



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

POL/ECON 56 p. B. 22.52. A. (RDA).  
N

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation and has the honor to convey the attached letter from James A. Baker, Secretary of State, to Federal Councilor Felber. There will be no signed original.

The Embassy of the United States of America avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Bern, Switzerland

May 17, 1990





*Embassy of the United States of America*

Bern, Switzerland

May 17, 1990

Mr. Minister, Dear Colleague:

The rapid pace of events in recent months makes it all the more essential that we stay in close touch on important issues. At the time of the first official-level meeting of the Two-Plus-Four, we shared with you our thoughts as we embarked on the process. As we have now had our first meeting of the Two-Plus-Four at ministerial level, I would like to continue this dialogue by briefing you on it and on several other issues that concern us all.

The United States warmly welcomes the prospective unification of a democratic Germany: it is the realization of a goal that we have shared with the German people for over forty years. We look forward to the German people being able to decide their own future on the basis of full sovereignty and free and democratic elections.

In the context of the Two-Plus-Four process, we recognize that the Soviet Union has legitimate security concerns that must be addressed. History has demonstrated that the perpetuation of discriminatory limitations on any state becomes a source of grievance and international tension. It is thus our view that a primary task of the Two-Plus-Four is to arrive at a formula by which we will terminate and transfer all remaining Four-Power rights and responsibilities to Germany at the time of unification. We see unity and sovereignty as going hand in hand.

On May 5, at our first Two-Plus-Four ministerial, we agreed on an agenda of discussions that covers borders; political-military issues; Berlin; final settlement and termination of Four-Power rights. We agreed to meet again in Berlin in June and to convene for a third meeting in Paris the following month. Recognizing Poland's deep concern about the border issue, we have invited Foreign Minister Skubiszewski to the Paris meeting. We will continue to consult closely with you as the Two-Plus-Four process unfolds and hope to be able to report positive results to the CSCE Summit when it convenes late this year.

- 2 -

As you may have noted, the President recently announced a number of other steps designed to address the changing security situation. Among them were our decision unilaterally to terminate our program for modernization of the Lance missile and our decision to cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells in Europe. Moreover, at our May 3 meeting in Brussels, my NATO colleagues and I agreed, as President Bush suggested, that the North Atlantic Alliance will undertake a wide-ranging strategy review. We assessed progress in the CFE talks and started to look toward follow-on negotiations. We believe these steps show that NATO is making an important contribution in these historic times. As it has shown for over four decades, our alliance is both a crucial element in European stability and security, and a force for positive change.

The President also addressed the need to broaden and deepen the agenda of the CSCE, as we seek to meet the challenge of our changing times. Since 1975, CSCE has been, for all of the countries of Europe, together with Canada and the United States, a mechanism for shaping a freer, more secure future. The dramatic developments of recent months have given concrete form to the promise of Helsinki, and have underscored the continuing importance of the CSCE progress to our common efforts to extend freedom, improve human rights, build open, competitive economies, and strengthen security.

We have now reached the point where a CSCE Summit meeting can play a crucial role in consolidating achievements already made and advancing this process even further. At my meetings last week in Brussels, I discussed my Government's approach to such a summit. Above all, a CFE agreement is an essential element for the foundation of a successful summit.



- 3 -

The other CSCE intersessional meetings to date have made significant advances which we should recognize fully at the summit. Just as the Bonn Concluding Document was a milestone for economic cooperation, we hope that at the Copenhagen meeting we will be able to agree to a solid endorsement for free and democratic elections, including provisions for election observers, and adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law. I believe that this initiative too deserves your whole-hearted support.

At the summit, we intend to stress the importance of guaranteeing respect for human rights and individual freedoms, which we see as central to a more stable CSCE community of nations. Ultimately, it is these freedoms which will underwrite prospects for balanced future progress across the full range of CSCE's three baskets.

It is my firm belief that the agenda of the CSCE ought to be deepened. Some ideas which we think have promise are: instituting regularized political consultations at the ministerial and subministerial level; regularizing the scheduling of review conferences including agreement on a fixed duration; assigning to the Valletta Conference on the peaceful settlement of disputes the task of examining possible mechanisms for conflict resolution; approving innovative measures in the CSBM talks, such as the proposal for a mechanism to request clarification of unusual military activities; and having the summit consider how existing organizations such as the OECD and the ECE might follow up on CSCE accomplishments. We are presently consulting with our alliance partners on these and other ideas with an eye to the need to initiate a summit preparatory process.

- 4 -

On the assumption that a CFE agreement will be ready in time for the Summit, I believe that such preparations should begin in July, on the margins of the Vienna CSBM talks, where each of the 35 participating states has a delegation in place. I am also prepared to host a ministerial-level CSCE meeting in the United States in connection with the opening of the United Nations General Assembly this September.

I would be remiss if I left the subject of CSCE without noting the unique and constructive role that the neutral and nonaligned group has played in the CSCE since its inception. We also attach great value to our tradition of cooperation on CSCE issues which we hope will continue and deepen as we address our expanded CSCE agenda.

The decisions that we take in the coming months will be of great significance for our nations and for future generations. I hope you will share your thoughts with us on these historic issues as we move ahead.

Sincerely,

James A. Baker

His Excellency

Rene Felber

Federal Councilor

Federal Department of Foreign Affairs