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SUBJECT: September 12 Two-plus-Four Ministerial in Moscow:
Detailed Account

1. ~~Confidential~~ - entire text.

2. Summary: The formal session of the September 12 Two-plus-Four Ministerial in Moscow was held only after the Ministers had met in executive session to resolve the remaining issues concerning the future political-military status of GDR territory. This was done by agreeing on a minute that addressed the meaning of the term "deployed" as used in Article 5. Once this had been achieved, the Ministers instructed the language and legal experts to prepare the final version of the Treaty in all four languages (text given in para 41). They then began the formal session under the chairmanship of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. The Ministers confined themselves to general remarks, summing up the results of the Two-plus-Four process and their satisfaction with it. Much of this was repeated at the joint press conference held after the signing of the Treaty. After the Treaty was signed, the Germans distributed a letter to the Four Powers addressing expropriations, Nazism, and the validity of GDR treaties (text given in para 42). End summary.

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3. The fourth Two-plus-Four Ministerial took place in Moscow on September 12. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze acted as chairman. The schedule for the Ministerial evolved constantly to allow for Ministerial meetings following up on the work of the Political Directors in Berlin September 4-7 and in Moscow on September 11. The eventual order of meetings that developed began with a meeting of the One-plus-Three Ministers early morning of September 12. This was followed by an executive session involving all the Two-plus-Four Ministers, where final agreement was reached on the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany. This entailed achievement of an understanding on the meaning of the term "deployed" as used in Article 5 -- delineated in an agreed minute. The formal Ministerial then began late morning, followed by the signing ceremony, lunch, and a joint press conference.

4. The formal Ministerial session was devoted almost exclusively to final statements by the participants on the outcome of the Two-plus-Four process. These statements entailed largely the same points later made publicly by the Ministers at the joint press conference. At the formal Ministerial session, the Secretary was accompanied by Counselor Zoellick, Assistant Secretary Seitz, Assistant Secretary Tutwiler, NSC Representative Rice, Deputy Legal Adviser Young, Ambassador to the USSR Matlock, a specialist from Language Services, and an EUR/CE notetaker.

Shevardnadze's Opening Remarks

5. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze began the formal Ministerial by stating that the Two-plus-Four process was concluding only seven months after reaching agreement in Ottawa on the formula for the talks. The participants had traveled a long road in very little time. Shevardnadze said that no one present at the start of the process could have imagined that the group would reach the point it was now at. There had been many obstacles, but the participants had found enough strength to move towards one another and achieve agreement.

6. Shevardnadze said the group had been guided by the need to resolve a whole set of complex issues to find a better life for Europe. He said they had been helped by the desire to take the interests of all the participants into account. This had led to a sober-minded, realistic assessment of the state of things in Europe and the changes there. Shevardnadze said the group had warded off the option of a "simple document" and instead had moved to a "complex document" to resolve the whole set of problems.

7. Shevardnadze noted that the participants had been working on the Treaty up to the last minute. He cited the Kohl-Gorbachev talks as paving the way for the agreement as well as the contributions of President Bush and British Prime Minister Thatcher. He expressed thanks to all the participants and to all the experts and specialists who had worked on the Treaty. He concluded that the Treaty would make a major contribution to European security.

Genscher

8. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher spoke next. He began by saying this was a historic hour for all of Europe. Together the six had traveled a very long road in a short time. The goal of Ottawa had been achieved; the external aspects of German unification had been resolved. Genscher said that beginning the third of October, the Germans would once again live in a democratic state for the first time since 1933. Fascism in Germany had meant losing freedom, then peace, and finally unity. President von Weizsaecker had acknowledged German responsibility for the war that set Europe in flames. In this hour, the Germans remembered all the victims of war and tyranny. The Germans were thinking not just of the agony of the peoples represented at the table in Moscow, but in particular of the Jewish people. The Germans wanted to ensure that this never was repeated.

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9. Genscher briefly reviewed the history of the negotiations, thanking Presidents Gorbachev, Bush, and Mitterrand and Prime Minister Thatcher for their contributions. He noted that German unification was taking place in a Europe that itself was on the road to unity. He said that with the termination of Four-Power rights, Germany would obtain full sovereignty, which it would exercise in the interest of European peace and unity. He emphasized Germany's pledges in the Treaty on the Final Settlement that only peace would emanate from German soil, that the Germans renounced nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and that Germany would reduce its troop level to 370,000.

