



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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London SW1A 2AH

28 June 1990

Dear Charles,

German Unification and French Views

In your letter of 19 June you asked for advice on points raised by M. Attali when he saw the Prime Minister.

On borders, we share the French view that formal endorsement of the definitive character of the borders of a united Germany should be part of the Final Settlement. There is already agreement on this among the Two plus Four, and the working documents endorsed by Foreign Ministers in East Berlin on 22 June clearly reflect that. There is also agreement that the German-Polish border should be fixed in a bilateral treaty between a united Germany and Poland and that this too should be reflected in the document which contains the Final Settlement. (The Western Four are working on the basis that only on ratification and entry into force of the Poland-German treaty will the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers in relation to this specific aspect be finally extinguished: but the legal and political implications of this need further attention.)

On the question of a re-affirmation by a united Germany of the renunciation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, there is unlikely in practice to be any real difficulty. We have no evidence of the Germans making difficulties on this. On the contrary, Genscher has reaffirmed Germany's willingness to remove these weapons. The declaration would be made as soon as German unity was achieved, and reflected in the final settlement texts.

We also agree with the French that defence issues as such are not for decision within the Two plus Four group. The Two plus Four Ministerial in East Berlin on 22 June decided to draw up a list of unresolved problems bearing on external aspects of German unity with an indication in each case of the forum where they should be addressed, if not the Two plus Four. This will permit the key politico-military questions to be directed to where they belong. For example, the Russians themselves now accept that ceilings on force levels in Central Europe, including United Germany, will be dealt with in the CFE follow-on process in Vienna. But, if it helps the Russians, there is no reason why the fact that certain issues such as this have been directed to another address should not be noted in documents emerging from the Two plus Four process.

Yours, Stephen Wall

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