

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SUBJECT cc: Maastricht

SERIAL No. T48190

OPS

Dear Helmut

It was very good of you to let me know so quickly about your government's decision on the border between Germany and Poland. I have been following the matter closely and very much agree that the border should be entirely secure and guaranteed by treaty. I therefore welcome your intention that the two German governments and parliaments should issue formal declarations about this as soon as possible after the elections in the GDR, and this should be followed by a Treaty soon after unification.

These are most statesmanlike steps. They will help dispel the previous uncertainty and will be greatly beneficial.

Warm regards,

Margaret.

FILE KK



be PC
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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

7 March 1990

MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

I enclose the Prime Minister's reply to Chancellor Kohl's message about the German/Polish border. It is somewhat changed from the version you sent. I should be grateful if it could be delivered as soon as possible.

(C. D. POWELL)

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

Dear Helmut

It was very good of you to let me know so quickly about your government's decision on the border between Germany and Poland. I have been following the matter closely and very much agree that the border should be entirely secure and ^{guaranteed} fixed by treaty. I therefore welcome your intention that the two German governments and parliaments should issue formal declarations about this as soon as possible after the elections in the GDR, and this should be followed by a Treaty soon after unification.

These are most statesmanlike steps. They will help dispel the previous uncertainty and will be greatly beneficial.

Warm regards,

Margaret.





ccr

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

7 March 1990

Dear Charles,

Polish-German Border

As requested in your letter of 6 March, I / enclose a draft reply to Chancellor Kohl's message about the Polish-German border.

The draft resolution is very welcome and should help dispel the concern which has existed for far too long. Chancellor Kohl has backed down and is reported as saying that mistakes were made, including by him.

Initial reactions from Poland are reported to be favourable, but we have no information so far of Mr Mazowiecki's own views.

*Yours,
Stephen Wall*
(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO CHANCELLOR KOHL

Dear Helmut

It was very good of you to let me know so quickly about your government's decision on the important question of the borders between Germany and Poland. As you know, I have ~~very~~ ^{only} ~~agreed~~ been following the matter closely and share the view that these borders should be entirely secure and fixed by treaty. I therefore welcome your intention, as indicated in the draft resolution to be considered by the Bundestag tomorrow, both to bring about such a treaty soon after unification and that the two German governments and parliaments should issue ~~joint~~ declarations about this as soon as possible after the elections in the GDR, ~~a~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{should be followed by a} Treaty ~~soon after unification. In this place~~ ^{as soon as possible} ~~and now~~ ~~unification~~.

I am sure that the steps which you envisage will help dispel the previous uncertainty and will be greatly beneficial.

Warm regards,

With very best wishes, Margaret.

"New and most dramatic like Ktp. They will help

o/o
DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
Baron Hermann von Richthofen

London, 7 March 1990

cc/k

CBP.

FB

Dear Prime Minister,

Following the transmission by telefax yesterday evening I have the honour to transmit the enclosed message from Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the usual way.

A courtesy translation is attached.

Yours sincerely
Hermann Richthofen

Her Excellency
The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Her Majesty's Prime Minister and
First Lord of the Treasury
L o n d o n

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. TAT 190

6. März 1990

Telegramm

von

SUBJECT cc MASTER + OPS

Herrn Helmut Kohl

Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

an

Ihre Exzellenz

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher

Premierminister des Vereinigten Königreichs

Großbritannien und Nordirland

Sehr geehrte Frau Premierminister,

Liebe Margaret,

anliegend übersende ich Ihnen den Text einer Entschließung zur Frage der polnischen Westgrenze, auf den sich die Koalition heute geeinigt hat und den sie an diesem Donnerstag im Deutschen Bundestag einbringen wird.

Ich wäre Ihnen verbunden, wenn sie die darin zum Ausdruck kommende Haltung unterstützen würden.

Ich darf hinzufügen, daß diesem Entschließungsantrag eingehende Gespräche im Rahmen der Koalition vorausgegangen sind und daß ich mich persönlich für das Zustandekommen dieses Textes eingesetzt habe.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

gez. Helmut Kohl

Courtesy Translation

06 March 1990

Telegram
from
**Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the
Federal Republic of Germany**
to
**Her Excellency The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland**

Dear Prime Minister, dear Margaret,

Please find enclosed a draft resolution on Poland's Western border, on which the Government coalition reached agreement today and which it will table in the German Bundestag on Thursday.

I should be grateful if you could support the position reflected in the resolution.

I would like to add that this draft resolution was preceded by extensive talks within the coalition and that I personally strove to bring it about.