10. Genscher said the task now was to create new European structures, including the expansion and institutionalization of the CSCE process. He said the fundamentally changed situation in Europe had created the basis for a new relationship between the members of the alliances. They no longer regarded one another as enemies, but as partners in building a lasting European peace order. He cited Gorbachev's February 10 statement that German unity must make a contribution to constructive evolution of Europe and said the July 16 Kohl-Gorbachev meeting made it possible to reach this goal.

11. Genscher said Germany would contribute to the achievement of a political union of the 12 EC states. All of Germany would remain embedded in the EC. The EC was a guarantee for the internal and external stability of its members and an anchor for the stability of all Europe. The united Germany would also remain a member of the Atlantic alliance as an important element of a European peace order. The development of relations with Germany's neighbors to the East, especially the Soviet Union, carried central importance for the Germans. The comprehensive treaty the Germans would paragon with the Soviets the next day underscored the importance the Germans attached to this.

12. Genscher continued that the inviolability of borders was also a key element of a European peace order. The Treaty on the Final Settlement confirmed the definitive nature of Germany's borders. Germany would confirm the existing German-Polish border in a legally binding treaty as soon as possible after unification in accord with the parliamentary resolutions passed in the FRG and GDR in June. Germany also intended to conclude a comprehensive treaty with Poland that would serve the interests of peace in Europe. Genscher said he was pleased that the Treaty on the Final Settlement would be presented at the CSCE Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York and then at the CSCE Summit in Paris. He said that every CSCE participant would see that the Treaty on the Final Settlement incorporates all the principles of Helsinki.

13. Genscher concluded his remarks by saying that the signing of the Treaty on the Final Settlement obliged the Germans to recognize their responsibility to resolve the great challenges of the time: preservation of peace, economic development of the Third World, establishment of social justice everywhere. Genscher said the Germans would live up to their responsibility. The German desire was nothing other than to live in freedom and democracy and in peace with all other nations.

De Maiziere

14. GDR Prime Minister De Maiziere followed Genscher. De Maiziere began by saying that the GDR Government felt it correct that the external and security aspects of German unification be resolved before the accession of the GDR to the FRG. With the signing of the Treaty on the Final Settlement, this goal was now fulfilled. The Treaty was a historic document. It marked the end of the post-war era. It was the cornerstone for a new era of peace, freedom and cooperation. It prepared the way for the German people to achieve unity by self-determination.

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15. De Maiziere thanked all the participants. He said, in a process of give and take that was not simple, the legitimate interests of all participants had been taken into account. It was good to know that under the new political conditions on the continent even the most complicated and sensitive problems were solvable. This encouraged belief in a new quality of neighborly relations in Europe. Decisive was the fact that all participants had the will to use the opportunity for construction of a European order of freedom, peace and cooperation.

16. De Maiziere said the fact that the Two-plus-Four talks had reached a successful conclusion in Moscow had symbolic meaning. It was Gorbachev's policy of "perestroyka" and "new thinking" that first made possible the peaceful change in Central and East Europe. That furnished evidence again that security and stability in Europe included the Soviet Union. The vision of a common European house was closer to realization. A European consciousness was overcoming the old division and a greater Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was again taking shape.

17. De Maiziere said that it was of central meaning for Germany's European neighbors that the united Germany finally and without reservation recognized its postwar borders and raised no territorial claims against its neighbors. The definitive recognition of the borders was a precondition for meaningful cooperation in Europe in the spirit of reconciliation. Trust could and had to replace mistrust. De Maiziere said that the GDR agreed with Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski's recent statement that the current territorial order in Europe constituted the basis for reconciliation and a new beginning.

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18. De Maiziere said that it had been necessary to resolve complicated security questions in connection with unification. The agreement that had been reached reflected the interests of all parties. This was also true of the special military status assigned to the territory of the GDR. De Maiziere briefly reviewed these provisions of the Treaty on the Final Settlement, saying that the German troops on GDR territory would not, in terms of number, structure and equipment, be able to carry out offensive operations.

