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TELNO 173

OF 180900Z JULY 90

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TWO PLUS FOUR MINISTERIAL MEETING, PARIS, 17 JULY
SUMMARY

1. KOHL/GORBACHEV AGREEMENT AT STAVROPOL TRANSFORMS THE PROSPECT OF A SATISFACTORY FINAL SETTLEMENT BEFORE UNIFICATION. SHEVARDNADZE UNDERLINES IMPORTANCE OF LONDON NATO DECLARATION IN MAKING GERMAN MEMBERSHIP OF NATO ACCEPTABLE. POLISH BORDER ISSUE RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY. TWO PLUS FOUR PROCESS NOW ENTERS ITS CLOSING PHASE.

DETAIL

2. THE THIRD MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE TWO PLUS FOUR TOOK PLACE IN PARIS ON 17 JULY. DUMAS WAS IN THE CHAIR. SKUBISZEWSKI - POLAND - TOOK PART FROM LUNCH ONWARDS.

3. THE AGREEMENT REACHED ON THE PRECEDING DAY BY CHANCELLOR KOHL AND PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A SEA-CHANGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PUTS US FIRMLY IN THE END GAME. NOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ACCEPTED THE ESSENTIAL WESTERN POINTS ON POL-MIL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF A UNITED GERMANY TO MAKE ITS OWN DECISION ABOUT ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP, THERE IS A REALISTIC PROSPECT OF WRAPPING THE WHOLE PROCESS UP AT THE NEXT MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MOSCOW ON 12 SEPTEMBER. SHEVARDNADZE UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LONDON DECLARATION IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO ACCEPT A UNITED GERMANY AS A MEMBER OF NATO.

4. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE FORMAT OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. THE CORE SHOULD BE A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT ON THE LIFTING OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A PREAMBLE SETTING OUT BROAD PRINCIPLES AND A SEPARATE SECTION TAKING NOTE OF AGREEMENTS REACHED ELSEWHERE.

5. IN A SHORT MEETING POLITICAL DIRECTORS MADE SOME PROGRESS IN REFINING THE LIST OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS AGREED IN EAST BERLIN ON 4 JULY. THEY WILL MEET AGAIN IN BONN ON 19 JULY TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS AND TO BEGIN DRAFTING THE FINAL SETTLEMENT.

6. ON BORDERS, THE POLES APPEARED READY TO SETTLE FOR WHAT THEY COULD GET FROM THIS MEETING, WHILE THE FOUR POWERS WERE ANXIOUS

THAT THE POLES SHOULD NOT BE THE ONLY PARTICIPANT TO GO AWAY FROM THE MEETING EMPTY HANDED. SKUBISZEWSKI PUT FORWARD THE POLISH CASE AT LENGTH ON BORDERS, ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, ON TRADE AND ON THE POL-MIL STATUS OF A UNITED GERMANY, AT THE FORMAL MEETING. BUT HE RAPIDLY ACCEPTED A PACKAGE DEAL AGREED AT A PRECEDING BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENSCHER AND WITH OTHER MINISTERS OVER LUNCH.

7. THIS INVOLVED A NUMBER OF LARGELY COSMETIC POLISH AMENDMENTS TO THE PRINCIPLES ON THE HANDLING OF THE BORDER QUESTION. THE POLISH WISH FOR A LINK BETWEEN THE SUSPENSION OF QRRS AND A BORDER TREATY WAS PARTIALLY MET BY FORMAL STATEMENTS BY THE FRG AND GDR COMMITTING A UNIFIED GERMANY TO NEGOTIATE A BORDER TREATY WITH POLAND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER UNIFICATION, LEAVING WIDER BILATERAL RELATIONS FOR A LATER TREATY : AND BY A STATEMENT BY THE FOUR POWERS TO THE EFFECT THAT NO EXTERNAL EVENTS OR CIRCUMSTANCES COULD PUT THE DEFINITIVE CHARACTER OF THE POLISH/GERMAN BORDER IN QUESTION. OPEN BRACKET - THIS STATEMENT WAS INTENDED TO DEAL WITH HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO A REQUIREMENT THAT A QUOTE - PEACE TREATY - UNQUOTE SHOULD MAKE GERMANY'S BORDERS DEFINITIVE. IT WAS NOTED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THE STATEMENT REFERRED TO ABOVE CONSTITUTING A FOUR POWER GUARANTEE OF POLISH BORDERS. CLOSE BRACKET.

8. SKUBISZEWSKI DECLARED HIMSELF ENTIRELY CONTENT WITH THE OUTCOME AT THE MEETING ITSELF AND AT THE SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE. THERE SHOULD BE NO NEED FOR FURTHER POLISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR PROCESS.

9. IT WAS AGREED AMONGST THE WESTERN FOUR THAT DUFOURCQ AND KASTRUP SHOULD BRIEF THE NAC.

10. MY TWO IFTS REPORT DISCUSSION OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT AND OF POLISH BORDERS.

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