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INFO ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS, UKMIS NEW YORK, OTHER CSCE POSTS

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2 + 4 MINISTERIAL MEETING, MOSCOW, 12 SEPTEMBER

SUMMARY

1. FINAL SETTLEMENT ON GERMANY SIGNED. TEXTS ON POLMIL ASPECTS ADEQUATE. SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES DUE TO OCCUR IN NEW YORK ON 1 OCTOBER. TWO PLUS FOUR WORK THUS COMPLETE.

DETAIL

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FRG AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE GDR SIGNED THE QUOTE TREATY ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT IN RESPECT OF GERMANY UNQUOTE IN THE OCTOBER HOTEL IN THE PRESENCE OF GORBACHEV. THE TREATY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN AGREED MINUTE WHICH WAS ALSO SIGNED. FULL TEXTS FOLLOW TO THE DEPARTMENT.

3. POLITICAL DIRECTORS IRONED OUT MOST OF THE REMAINING PROBLEMS ON 11 SEPTEMBER, HAVING ARRIVED AT SOVIET REQUEST A DAY EARLIER THAN PLANNED. THE RUSSIANS CONCEDED THAT DUAL CAPABLE WEAPONS SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PRESENT GDR AND LANGUAGE WAS FOUND TO EXPRESS THIS. FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD NO FOREIGN MILITARY ACTIVITY IS TO BE ALLOWED IN EAST GERMANY. BUT THE THORNY ISSUE OF MOVEMENT BY NON-GERMAN ARMED FORCES INTO EAST GERMANY AFTER SOVIET WITHDRAWAL HAD TO BE RESOLVED PERSONALLY BY FOREIGN MINISTERS THROUGH A SERIES OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL SESSIONS. THE UK AND US ARGUED STRONGLY AGAINST ACCEPTING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD EXTEND LIMITATIONS ON EAST GERMANY BEYOND NON-STATIONING AND THUS CONSTRAIN ALLIANCE OPTIONS. WITH THE PLENARY MEETING DELAYED BY AN HOUR, SHEVARDNADZE WAS FINALLY BROUGHT TO AGREE THAT, ALTHOUGH AFTER SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FOREIGN FORCES WOULD NOT BE STATIONED OR DEPLOYED IN EAST GERMANY, QUESTIONS REGARDING THE APPLICATION OF THE WORD QUOTE DEPLOYED UNQUOTE WOULD BE DECIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY. THIS IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION IS CONTAINED IN A MINUTE ATTACHED TO THE TREATY WHICH WAS ALSO SIGNED BY THE SIX FOREIGN MINISTERS. THE FACT THAT GERMANY'S RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS FLOWING FROM ALLIANCE

MEMBERSHIP ARE ALSO UNAFFECTED BY THIS TREATY IS ALSO CLEARLY STATED IN THE TREATY.

4. THE FORMAL PLENARY ITSELF WAS QUITE BRIEF, AND CONSISTED MAINLY OF STATEMENTS BY EACH OF THE SIX WELCOMING THE AGREEMENT.

5. ON SUSPENSION OF FOUR POWERS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN PERIOD BETWEEN UNIFICATION AND THEIR FINAL TERMINATION ON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE SETTLEMENT, THE RUSSIANS TOOK THE LINE THAT OTHER, BILATERAL, ARRANGEMENTS HAD TO BE SETTLED WITH THE GERMANS FIRST. BUT THEY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO CONSIDER AGAIN THE BRITISH DRAFT DECLARATION SUSPENDING FOUR POWER RIGHTS, WITH A VIEW TO IT BEING SIGNED BY THE SIX FOREIGN MINISTERS ON 1 OCTOBER, TWO DAYS BEFORE UNIFICATION, IN NEW YORK BEFORE THE CSCE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE. THIS OUTCOME SEEMS VIRTUALLY ASSURED.

COMMENT

6. A RANGE OF BILATERAL ISSUES, MAINLY ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES ON GERMAN SOIL REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE UNIFICATION, IN ORDER FIRMLY TO ELIMINATE THE LAST VESTIGES OF OCCUPATION RIGHTS (PROGRESS ON THIS IS, OF COURSE, WELL ADVANCED IN NEGOTIATIONS IN BONN). BUT SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT EFFECTIVELY RESOLVES THE FOUR POWER AND OTHER QUOTE EXTERNAL UNQUOTE ASPECTS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION. ON MOVEMENT OF FOREIGN FORCES INTO EAST GERMANY (CROSSING THE LINE), THE GERMANS PROVED VERY WOBBLY UP TO THE LAST MOMENT, BUT WERE PREVENTED BY THE FIRMNESS OF THEIR THREE ALLIES FROM COMPLETELY CONCEDED THE POINT TO THE RUSSIANS. FACED, ULTIMATELY, WITH A UNITED POSITION, SHEVARDNADZE SETTLED FOR A SIGNED DOCUMENT WHICH DOES NOT RULE OUT ANYTHING A PRIORI AFTER SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL EXCEPT STATIONING AS SUCH, AND LEAVES IT CLEAR THAT IT IS FOR SOVEREIGN GERMANY TO SAY WHETHER ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR NATO MILITARY ACTIVITY IN EAST GERMANY IN YEARS TO COME WOULD CONSTITUTE DEPLOYMENT OR NOT. THIS IS AS MUCH AS WE COULD HOPE FOR IN THE HIGHLY CHARGED ATMOSPHERE TODAY, BOTH IN THE GERMAN AND THE RUSSIAN CAMP.

BRAITHWAITE

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