIGHT AT LEAST FOR THE BALTICS. NOBODY KNOWS FOR HOW LONG THE POWDER KEG AND THE SPARKS CAN BE SEPARATED....

"FOR THE STATES IN THE EAST, NATO'S COOPERATION COUNCIL IS A KIND OF CONSULTING COMPANY.... FOR THE WEST, FOR THE NATO COUNTRIES OTHER QUESTIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT. THEY DEMAND THE QUICK ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT ON CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT.... IN THE EAST, NATO ENJOYS AUTHORITY. IT HAD GREAT SUCCESS IN SECURITY POLICY, IS CONSIDERED A MILITARILY PROFESSIONAL (ALLIANCE) AND IS ADMIRER IN PARTICULAR BECAUSE OF INTEGRATIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN SOVEREIGN NATIONS. BUT THE YUGOSLAVIA CONFLICT, IN WHICH NATO DID NOT MOVE, RESULTED IN A LOSS OF PRESTIGE. THE REASONS AND THE COURSE OF THE BLOODY CONFRONTATION CORRESPONDS EXACTLY WITH THE SITUATION IN THE VAST EASTERN EUROPE. THERE, A SECURITY VACUUM EXISTS THAT THE ALLIANCE IS UNABLE TO FILL."

G. CIS: INTERNAL PROBLEMS

1. HERBERT RIEHL-HEYSE WROTE IN SATURDAY'S CENTRIST SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG OF MUNICH UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"FATAL SUPRESSION."

ADDRESSING THE ECONOMIC AND ETHNIC PROBLEMS WHICH THE CIS IS SUFFERING AT PRESENT, THE AUTHOR COMMENTED:

"IT IS AN ILLUSION FOR THE WEST TO MAINTAIN THAT ALL THIS NEED NOT REALLY CONCERN IT AT THE MOMENT. BUT SINCE IT WOULD BE TOO LATE WHEN THE FIRST BORDER CONFLICTS WERE

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REALLY FOUGHT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE BEGAN TO FLEE OR THE NEAREST NUCLEAR POWER STATION EXPLODED, IT SHOULD BE THE TASK OF THE POLITICIANS TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THESE DANGERS NOW.... IF NOT, WE WILL IN FUTURE REGARD THIS SUPPRESSION OF REALITY AS CRIMINAL...

"WESTERN LACK OF INTEREST IS FRIGHTENING. HENRY KISSINGER AND RICHARD NIXON HAVE NOTED THIS WITH CONCERN. IT IS A FACT THAT NO EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE IN ANY FIELDS WHICH WOULD DO JUSTICE TO THE CHALLENGE OF THIS CENTURY. THERE ARE NO LARGE-SCALE, BROADLY DISCUSSED MODELS DRAWN UP BY MACRO-ECONOMISTS TO CHANGE FROM THE PLANNED ECONOMY TO THE FREE MARKET. THE INTELLECTUALS ARE MAKING NO EFFORTS TO FILL THE CULTURAL VACUUM LEFT BEHIND BY THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM. AND THE GIGANTIC TRANSFER OF KNOW-HOW WHICH IS DESPERATELY NEEDED TO ANCHOR DEMOCRACY OR SIMPLY ESTABLISH A BANKING SYSTEM HAS HARDLY EVEN BEGUN.

APART FROM A VERY FEW TRIPS (BAKER, VOGEL, A FRENCH UNDERSECRETARY) AND A COUPLE OF CRISIS MEETINGS ON THE DEBT ISSUE, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NAGORNO KARABAKH, WESTERN POLITICIANS HAVE BEEN VERY HESITANT TO TAKE NOTICE OF THE NEW SITUATION. WHAT IS COMPLETELY LACKING ARE CONCLUSIVE PLANS FOR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY AND FOR THE QUESTION OF WHAT FORM OF FINANCIAL AID WOULD BE EFFECTIVE NOW THAT WE KNOW HOW THE OLD BILLION DOLLAR LOANS WERE SQUANDERED.

"BUT THERE IS PROBABLY NO TIME FOR THIS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE AMERICANS AND BRITISH ARE IN THE MIDDLE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, MITTERRAND IS LICKING HIS WOUNDS AND GERMANY... IS MORE CONCERNED WITH WHO WILL HOLD POWER IN STUTTGART AND THE PROBLEMS OF TAXING BEER. IN GENERAL, WE ARE FAR TOO FOND OF THE OLD BATTLES AND WORRIES TO TURN TO SUCH COMPLETELY NEW ONES. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE, BUT ALSO POTENTIALLY FATAL."

2. MONDAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE CARRIES AN EDITORIAL UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"NEW SOURCE OF CRISIS."

"IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, A WARLIKE CONFLICT IS BEGINNING WHICH HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BECOME MORE EXPLOSIVE THAN THE BLOODY EVENTS FARTHER SOUTH IN THE CAUCASUS. WHILE NARGORNO-KARABAKH IS A TERRITORIAL DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CIS REPUBLICS OF ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN, THE MILITANT CLASHES BETWEEN MOLDOVANS AND RUSSIANS ARE THREATENING TO DRAG IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND RUMANIA. THE FACT THAT THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN MINORITY IS TRYING TO STOP BESSARABIA BEING REANNEXED TO RUMANIA MAY SEEM UNDERSTANDABLE BUT IT IS EVEN MORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE OTHER SIDE IS REFUSING TO RECOGNIZE THIS 'DNYESTR REPUBLIC' AND THUS ACCEPT A

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CONSIDERABLE TERRITORIAL LOSS. THE SITUATION IS COMPOUNDED BY THE FACT THAT THE SEPARATISTS ARE BEING SUPPORTED BY BOLSHEVIKS AND MILITARY LEADERS WHO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF A GREATER RUSSIA AND HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THE DEMISE OF THE SOVIET UNION. WHETHER IN MOLDOVA OR IN NAGORNO-KARABAKH, THE NEWEST MEMBERS OF THE CSCE ARE FACING EACH OTHER AS ENEMIES ."

H. GERMANY: TURKISH ARMS SCANDAL

1. MANFRED SCHELL WRITES IN MONDAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER DIE WELT OF BONN UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"RESIGNATION CALLED FOR."

"PERHAPS THE CHANCELLOR WILL USE THE DISPUTE ABOUT STOLTENBERG TO CARRY OUT THE CABINET RESHUFFLE WHICH HE WAS INTENDING TO MAKE AT THE END OF THE YEAR, BECAUSE HE IS NOT LIKELY TO BE ABLE TO HOLD ON TO STOLTENBERG. OF COURSE (STOLTENBERG) DID NOT FOOL THE BUNDESTAG. BUT AS MINISTER, HE BEARS THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FACT THAT HIS MINISTRY SUPPLIED TANKS TO TURKEY IN CONTRAVENTION OF A BUNDESTAG DECISION. THIS IS THE SECOND TIME WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD THAT THE MINISTER HAS NOT KNOWN OF INDEPENDENT ACTION WHICH HIS OFFICIALS HAVE TAKEN. A MINISTER WHO ALLOWS SUCH THINGS TO HAPPEN IS BOUND TO FALL...."

"THE AFFAIR SHOWS ONCE AGAIN THAT KOHL'S GOVERNMENT NEEDS NEW BLOOD. NEW MINISTERS WITH NEW IDEAS. AGRICULTURE MINISTER KIECHLE IS VISIBLY WEARY OF OFFICE. TRANSPORT MINISTER KRAUSE IS CONSTANTLY THE SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY. AND KOHL MUST CONSIDER WHETHER IT IS SENSIBLE TO HAVE THREE MINISTERS (HASSELFELDT, ROENSCH, MERKEL) FOR JOBS WHICH COULD EASILY BE COMBINED IN ONE MINISTRY. AND MOELLEMANN'S COMPETENCE IS INCREASINGLY BEING DOUBTED. A BROAD REVIEW SEEMS URGENTLY NEEDED IF KOHL'S GOVERNMENT IS TO OVERCOME ITS SYMPTOMS OF FATIGUE."

2. MONDAY'S CENTRIST SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG OF MUNICH CARRIES AN EDITORIAL UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ABDICATES RESPONSIBILITY."

