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TELNO 157

OF 211715Z FEBRUARY 90

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MY TELNO 146: GERMAN REUNIFICATION: POLISH VIEWS

SUMMARY

1. MAZOWIECKI'S LETTER TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS ASKS THAT THE QUESTION OF POLISH BORDERS WITH A UNITED GERMANY SHOULD BE SETTLED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE UNIFICATION PROCESS, LEADING TO A TREATY ON THE QUESTION BETWEEN POLAND AND A UNIFIED GERMANY. POLES TO BE PRESENT WHEN THEIR INTERESTS ARE DISCUSSED IN THE 2 + 4 FRAMEWORK.

DETAIL

2. SKUBISZEWSKI SUMMONED ME ON 21 FEBRUARY. HE SAID THAT MAZOWIECKI HAD NOW SENT LETTERS TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UK, US, FRANCE AND GERMANY. IT WAS EXPECTED THAT THESE WOULD BE HANDED OVER IN CAPITALS TOMORROW.

3. AS SKUBISZEWSKI SUMMARISED THE CONTENT OF THE MAZOWIECKI LETTERS, THE MAIN POINTS WERE:-

- (A) SATISFACTION THAT THE OTTAWA COMMUNIQUE HAD REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SECURITY OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES OF A UNIFIED GERMANY SEMICLN
- (B) FROM THIS THE POLES DREW ONE SUBSTANTIVE AND ONE PROCEDURAL CONCLUSION. THE SUBSTANTIVE ONE WAS THAT ANY DECISION ON GERMAN UNIFICATION WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AND IN NO WAY IMPAIR THE SECURITY OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS, IN PARTICULAR IN REGARD TO THE INVIOLABILITY OF BORDERS.
- (C) THE PROCEDURAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE TO SETTLE THE BORDER ISSUE AS REGARDS POLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE UNIFICATION PROCESS. POLAND DID NOT WANT A UNIFIED GERMANY TO BEGIN ITS EXISTANCE BY DISCUSSING BORDER QUESTIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING STATES. IT WAS DESIRABLE THAT

THE ISSUE SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

- (D) POLAND CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT PART OF THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH CONCERNED POLISH INTERESTS.
- (E) THE SPECIFIC POLISH PROPOSAL WAS THAT A TREATY ON POLAND'S BORDERS WITH A UNITED GERMANY SHOULD BE DRAFTED DURING DISCUSSIONS IN THE 2 + 4 FRAMEWORK. THIS WOULD THEN BE INITIALLED BY THE TWO GERMANIES AND POLAND, BUT SIGNED AFTER UNIFICATION BY THE SINGLE GERMANY AND POLAND.

4. SKUBISZEWSKI SAID THAT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FOUR POWERS TO THE POLISH/GERMAN TREATY WOULD NEED TO BE CONSIDERED FURTHER. POLAND WOULD BE OPEN TO VARIOUS SOLUTIONS. HE RECALLED THAT THE FRG HAD INFORMED THE FOUR POWERS ABOUT THE CONCLUSION OF THE 1970 POLISH/WEST GERMAN TREATY.

5. AFTER I REMINDED SKUBISZEWSKI OF THE RESPONSE WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOU HAD GIVEN TO MAZOWIECKI LAST WEEK IN LONDON, I SAID THAT I HAD NOTICED EARLIER ATTEMPTS BY SOME SECTIONS OF THE PRESS TO PRESENT POLAND AS SEEKING TO TAKE PART IN THE 2 + 4 DISCUSSIONS THROUGHOUT, THUS MAKING THESE 2 + 5. THIS HAD NOT BEEN MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLISH POSITION IN LONDON. SKUBISZEWSKI AGREED AND AGAIN STRESSED THAT POLAND WAS NOT SEEKING A STATUS AT THE DISCUSSIONS IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE FOUR POWERS OR INDEED THE TWO GERMANIES.

6. I COMMENTED TO SKUBISZEWSKI THAT THE DESCRIPTION OF THE POLISH POSITION HE HAD GIVEN ME INDICATED THAT IT DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING THAT COULD BE CONSTRUED AS A REQUEST FOR WIDER GUARANTEES OF THE POLISH/GERMAN BORDER. HE REPLIED THAT THIS SORT OF QUESTION WAS OPEN FOR CONSIDERATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESPONSE OF THE FOUR POWERS TO THE MAZOWIECKI LETTER.

7. SKUBISZEWSKI CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING POLISH SATISFACTION OF THE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH CASE SHOWN BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOU IN LONDON LAST WEEK.

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