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PM

APC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

20 February 1990

Dear Sir,

GERMAN UNIFICATION: ROLE OF THE CSCE 35

Thank you for your letter of 19 February about borders and the Helsinki Final Act.

What the Prime Minister actually said to the Young Conservatives (not in her speech, but in answer to Questions) is:

"Now we have a different agreement about that, which also involves the United States, it's called the Helsinki Accord.

35 countries signed that Accord, United States, all of the countries in Europe, and the Soviet Union. It refers to Europe and the Soviet Union, and we agreed in that, among other things, that no boundaries would be changed, accept by agreement. *except*

So that if any boundaries are to be changed, then this involves massive consultation between us. And we are hoping to have a Helsinki Conference towards the end of this year.

All of this means that the changes that are taking place in Germany and the way in which they go towards unification must be done in conjunction with those other obligations to which we are all signed up...."

As you will see, the Prime Minister did not refer to "approved by the Helsinki 35" but only to "massive consultation".

Your letter does, however, lead one to wonder why we attached so much importance to securing, in the Strasbourg Communiqué, a reference to unification taking place in full respect of relevant treaties and agreements and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act. From your account, the Helsinki Final Act seems to have very little bearing on the matter. The letter also leads to the conclusion that the Poles and absolutely right to seek a proper Peace Treaty to regulate the eastern border of Germany: and raises the question whether we are right to connive in German attempts to avoid a more general Peace Treaty to terminate the Second World War and regulate its

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results more generally. The Prime Minister would like further advice on these points, and suggests that the correspondence should also be seen by the Law Officers.

*Yours sincerely,
C. D. Powell*

C. D. POWELL

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

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