19. De Maiziere said this difficult compromise had been possible because all the participants had been prepared to move away from bloc thinking. In the East-West relationship it was now possible to move from the preservation of peace to the building-up of peace. These new developments had their origins in the general mistrust of outmoded military doctrines. Wide-ranging disarmament measures justified the hope that the means freed up in this process could be used for economic, social and ecological purposes. It should be the goal of all to continue building up mutual trust while building down military forces. The crisis in the Gulf showed how unsteady the peace of the world could be. But it also showed how strong the community of nations could be when it came to resisting an aggressor together. De Maiziere said that for the first time, the superpowers were not opponents. This was a success of the climate of growing trust.

20. De Maiziere said that the results of Two-plus-Four created good preconditions for the CSCE Summit to reach decisions that would definitively bring to an end the era of the Cold War and repression. With the signing of the Treaty on the Final Settlement, Germany would regain its full sovereignty. A pre-condition for this was the trust that war would never again emanate from German soil and that a dictatorship would never again arise there. The united Germany would have an ongoing obligation to preserve the memory of its history and the lessons from its history. One sign of this was the letter, sent by both German Foreign Ministers to the Four Powers, stating that war graves and monuments would be preserved, and that parties opposing the constitution would not be allowed. De Maiziere also noted that the results of the land reform of 1945-49 had expressly been recognized and that the international treaty obligations of the GDR, in particular economic agreements with CMEA countries, would be handled in a responsible manner.

21. De Maiziere concluded his remarks by expressing his joy that the entire German nation found itself in a united sovereign Germany with the agreement of its neighbors and the other nations of Europe. He said the population of the GDR knew well from the experience of the last forty years that illogical differentiation meant exclusion from international development. The GDR had never seen German unity as a solo pursuit, but as part of the overcoming of the division of Europe. He greeted the fact that the Treaty would be presented at the New York CSCE meeting. He said that the unified Germany now took on a role as a connecting link in Europe and Europe as a whole could now join the North American democracies in solving the crucial problems facing mankind.

The Secretary

22. The Secretary spoke next. He began by calling the meeting in Moscow a rendezvous with history. He said that the Two-plus-Four process had begun last February in the midst of a political revolution in which the German people had sought unification in peace and freedom. The Secretary said the conclusion of the Treaty on the Final Settlement in Moscow represented the completion of the diplomatic portion of that political revolution. He said that the six participants had facilitated the successful unification of Germany and lifting the restraints on German sovereignty.

23. The Secretary said that in settling the external aspects of unification, the Two-plus-Four process had created a new vocabulary. Words such as "openness," "cooperation" and "partnership" had replaced the language of the Cold War -- words like "secrecy," "conflict" and "confrontation." The Secretary added that the words had been matched by deeds.

24. The Secretary said that few people could have imagined this outcome a year ago. He said that hopes had risen before only to be dashed. The division of Germany and Europe had seemed permanent, as had the Berlin Wall. But then, with stunning swiftness, the Wall had been breached and new hopes of freedom had emerged: freedom to speak, freedom to worship, freedom to choose, but above all freedom from the fear of a policeman's knock in the middle of the night.

25. The Secretary turned to the results of Two-plus-Four. He said a Germany whole and free had been created -- one that was democratic and sovereign, a member of NATO and the EC, and reconciled to its neighbors. It was a Germany with definitive borders confirmed by binding international agreements. The Secretary added that the Treaty on the Final Settlement was fully supported by Germany's allies. For the U.S. it represented the end of a 45-year journey. Since 1945 every President and Congress had endorsed the goal of a sovereign, democratic, united Germany. This had now been achieved. We looked forward to the future with our friend and ally.

26. The Secretary said that new relationships had been formed in the course of this diplomatic revolution. In particular, he said, the Soviet Union had offered a new vision of its interests compatible with international cooperation. He praised Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's persistence and imagination in this regard. He thanked his other colleagues for their efforts in the Two-plus-Four process. The Secretary said that the Two-plus-Four process had achieved its success because of a common interest in searching for solutions that reflected the will of the people. He said that now the world was faced by a new challenge in the form of aggression in the Persian Gulf that had to be reversed.

27. The Secretary stated that the new partnerships had to be nurtured and expanded. NATO, the EC, and CSCE had to adapt to new times. There was a new Germany and a new Europe based on free elections, the rule of law, and the free market. 45 years after the end of World War II, he said, everyone had finally gotten the political arithmetic correct: Two-plus-Four added up to one Germany in a Europe whole and free.

