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## DOCUMENTS IN THE RUSSO-GERMAN ACCORD

*Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

The High Contracting Parties,

ANXIOUS to contribute to strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world,

CONVINCED that peaceful co-operation among States on the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations complies with the ardent desire of nations and the general interests of international peace.

APPRECIATING the fact that the agreed measures previously implemented by them, in particular the conclusion of the Agreement of 13 September 1955 on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, have created favorable conditions for new important steps destined to develop further and to strengthen their mutual relations,

DESIRING to lend expression, in the form of a treaty, to their determination to improve and extend co-operation between them, including economic relations as well as scientific, technological and cultural contacts, in the interest of both States,

HAVE AGREED as follows:

### ARTICLE 1

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consider it an important objective of their policies to maintain international peace and achieve détente.

They affirm their endeavor to further the normalization of the situation in Europe and the development of peaceful relations among all European States, and in so doing proceed from the actual situation existing in this region.

### ARTICLE 2

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall in their mutual relations as well as in matters of ensuring European and international security be guided by the purposes and

principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly they shall settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means and undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force, pursuant to Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, in any matters affecting security in Europe or international security, as well as in their mutual relations.

#### ARTICLE 3

In accordance with the foregoing purposes and principles the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics share the realization that peace can only be maintained in Europe if nobody disturbs the present frontiers.

- They undertake to respect without restriction the territorial integrity of all States in Europe within their present frontiers;
- they declare that they have no territorial claims against anybody nor will assert such claims in the future;
- they regard today and shall in future regard the frontiers of all States in Europe as inviolable such as they are on the date of signature of the present Treaty, including the Oder-Neisse line which forms the western frontier of the People's Republic of Poland and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

#### ARTICLE 4

The present Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall not affect any bilateral or multi-lateral treaties or arrangements previously concluded by them.

#### ARTICLE 5

The present Treaty is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification which shall take place in Bonn.

Done at Moscow on 12 August 1970 in two originals, each in the German and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Federal Republic of Germany  
For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

#### *Letter on German Unity to the Soviet Union:*

In connection with today's signature of the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has the honor to state that this Treaty does not conflict with the political objective of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will recover its unity in free self-determination.

*Text of Notes sent to the Embassies of France, United Kingdom and*

*United States in Moscow, concerning the rights of the Four Powers with regard to Germany as a whole and Berlin:*

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany presents its compliments to the . . . Embassy and has the honor, on the instructions of its Government, to transmit the following Note with the request that its contents be communicated to the Government of . . . as expeditiously as possible:

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has the honor, in connection with the imminent signing of a Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to inform it of the following:

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs has, in the context of the negotiations, set forth the Federal Government's position as regards the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers with regard to Germany as a whole and Berlin.

Since a peace settlement is still outstanding, both sides proceeded on the understanding that the proposed Treaty does not affect the rights and responsibilities of the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs has in this connection declared to the Soviet Foreign Minister on 6 August 1970:

"The question of the rights of the Four Powers is in no way connected with the Treaty which the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics intend to conclude, and will not be affected by it."

The Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics thereupon made the following declaration:

"The question of the rights of the Four Powers was not the subject of negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

"The Soviet Government proceeded on the understanding that this question should not be discussed.

"Nor will the question of the rights of the Four Powers be affected by the Treaty which the U.S.S.R. and the Federal Republic of Germany intend to conclude. This is the position of the Soviet Government regarding this question."

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the . . . Embassy the assurance of its high consideration.

Moscow, 7 August 1970

*U.S. Reply to Bonn in Summary:*

The Government of the United States of America has the honor of informing the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that it has

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received the note transmitted by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on August 7, 1970.

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs has, in this connection, declared to the Soviet Foreign Minister on the 6th of August 1970 that:

"The question of the rights of the Four Powers is in no way connected with the treaty which the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics intend to conclude, and will not be affected by it."...

The Government of the United States takes full cognizance of this Note, including the declarations made by the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as part of the negotiations prior to the initialing of the treaty which is to be concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

For its part, the Government of the United States also considers that the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers for Berlin and Germany as a whole which derive from the outcome of the Second World War and which are reflected in the London Agreement of November 14, 1944, and in the Quadripartite Declaration of June 5, 1945, and in other wartime and postwar agreements, are not and cannot be affected by a bilateral treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including the present treaty.

## THE POLISH-GERMAN TREATY

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Peoples Republic of Poland.

Considering that more than 25 years have passed since the end of the second World War of which Poland was the first victim and which brought grave suffering to the peoples of Europe;

Mindful that in both countries a new generation has grown up which should be assured of a peaceful future:

Wishing to create lasting foundations for peaceful co-existence and the development of normal and good relations between them;

Anxious to strengthen peace and security in Europe;

In the awareness that the inviolability of borders and the respect of the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present frontiers are a basic condition for peace;

Have agreed as follows:

### ARTICLE 1

(1) The Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland state in mutual agreement that the existing boundary line, the course of which is laid down in Chapter IX of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, as running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemuende, thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the Western Neise River and along the Western Neise to the Czechoslovak frontier, shall constitute the western state frontier of the People's Republic of Poland.

(2) They confirm the inviolability of their existing borders now and in the future and pledge themselves to the unrestricted respect of their territorial integrity.

(3) They declare that they have no territorial claims whatsoever towards each other and will not make any such claims in the future.

### ARTICLE 2

(1) The Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland shall in their mutual relations as well as in matters of ensuring security in Europe and the world be guided by the purposes and principles

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embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

(2) Accordingly, pursuant to Articles 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter they shall settle all their disputes exclusively by peaceful means and will refrain from the threat or use of force in matters affecting European and international security as well as in their mutual relations.

#### ARTICLE 3

(1) The Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland will undertake further steps towards full normalization and comprehensive development of their mutual relations for which this treaty forms firm basis.

(2) They are agreed that an expansion of their cooperation in the field of economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other relations is in their mutual interest.

The present treaty shall not affect any bilateral or multilateral international arrangements previously concluded by either contracting parties or concerning them.

#### ARTICLE 4

This treaty is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification which shall take place in Bonn.

To certify this the delegates of the contracting parties have signed this treaty.

Done at Warsaw on . . . in two originals, each in the German and Polish Language, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Federal Republic of Germany  
For the People's Republic of Poland

Dec 7 9/10