"IF THE VIOLATION OF THE BUNDESTAG RESOLUTION TO HALT TANK DELIVERIES TO TURKEY WERE ONE SINGLE MISTAKE ON THE PART OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOR MINISTER STOLTENBERG TO IDENTIFY THOSE RESPONSIBLE AND DISMISS THEM. BUT THIS IS NOT A UNIQUE CASE: THE WHOLE AFFAIR IS DELIBERATE, SOMETHING WHICH WE KNOW FROM THE UNLAWFUL WEAPONS DEAL WITH ISRAEL LAST YEAR. UNDERSECRETARY HENNIG'S CLAIM THAT OFFICIALS IN HIS MINISTRY NORMALLY FOLLOWED INSTRUCTIONS 'COMPLETELY AUTOMATICALLY, ONE CAN PUT ONE'S FULL TRUST IN THEM,' IS UNFORTUNATELY NOT BORNE OUT BY THE FACTS."

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"WHILE THE LAST TIME, LOW-RANKING OFFICIALS WERE IN LEAGUE WITH THE BND, THIS TIME LEADING CIVIL SERVANTS FAILED TO TOE THE LINE. THIS MAKES THE AFFAIR ALL THE MORE IRRITATING AND SERIOUSLY RAISES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE MINISTER AND HIS UNDERSECRETARY HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF DERELICTION OF DUTY. IF STOLTENBERG CAN NO LONGER GUARANTEE THE LOYALTY OF HIS MINISTRY, THEN HE IS NO LONGER THE RIGHT MAN TO HEAD IT."

3. MONDAY'S LEFT-OF-CENTER FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU CARRIES AN EDITORIAL BY KARL GROBE UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"AS USUAL."

"IF THERE HAD BEEN A CONSISTENT (GERMAN) FOREIGN POLICY LINE UP TO THE EXECUTIVE BODIES IN POLICY REGARDING TURKEY, THE RULERS SHOULD NOW BE OUTRAGED AT TURKEY'S OUTRAGE.. THE ANGER AT ANKARA'S POLICY TOWARDS THE KURDISH PEOPLE COULD BE POLITICALLY EFFICIENT, BUT IT HAS LITTLE CREDIBILITY. THE INTEREST IN THE GLOBAL POLICY ROLE OF TURKEY WILL HAVE THE EFFECT THAT THE ANGER WILL SOON DISAPPEAR. THEN EVERYTHING WILL GO ON AS USUAL. THE PILE OF BROKEN PIECES IS MOUNTING, IN ALL CHINA SHOPS."

I. GERMANY-AUSTRIA: KOHL-WALDHEIM MEETING

TODAY'S RIGHT-OF-CENTER RHEINISCHE POST OF DUESSELDORF COMMENTS ON HELMUT KOHL'S UNOFFICIAL MEETING WITH AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT **KURT WALDHEIM** IN MUNICH. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF JOACHIM SOBOTTA WRITES UNDER THE HEADLINE:

"A DELICATE CASE."

"NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, A LUNCHEON THAT WAS CHARACTERIZED AS 'PRIVATE,' IS MAKING INTERNATIONAL WAVES.... EVEN THIS SMALL GESTURE TOWARDS WALDHEIM...INCURRED THE JEWISH WORLD CONGRESS' AND ISRAEL'S DISPLEASURE, BECAUSE THE ATTEMPT WAS THWARTED TO TOTALLY ISOLATE WALDHEIM ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE...."

"A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED HEAD OF STATE...WAS OSTRACIZED AND REMAINED, APART FROM A FEW EXCEPTIONS, 'LOCKED' IN THE VIENNA HOFBURG. BUT EXACTLY THIS OBVIOUSLY PROMPTED CHANCELLOR KOHL TO HAVE A LUNCHEON WITH WALDHEIM. IF THE PROVOCATIVE QUESTION HAD NOT BEEN RAISED, KOHL WOULD NOT HAVE GIVEN THIS CURT ANSWER AND NOT HAVE RECALLED THE JWC'S DUBIOUS ROLE IN NOVEMBER OF 1989."

"IT IS SURPRISING THAT KOHL'S REPLY 'I DECIDE WITH WHOM I SPEAK,' IS NOW, AFTER THE JEWISH WORLD CONGRESS, WHICH BY NO MEANS REPRESENTS ALL JEWS, ALSO A SUBJECT FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. KOHL'S THICK SKIN AND HIS

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ALLEGED LACK OF SENSIBILITY IS OBVIOUSLY IN REALITY A
DELIBERATE ANSWER TO THE OCCASIONALLY ARROGANT ATTITUDE
OF JEWISH SPOKESMEN IN NEW YORK TOWARDS THE GERMANS."

MILLER##

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