Hurd

28. UK Foreign Minister Hurd spoke next. Hurd said the group was reaching the end of a long road. The division of Germany had been called "unnatural." It was necessary to recall what that phrase had meant: the division of families, friends, and country. Hurd said that a country divided is one which gives rise to strong emotions. In this sense, the division of Germany had meant dangers and had been bad for all of Europe. Hurd said this dangerous division had been ended by the Germans themselves, and by a seven-month process of diplomacy.

29. Hurd said it was right and proper that the end of this process should take place in Moscow. He recognized that the new thinking in the Soviet Union had been the key. At the same time, there had been real differences in substance that had required a spirit out of the ordinary to resolve. He cited the agreement reached in Paris on Germany's borders with the participation of the Polish Foreign Minister as a big step forward. He said that in signing the Treaty of the Final Settlement that day, the six were honoring their commitment to the Poles.

30. Hurd said the Treaty on the Final Settlement was the first fruit of a new world order. The cooperation achieved in Two-plus-Four would be tested by the crisis in the Gulf. The strength of this new order would be increased by the role to be played by the united Germany. There was still a lot of work to do to build up this order: for instance, at the CFE talks and in development of CSCE institutions. Hurd praised the role played by FRG Chancellor Kohl, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, and GDR Prime Minister De Maiziere. He said their policies had provided the impetus for the successful conclusion of the Two-plus-Four process. Hurd said that the Germans were understandably happy, and the rest of the participants could be happy for them and also take pride in the achievement.

31. Hurd said the united Germany was finding its place in Europe. He closed by quoting Winston Churchill's remark to the Council of Europe in 1949 that "a united Europe cannot live without the health and strength of Germany."

Dumas

32. French Foreign Minister Dumas spoke next. Dumas began by expressing the satisfaction of the French Government over the results which had been achieved in the Two-plus-Four process. He said the Treaty on the Final Settlement was based on restoration of full German sovereignty and non-discrimination against Germany. Dumas cited the German reaffirmation of their renunciation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as a key provision.

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33. Dumas said that the outcome of the Two-plus-Four process was not isolated from other changes in Europe. The unification of Germany represented only one stage in the unification of Europe. He said that Europe would have a realistic hope of resolving conflicts now that Germany had regained its place in the world.

34. Dumas said the French were particularly pleased that the outcome of the Two-plus-Four process was a "treaty" as this was what the French had long desired. He asked that [any] formal minutes to the meeting include the following statement by the French Government: "we welcome the fact that this is a Treaty as we wished from the beginning and thus an instrument whose application will, in all circumstances, be subject to international law."

35. Turning to the Franco-German relationship, Dumas noted that the two had fought three wars with one another since 1870, but had been partners since 1963. He said that with the Treaty on the Final Settlement, the abnormal situation that was the legacy of World War II had been ended. Germany and Europe had returned to a normal and wholesome situation. France would be faithful to its policy of cooperation and friendship and true to its Allies. Dumas concluded his remarks by stating that there was further work to be done to build European peace and cooperation and this would take place at the CSCE Summit in Paris.

Shevardnadze's Concluding Remarks

36. Shevardnadze took the floor again. He thanked his colleagues and said that the Soviets would agree to incorporate Dumas' statement in their minutes of the meeting. Shevardnadze said the Soviets shared the view that drafting the Treaty on the Final Settlement required achievement of mutually acceptable solutions. He said the decisions reached had been based on a balance of interests of all concerned. There had been no winners and no losers. This provided the best guarantee of stability.

37. Shevardnadze said the Treaty on the Final Settlement ruled out the experiences of the past -- the German Question would never again threaten European peace. He said that German unity went along with and had to provide an impetus for change in Europe. Futile conflicts belonged in the past. All the participants were agreed that German unification had to play a role in the expansion of CSCE, change in the relationship between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and the development of new European security structures. Shevardnadze said it was necessary now to work on a NATO-WTO joint resolution and on the preparations for the CSCE Summit. He said it was particularly necessary to adopt a decision to open a European center for conflict prevention.

38. Shevardnadze summed up by stating that the tasks set out for the Two-plus-Four process had been accomplished: a Treaty on the external aspects of German unification was now ready. It had been a unique historical experience important for the future. He added that discussion had been critical, at times heated, but always based on mutual respect.

