



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED London SW1A 2AH

24 July 1990

Jean Charles,

CND 24/7

Soviet/FRG Relations

Thank you for your letter of 23 July about the Soviet Ambassador's paper on the talks between President Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl.

The Soviet paper broadly corresponds to the account which Chancellor Kohl gave in his letter of 17 July to the Prime Minister. It emphasises points of particular interest to the Soviet Union. On the 2+4 process and the detail of the termination of four power rights and responsibilities it states that this will happen in effect after ratification of the final settlement. While no member of the 2+4 is likely to dispute this it is important to the Germans that Germany should have the appearance of full sovereignty from the moment of unification. As agreed at the last 2+4 meeting of officials we are working on a draft text for the termination of the quadripartite rights and responsibilities. We expect there to be a clause referring to the "suspension" of QRRs at the moment of unification with the final termination occurring on ratification. This would need to be concerted amongst our Western partners before it can be mentioned to the Russians.

You might like to make the following points to Ambassador Zamyatin:

- we have had an account from the Federal German Government which covers similar ground but not in precisely the same terms;
- the Prime Minister's warm welcome for the outcome of the talks with Chancellor Kohl as expressed in her message to President Gorbachev (which Zamyatin has seen);
- the NATO Summit played an important role in clearing the way for this agreement;
- so did President Gorbachev's successful management of the Party Congress on which the Prime Minister's congratulations;
- agree that work on a declaration by the members of the two alliances is important. Work in hand in Brussels already;

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- we particularly welcome Soviet agreement to a united Germany exercising full sovereignty including its right to decide freely and independently whether and to which alliance it wishes to belong; whatever legal procedures may be necessary, we do not envisage that in practice this should be held up for any significant period after unification;
- we share the aim of completing work on external aspects of German reunification before CSCE Summit. Shall now work hard to conclude necessary legal documents. (Drafts due for exchange by 15 August for Political Directors' consideration);
- prospects for Europe now greatly enhanced. Attention increasingly now focussed on cooperation with the Soviet economic reform process - so that Soviet Union can resume rightful place in European/world economic structure. UK expects to play full and positive part in determining how to structure increased cooperation.

This letter has been seen in draft by Mr Waldegrave.

Yours ever,

R. H. T. Gozney

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