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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 March 1990

Jan Charles,

Poland

/ Thank you for your letter of 22 February. I enclose a draft reply to the Polish Prime Minister's message to the Prime Minister about the Polish/German border. This takes account of your letter of 23 February on the same subject.

Chancellor Kohl seems to have been brought round to the approach which we have taken and which we share with the French, Americans and Russians: the Oder-Neisse Line border between Poland and Germany should be settled by means of a legally-binding instrument between those two countries. We shall seek to hold the FRG firmly to this view in the meetings of the Six. The Foreign Secretary agrees that it is right to make our view plain in the Prime Minister's reply to Mr Mazowiecki, as he has done publicly.

Mr Mazowiecki's message suggests that Poland should be involved fairly closely in discussion of the question between the Six. The French and Americans are opposed to admitting the Poles to full and formal participation in the discussions of the Six: there would be a risk of opening up discussions to many former combatants. The final page of Mr Mazowiecki's message suggests he is not asking for full participation. It is entirely reasonable that Poland should "have a part in the discussion" and this will be discussed further by the four Western Allies.

Jan,
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your message of 21 February about the Polish-German border. ~~We also discussed this~~

~~during your visit.~~

I entirely agree with you about the importance of a clear resolution of the question of the Polish-German border. There is no doubt what the border between Germany and Poland should be, and we welcomed the provisions in the 1970 Treaty between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany which related to Poland's Western Frontier.

Your suggestion of a Treaty between Poland and Germany to be initialled by the two German states, and signed by a unified Germany, is an interesting one. I agree that a legally-binding instrument between Germany and Poland which settles the matter is essential and I shall continue to advocate this. I am grateful to you for letting me know your thinking on this important subject, which follows on from our valuable discussions in London last month. I shall bear your interests and concerns in mind in forthcoming contacts with our Allies and with the Soviet Union.

Needless to say, we have done what we can to encourage the statement which the coalition partners agreed in the Federal Republic of Germany this week.

His Excellency Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
The Republic of Poland

Poland's border with Germany, which we also discussed during your visit here.

belief

state your belief that the border should be definitively settled by a Treaty or other legally-binding instrument. I agree that a

forward this view
We have strongly argued strongly in support of this view in contact with our contacts with other governments, & I am glad

with it in our very widely accepted. I welcome in particular the statement made by the Federal German Government. Poland's request for a Treaty is fully justified & I am sure it will be met.



4 It seems to me fully
reasonable that Poland should,
as you suggest, have a part
in discussion of her ~~state~~
external border & how it shall
be guaranteed - ~~we shall be~~
~~discussing this~~ ~~this will be~~
~~discussed~~ and I
note that you draw a
distinction between this & full
participation in the meetings
of the Four Powers & the two
German states. Proceeding
issues will be among the first
to be addressed when we meet
in this format, & I hope that
a solution satisfying to Poland
will be found.