39. Shevardnadze then turned to procedural questions. He said the signing would take place in Gorbachev's presence. At the press conference, he planned to say that the Two-plus-Four process had been successfully concluded, to outline the content of the Treaty and that it would be made public, to emphasize the importance of the resolution of these external aspects of unification and the satisfaction of all the participants. Shevardnadze said he would announce that the Foreign Ministers would submit the Treaty to the CSCE member states at the CSCE Summit and that, as chairman, the USSR would carry out the agreement reached at the Paris Ministerial to provide a copy of the Treaty to the Government of Poland. All the Foreign Ministers concurred with this and the meeting adjourned.

40. The Ministers then proceeded to a holding room to wait as the legal and language experts prepared the final version of the Treaty in all four languages. Once this had been done, the full delegations of all six countries gathered to watch the signing. Luncheon and the joint press conference (transcript provided in Moscow 32112) concluded the Ministerial.

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41. The fully-agreed text of the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany follows:

Begin text:

TREATY ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT
WITH RESPECT TO GERMANY

The Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America,

Conscious of the fact that their peoples have been living together in peace since 1945;

Mindful of the recent historic changes in Europe which make it possible to overcome the division of the continent;

Having regard to the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers relating to Berlin and Germany as a whole, and the corresponding wartime and post-war agreements and decisions of the Four Powers;

Resolved in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

Recalling the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Helsinki;

Recognizing that those principles have laid firm foundations for the establishment of a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe;

Determined to take account of everyone's security interests;

Convinced of the need finally to overcome antagonism and to develop cooperation in Europe;

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Confirming their readiness to reinforce security, in particular by adopting effective arms control, disarmament and confidence-building measures; their willingness not to regard each other as adversaries but to work for a relationship of trust and cooperation; and accordingly their readiness to consider positively setting up appropriate institutional arrangements within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

Welcoming the fact that the German people, freely exercising their right of self-determination, have expressed their will to bring about the unity of Germany as a state so that they will be able to serve the peace of the world as an equal and sovereign partner in a united Europe;

Convinced that the unification of Germany as a state with definitive borders is a significant contribution to peace and stability in Europe;

Intending to conclude the final settlement with respect to Germany;

Recognizing that thereby, and with the unification of Germany as a democratic and peaceful state, the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers relating to Berlin and to Germany as a whole lose their function;

Represented by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs who, in accordance with the Ottawa Declaration of 13 February 1990, met in Bonn on 5 May 1990, in Berlin on 22 June 1990, in Paris on 17 July 1990 with the participation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, and in Moscow on 12 September 1990;

Have agreed as follows:

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ARTICLE 1

(1) The united Germany shall comprise the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the whole of Berlin. Its external borders shall be the borders of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and shall be definitive from the date on which the present Treaty comes into force. The confirmation of the definitive nature of the borders of the united Germany is an essential element of the peaceful order in Europe.

(2) The united Germany and the Republic of Poland shall confirm the existing border between them in a treaty that is binding under international law.

(3) The united Germany has no territorial claims whatsoever against other states and shall not assert any in the future.

(4) The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic shall ensure that the constitution of the united Germany does not contain any provision incompatible with these principles. This applies accordingly to the provisions laid down in the preamble, the second sentence of Article 23, and Article 146 of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany.

(5) The Governments of the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America take formal note of the corresponding commitments and declarations by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and declare that their implementation will confirm the definitive nature of Germany's borders.

ARTICLE 2

The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reaffirm their declarations that only peace will emanate from German soil. According to the constitution of the united Germany, acts tending to and undertaken with the intent to disturb the peaceful relations between nations, especially to prepare for aggressive war, are unconstitutional and a punishable offence. The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic declare that the united Germany will never employ any of its weapons except in accordance with its constitution and the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 3

(1) The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reaffirm their renunciation of the manufacture and possession of and control over nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. They declare that the united Germany, too, will abide by these commitments. In particular, rights and obligations arising from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968 will continue to apply to the united Germany.