Yours sincerely,
Helmut Kohl

Anlage zum Telegramm vom 06.03.1990 von
Herrn Helmut Kohl
Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
an
Ihre Exzellenz
The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
Premierminister des Vereinigten Königreichs
Großbritannien und Nordirland

Entwurf eines Entschließungsantrages der Fraktionen der
CDU/CSU und der FDP

Der Deutsche Bundestag wolle beschließen:

Der Deutsche Bundestag schlägt unter Bezugnahme auf seine Erklärung vom 08. November 1989 vor, daß die beiden frei gewählten deutschen Parlamente und Regierungen möglichst bald nach den Wahlen in der DDR eine gleichlautende Erklärung abgeben, die in ihrem Kern folgendes beinhaltet:

"Das polnische Volk soll wissen, daß sein Recht, in sicheren Grenzen zu leben, von uns Deutschen weder jetzt noch in Zukunft durch Gebietsansprüche in Frage gestellt wird."

Ziel dieser Erklärung ist es, entsprechend den Prinzipien der KSZE-Schlußakte mit Blick auf die deutsche Einheit die Unverletzlichkeit der Grenzen gegenüber Polen als unverzichtbare Grundlage des friedlichen Zusammenlebens in Europa zu bekräftigen.

In diesem Sinne soll die Grenzfrage in einem Vertrag zwischen einer gesamtdeutschen Regierung und der polnischen Regierung geregelt werden, der die Aussöhnung zwischen beiden Völkern besiegelt.

Der Verzicht Polens auf Reparationen gegenüber Deutschland vom 23. August 1953 und die gemeinsame Erklärung von Ministerpräsident Mazowiecki und Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl vom 14. November 1989 bleiben auch für das vereinte Deutschland gültig.

Enclosure to the Telegram dated
06 March 1990
from
Herr Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the
Federal Republic of Germany
to
Her Excellency The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland

Translation

Draft resolution of the CDU/CSU and FDP parliamentary

It is moved that the Bundestag adopt the following resolution:

With reference to its declaration of 8 November 1989 the German Bundestag proposes that, as soon as possible after the elections in the GDR, the two freely elected German parliaments and governments issue an identical declaration essentially stating the following:

"The Polish people are assured that their right to live in secure borders will not be questioned by us Germans through territorial claims either now or in future."

The purpose of this declaration is, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE final act, to reaffirm in the light of German unity the inviolability of the borders with Poland as the indispensable basis of peaceful relations in Europe.

In this spirit the border question should be settled in a treaty between an all-German government and the Polish government that seals the reconciliation of the two nations.

Poland's waiver of reparations from Germany dated 23 August 1953 and the joint declaration made by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 14 November 1989 remain valid for a united Germany.

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
DER BUNDESKANZLER

Bonn, den 6. März 1990

Ihrer Exzellenz
Frau Margaret Thatcher, MP
Premierminister des
Vereinigten Königreichs
Großbritannien und Nordirland

London

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No.T46c190
SUBJECT cc Master
cc OPS

Sehr geehrte Frau Premierminister,
liebe Margaret,

anliegend übersende ich Ihnen den Text einer Entschließung zur Frage der polnischen Westgrenze, auf den sich die Koalition heute geeinigt hat und den sie an diesem Donnerstag im Deutschen Bundestag einbringen wird.

Ich wäre Ihnen verbunden, wenn Sie die darin zum Ausdruck kommende Haltung unterstützen würden.

Ich darf hinzufügen, daß diesem Entschließungsantrag eingehende Gespräche im Rahmen der Koalition vorausgegangen sind und daß ich mich persönlich für das Zustandekommen dieses Textes eingesetzt habe.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

W. E. Jun

Entwurf eines Entschließungsantrages der Fraktionen
der CDU/CSU und der FDP

Der Deutsche Bundestag wolle beschließen:

Der Deutsche Bundestag schlägt unter Bezugnahme auf seine Erklärung vom 8. November 1989 vor, daß die beiden frei gewählten deutschen Parlamente und Regierungen möglichst bald nach den Wahlen in der DDR eine gleichlautende Erklärung abgeben, die in ihrem Kern folgendes beinhaltet:

"Das polnische Volk soll wissen, daß sein Recht, in sicheren Grenzen zu leben, von uns Deutschen weder jetzt noch in Zukunft durch Gebietsansprüche in Frage gestellt wird."

Ziel dieser Erklärung ist es, entsprechend den Prinzipien der KSZE-Schlußakte mit Blick auf die deutsche Einheit die Unverletzlichkeit der Grenzen gegenüber Polen als unverzichtbare Grundlage des friedlichen Zusammenlebens in Europa zu bekräftigen.

In diesem Sinne soll die Grenzfrage in einem Vertrag zwischen einer gesamtdeutschen Regierung und der polnischen Regierung geregelt werden, der die Aussöhnung zwischen beiden Völkern besiegelt.

