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From the Private Secretary

23 July 1990

I enclose a copy of a note which I have been given by the Soviet Ambassador about President Gorbachev's meeting with Chancellor Kohl. The Soviet Ambassador is anxious to have some sort of reaction from No 10.

BK
I should be grateful if you could let me know by the evening of 24 July what particularly points you would like me to make.

CHARLES POWELL

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T A L K S

between the USSR President Mr. M. S. Gorbachev
and Chancellor G. Kohl, 14-16 July 1990

The talks were devoted to the discussion of the key issues of the situation in Europe, concerning, primarily, the external aspects of German unification, as well as prospects for the development of bilateral relations in the context of the changes on the continent.

1. Both sides pointed out, that substantial positive changes have taken place recently in the international situation, which form a principally new historic context for the relations between the European countries. The East-West relations are moved over to the stable foundation of mutual trust and reliable security.

The forthcoming work on the Joint NATO-Warsaw Treaty Organization Declaration will be of crucial importance in that context as it would state that NATO and WTO countries do not consider each other enemies and will refrain from threat or use of force, from any acts, incompatible with the aims and principles of the UN Charter and Helsinki Final Act.

2. A substantial progress can be noticed in the development of the CSCE process and its institutionalization, which gives grounds to expect adoption of concrete decision at the Paris Summit. The creation of new security arrangements in Europe is now on a practical plane and can be seen in future as one dissolving the present block structures.

3. Major decision have been agreed or worked out in the field of both strategic and European-scale disarmament. Their realization would allow to scale-down significantly the level of military confrontation, to escape the ruinous burden of the arms race.

4. In the spirit of political realism, the leaders of the USSR and the FRG have worked out decisions, which integrated the positions of both governments and took full account of all other countries concerned, including those participating in the "two plus four" talks and Helsinki process.

Specifically, the results of the talks with Chancellor G.Kohl are as follows:

- The understanding has been reached on the conclusion in future of a wide-ranging treaty between the Soviet Union and the united Germany, which, with account for the existing treaties and agreements between the USSR and the FRG and the GDR, will regulate all major areas of their relations, including political and security aspects, economic ties, science and technology, culture, youth exchanges, to provide for the continuation of the co-operation between the Soviet and German peoples in the new conditions.

- The Soviet Union and the FRG confirmed their readiness to facilitate the speedy conclusion of the negotiations in the "two plus four" framework with the aim of working out of the final international legal settlement with Germany by the CSCE Summit this autumn.

- G.Kohl confirmed his assurances on the unified Germany borders. It will include only the territories of the FRG, GDR and Greater Berlin, with the outer borders of the FRG and GDR becoming the outer borders for Germany. The united Germany will fix its obligations not to have any territorial claims to other countries and not to put forward such claims to anybody in future.

- The Government of the FRG declared its acceptance of substantial cuts in the military forces of the united Germany with a ceiling of 370 thousand on their personell (army, air-force and navy). Actual cuts will be carried out in steps immediately after the signing of the treaty at Vienna-1, but in terms of international law will enter into force, in the words of G.Kohl, in the context of agreements reached at Vienna-2, where numerical limits on the armed forces of other European states will be established. The German readiness to limit the level of its armed forces by the figure of 370 thousand will also be reflected in the document on final international legal settlement of the German question.

- After the unification of Germany Soviet forces will remain on the present territory of the GDR, the time-period and terms of their presence will be determined by a treaty between the governments of the USSR and of the united Germany.

The governments of the USSR and of the united Germany will also sign a treaty regulating economic and financial consequences for the USSR in connection with the introduction of the D-mark on the territory of the GDR, including those for its armed forces.

- NATO structures will not apply to the present territory of the GDR after the unification. During the presence of Soviet armed forces there will be no stationing of forces under the NATO command on the territory of the GDR, i.e. only German territorial units will be stationed there.

After the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces on the present territory of the GDR there will be no foreign troops and armaments, including nuclear. Bundeswehr troops under the NATO command will be able to be stationed on the territory of the GDR, but with no nuclear delivery systems.

Thus the present military^{the} and political situation in this region will not be changed to/detriment of the Soviet Union and other German neighbours, which is of principal importance for maintaining stability and balance of forces on the continent.

- The unified Germany will be bound by commitment not to produce, possess and acquire weapons of mass destruction. It will also remain party to the Non-proliferation Treaty.

- After the conclusion of work in the "two plus four" framework on the final international legal settlement with Germany and once it enters into force (for this it will be necessary to pass the resulting document using the constitutional procedures of the participating states), the Four Powers rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole will be terminated and the united Germany will acquire the essential sovereignty, including the decision of questions of belonging to the alliances.

- An understanding was reached that the issue of the troops of the four powers stationed in Greater Berlin after the unification of Germany is to be decided by way of concluding a special agreement or agreements between the government of Germany and the governments of the four powers. The number of troops should not exceed the present level. There should not be a change in character and number of their weapons, i.e. they will continue to be without nuclear arms and delivery systems.

Keen on developing in every possible way the relations between the Soviet Union and the united Germany, the leaders of the USSR and the FRG have no intention of isolating from the common process of international co-operation and mutual understanding.

Talks, which took place, are a major contribution to the final overcoming of the "cold war" heritage in the international relations, in settling of acute problems, which until recently have complicated the amelioration of the situation in Europe.

The implementation of the agreements reached will obviously require some serious work both on the bilateral and multilateral bases, before the principal political agreement adopts the form of specific international legal documents. The sides are full of resolve to carry out this work in the shortest time, so that acting in the spirit of responsibility to give a new impulse to the process of peaceful re-construction of Europe.