(2) The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, acting in full agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, made the following statement on 30 August 1990 in Vienna at the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe:

"The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany undertakes to reduce the personnel strength of the armed forces of the united Germany to 370,000 (ground, air and naval forces) within three to four years. This reduction will commence on the entry into force of the first CFE agreement. Within the scope of this overall ceiling no more than 345,000 will belong to the ground and air forces which, pursuant to the agreed mandate, alone are the subject of the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The Federal Government regards its commitment to reduce ground and air forces as a significant German contribution to the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. It assumes that in follow-on negotiations the other participants in the negotiations, too, will render their contribution to enhancing security and stability in Europe, including measures to limit personnel strengths."

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has expressly associated itself with this statement.

(3) The Governments of the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America take note of these statements by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

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ARTICLE 4

(1) The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics state that the united Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will settle by treaty the conditions for and the duration of the presence of Soviet armed forces on the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin, as well as the conduct of the withdrawal of these armed forces which will be completed by the end of 1994, in connection with the implementation of the undertaking of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic referred to in paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the present Treaty.

(2) The Governments of the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America take note of this statement.

ARTICLE 5

(1) Until the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin in accordance with Article 4 of the present Treaty, only German territorial defence units which are not integrated into the alliance structures to which German armed forces in the rest of German territory are assigned will be stationed in that territory as armed forces of the united Germany. During that period and subject to the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article, armed forces of other states will not be stationed in that territory or carry out any other military activity there.

(2) For the duration of the presence of Soviet armed forces in the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin, armed forces of the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America will, upon German request, remain stationed in Berlin by agreement to this effect between the Government of the united Germany and the Governments of the states concerned. The number of troops and the amount of equipment of all non-German armed forces stationed in Berlin will not be greater than at the time of signature of the present Treaty. New categories of weapons will not be introduced there by non-German armed forces. The Government of the united Germany will conclude with the Governments of those states which have armed forces stationed in Berlin treaties with conditions which are fair taking account of the relations existing with the states concerned.

(3) Following the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin, units of German armed forces assigned to military alliance structures in the same way as those in the rest of German territory may also be stationed in that part of Germany, but without nuclear weapon carriers. This does not apply to conventional weapon systems which may have other capabilities in addition to conventional ones but which in that part of Germany are equipped for a conventional role and designated only for such. Foreign armed forces and nuclear weapons or their carriers will not be stationed in that part of Germany or deployed there.

ARTICLE 6

The right of the united Germany to belong to alliances, with all the rights and responsibilities arising therefrom, shall not be affected by the present Treaty.

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ARTICLE 7

(1) The French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America hereby terminate their rights and responsibilities relating to Berlin and to Germany as a whole. As a result, the corresponding, related quadripartite agreements, decisions and practices are terminated and all related Four Power institutions are dissolved.

(2) The united Germany shall have accordingly full sovereignty over its internal and external affairs.

ARTICLE 8

(1) The present Treaty is subject to ratification or acceptance as soon as possible. On the German side it will be ratified by the united Germany. The Treaty will therefore apply to the united Germany.

(2) The instruments of ratification or acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the united Germany. That Government shall inform the Governments of the other Contracting Parties of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or acceptance.

ARTICLE 9

The present Treaty shall enter into force for the united Germany, the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America on the date of deposit of the last instrument of ratification or acceptance by these states.

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ARTICLE 10

The original of the present Treaty, of which the English, French, German and Russian texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, which shall transmit certified true copies to the Governments of the other Contracting Parties.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly authorized thereto, have signed this Treaty.

DONE at Moscow this twelfth day of September 1990. .

For the Federal Republic of Germany
[Hans-Dietrich Genscher]

For the German Democratic Republic
[Lothar De Maiziere]

For the French Republic
[Roland Dumas]

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
[Eduard Shevardnadze]

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
[Douglas Hurd]

For the United States of America
[James A. Baker III]

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AGREED MINUTE TO THE TREATY ON THE
FINAL SETTLEMENT WITH RESPECT TO
GERMANY OF 12 SEPTEMBER 1990

Any questions with respect to the application of the word "deployed" as used in the last sentence of paragraph 3 of Article 5 will be decided by the Government of the united Germany in a reasonable and responsible way taking into account the security interests of each Contracting Party as set forth in the preamble.

For the Federal Republic of Germany
[Hans-Dietrich Genscher]

For the German Democratic Republic
[Lothar De maiziere]

For the French Republic
[Roland Dumas]

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
[Eduard Shevardnadze]

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
[Douglas Hurd]

For the United States of America
[James A. Baker III]

End text.



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