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TELEGRAM NUMBER 32 OF 15 JANUARY
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON UKDEL NATO MOSCOW WARSAW PARIS
INFO SAVING ANKARA ATHENS BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE LISBON
LUXEMBOURG OSLO OTTAWA REYKJAVIK ROME BNG BERLIN EAST BERLIN
CICC G AND ALL CONSULATES-GENERAL.

Prime Minister
especially par. 6.
(Kohl comes next
Monday) A.J.C. 15/1

MY IPT: POLAND: BUNDESTAG DEBATE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN SPEECHES IN YESTERDAY'S DEBATE.
2. THE CHANCELLOR, IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT, SAID THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS POLAND, BASED ON THE BUNDESTAG RESOLUTION OF 16 DECEMBER, WAS QUOTE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR UNQUOTE. THE GOVERNMENT'S RESTRAINT, WHICH HAD HISTORICAL REASONS, HAD BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST. HOWEVER HIS VISITS TO PRESIDENTS REAGAN AND MITTERRAND, PLUS THE MEETINGS OF EC AND NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS, HAD REVEALED AN IDENTITY OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS PARTNERS. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT A CRISIS FOR THE EAST SHOULD NOT DEVELOP INTO A CRISIS FOR THE WEST.
3. ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN POLAND SCHMIDT SAID THAT DEVELOPMENTS TO DATE WERE NOT SATISFACTORY. EXPECTED SIGNALS HAD NOT OCCURED. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE POPE HAD EXPRESSED GROWING CONCERN AT THE SITUATION: GERMAN POLICY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY THAT OF THE CHURCH. THE GERMAN AIM WAS NOT CONFRONTATION BUT A SOBER ASSESSMENT OF HOW BEST TO INFLUENCE THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO RETURN TO THE REFORM PROGRAMME. IF POLAND WERE TO RETURN TO THE REFORM COURSE, A COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AID PACKAGE WOULD BE AVAILABLE.
4. SCHMIDT REJECTED THE INTERPRETATION OF HIS REMARK ON YALTA AS MEANING THAT HE ACCEPTED THE PERMANENT DIVISION OF EUROPE. THE FRG WAS IN FAVOUR OF PEACEFUL CHANGE: THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENTS OF SUCH A POLICY WERE THE MAINTENANCE OF THE BALANCE OF POWER AND A READINESS TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE. IN THIS CONNECTION SCHMIDT WELCOMED US DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH THE INF TALKS AND THE CSCE PROCESS.
5. HE TOOK A CAUTIOUS LINE ON SANCTIONS, SAYING THEY HAD HAD LITTLE IMPACT IN PAST CASES. THE GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED TO CONSULT WITH ITS NATO PARTNERS ON SPECIFIC MEASURES AGAINST POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION. THESE MEASURES NEED NOT BE IDENTICAL BUT SHOULD REFLECT THE SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. IT WAS IMPORTANT HOWEVER NOT TO UNDERMINE OTHER PARTNERS' MEASURES.

/ 6. KOHL,

6. KOHL, OPENING FOR THE OPPOSITION, ATTACKED THE GOVERNMENT FOR BRINGING ABOUT A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ALLIANCE. HE CITED NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF FOREIGN PRESS CRITICISM OF GERMAN POLICY IN SUPPORT OF HIS ASSERTION. SCHMIDT WAS A POLITICAL OPPORTUNIST WHOSE POLICES HAD LED TO BANKRUPTCY. KOHL Poured PARTICULAR SCORN ON SPD CHAIRMAN BRANDT AND COMPARED HIS INITIAL RELATIVELY MILD STATEMENT ON POLAND TO THE STRONG CONDEMNATION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS.

7. KOHL WELCOMED THE FIRMER NATO STANCE AND SAID THAT IF THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED ITS AGGRESSIVE POLICY IT WOULD HAVE TO PAY A HIGH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRICE. IF THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED TO STIFLE THE POLISH REFORM MOVEMENT, THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION OF QUOTE BUSINESS AS USUAL UNQUOTE. THE GOVERNMENT HAD ENDANGERED LONG-STANDING TIES WITH THE WEST IN ORDER TO KEEP ON GOOD TERMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

8. GENSCHER, IN HIS SPEECH, REBUKED KOHL FOR MISREPRESENTING GOVERNMENT POLICY, AND REGRETTED THE BREAKDOWN IN BIPARTISANSHIP. THE SITUATION IN POLAND HAD DETERIORATED. THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE THAT A LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT WAS IN MOTION, WHICH LED AWAY FROM THE PROCESS OF REFORM AND RENEWAL. GENSCHER REITERATED THE WEST'S THREE DEMANDS AND DENIED SOVIET ASSERTIONS OF INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE WEST'S POSITION WAS BASED ON THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD TAKE GERMAN CONCERN AT THE FUTURE OF DETENTE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS QUOTE VERY SERIOUSLY UNQUOTE. GENSCHER UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CSCE PROCESS AND CRITICISED OPPOSITION STATEMENTS IN FAVOUR OF BREAKING OFF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES EXCEPT BMG BERLIN EAST BERLIN CICC G AND ALL CONSULATES GENERAL

TAYLOR

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]
[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

POLAND SPECIAL
STANDARD

ADDITIONAL DISTN.
POLAND SPECIAL

EESD
CSCE UNIT
NAD
SED
WED
ECD (E)
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FED
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