Der Verzicht Polens auf Reparationen gegenüber Deutschland vom 23. August 1953 und die gemeinsame Erklärung von Ministerpräsident Mazowiecki und Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl vom 14. November 1989 bleiben auch für das vereinte Deutschland gültig.

Translation

Federal Republic of Germany
The Federal Chancellor

Bonn, 6 March 1990

Dear Prime Minister, dear Margaret,

Please find enclosed a draft resolution on Poland's western border, on which the government coalition reached agreement today and which it will table in the German Bundestag on Thursday.

I should be grateful if you could support the position reflected in the resolution.

I would like to add that this draft resolution was preceded by extensive talks within the coalition and that I personally strove to bring it about.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) Helmut Kohl

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Northern Ireland
London

Draft resolution of the CDU/CSU and FDP parliamentary groups

It is moved that the Bundestag adopt the following resolution:

With reference to its declaration of 8 November 1989 the German Bundestag proposes that, as soon as possible after the elections in the GDR, the two freely elected German parliaments and governments issue an identical declaration essentially stating the following:

"The Polish people are assured that their right to live in secure borders will not be questioned by us Germans through territorial claims either now or in future."

The purpose of this declaration is, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to reaffirm in the light of German unity the inviolability of the borders with Poland as the indispensable basis of peaceful relations in Europe.

In this spirit the border question should be settled in a treaty between an all-German Government and the Polish Government that seals the reconciliation of the two nations.

Poland's waiver of reparations from Germany dated 23 August 1953 and the joint declaration made by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 14 November 1989 remain valid for a united Germany.

CONFIDENTIAL



FILE

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border (new)

cc PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

6 March 1990

POLISH-GERMAN BORDER

I enclose a message to the Prime Minister from Chancellor Kohl, covering the German government's resolution of today on the Polish/German border.

I think the Prime Minister should send a prompt, warm and welcoming reply. I should be grateful for a draft by 1400 tomorrow, 7 March.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

helmut kohl
bundeskanzler der bundesrepublik deutschland
translation

dear prime minister, dear margaret,
please find enclosed a draft resolution on poland's
western border, on which the government coalition reached
agreement today and which it will table in the german
bundestag on thursday.

i should be grateful if you could support the position
reflected in the resolution.

i would like to add that this draft resolution was
preceded by extensive talks within the coalition and that
i personally strove to bring it about.

yours sincerely,
helmut kohl

--entwurf eines entschliessungsantrages der fraktionen
der cdu'csu und der fdp--
der deutsche bundestag wolle beschliessen:
der deutsche bundestag schlaegt unter bezugnahme auf seine
erklaerung vom 8. november 1989 vor, dass die beiden frei
gewaehlten deutschen parlamente und regierungen moeglichst

bald nach den wahlen in der ddr eine gleichlautende
erklaerung abgeben, die in ihrem kern folgendes beinhaltet:

"das polnische volk soll wissen, dass sein recht, in
sicheren grenzen zu leben, von uns deutschen weder jetzt
noch in zukunft durch gebietsansprueche in frage gestellt
wird."

ziel dieser erklaerung ist es, entsprechend den
prinzipien der ksze-schlussakte mit blick auf die deutsche
einheit die unverletzlichkeit der grenzen gegenueber polen
als unverzichtbare grundlage des friedlichen zusammen-
lebens in europa zu bekraeftigen.

in diesem sinne soll die grenzfrage in einem vertrag
zwischen einer gesamtdeutschen regierung und der polnischen
regierung geregelt werden, der die aussoehnung zwischen
beiden voelkern besiegelt.

der verzicht poelens auf reparationen gegenueber deutsch-
land vom 23. august 1953 und die gemeinsame erklaerung von
ministerpraesident mazowiecki und bundeskanzler helmut kohl
vom 14. november 1989 bleiben auch fuer das vereinte
deutschland gueltig.

translation

--draft resolution of the cdu'csu and fdp parliamentary--
it is moved that the bundestag adopt the following
resolution:

with reference to its declaration of 8 november 1989
the german bundestag proposes that, as soon as possible
after the elections in the gdr, the two freely elected
german parliaments and governments issue an identical
declaration essentially stating the following:

"the polish people are assured that their right to
live in secure borders will not be questioned by us
germans through territorial claims either now or in
future."

the purpose of this declaration is, in accordance with
the principles of the csce final act, to reaffirm in the
light of german unity the inviolability of the borders
with poland as the indispensable basis of peaceful
relations in europe.

in this spirit the border question should be settled
in a treaty between an all-german government and the
polish government that seals the reconciliation of the two
nations.

poland's waiver of reparations from germany dated
23 august 1953 and the joint declaration made by prime
minister tadeusz mazowiecki and chancellor helmut kohl on
14 november 1989 remain valid for a united germany.