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GERMAN REUNIFICATION: POLISH VIEWS

1. AMBROZIAK (HEAD OF THE OFFICE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS) ASKED ME TO CALL AT SHORT NOTICE THIS AFTERNOON ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM MAZOWIECKI. HE ASKED THAT WHAT HE TOLD ME SHOULD BE CONVEYED TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

2. HE TOLD TACGAT HIS PRIME MINISTER WAS BRIEFING THE US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS ON HIS TALKS IN LONDON. MAZOWIECKI HAD ALSO HAD A HALF HOUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH GORBACHEV TODAY AT WHICH THEY HAD DISCUSSED HIS VISIT TO BRITAIN AND GORBACHEV'S TALKS WITH KOHL.

3. AMBROZIAK SAID THAT MAZOWIECKI HAD EXPLAINED TO GORBACHEV THE REASONS WHY POLAND INSISTED THAT SHE SHOULD BE PRESENT WHEN, IN THE 2 PLUS 4 FRAMEWORK, THE SUBJECT OF GERMANY'S BORDERS WAS BEING DISCUSSED. GORBACHEV HAD RESPONDED POSITIVELY AND AMBROZIAK SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS LIKELY TO ISSUE A STATEMENT ON THE MATTER TODAY OR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ACCORDING TO AMBROZIAK, GORBACHEV HAD FULLY RECOGNISED THE IMPORTANCE OF SATISFYING THE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS BEFORE REUNIFICATION TOOK PLACE. HE HAD TAKEN THIS LINE IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH KOHL. IN RESPONSE TO THE POLISH POINT THAT THESE MATTERS SHOULD BE RECOGNISED IN SOME CONTRACTUAL MANNER E.G. BY A TREATY, GORBACHEV HAD SAID THAT IT WAS NECESSARY THAT THE TWO GERMAN STATES SETTLE THE MATTER CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY. MAZOWIECKI AND GORBACHEV HAD AGREED TO KEEP IN REGULAR TOUCH.

4. I ASKED AMBROZIAK IF HE COULD AMPLIFY FURTHER POLISH VIEWS ON THE POINT IN THE 2 PLUS 4 DISCUSSIONS AT WHICH THE POLES WISHED TO BECOME INVOLVED. HE REPLIED THAT THEY FELT THAT THERE WERE MORAL, LEGAL AND POLITICAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF A GENERAL POLISH PRESENCE BUT THAT IT WAS AT ANY RATE ESSENTIAL THAT THE POLES SHOULD BE PRESENT WHEN QUESTIONS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS, INCLUDING BORDER ISSUES, WERE BEING CONSIDERED. HOWEVER THEIR VIEW WAS THAT IT WAS OPEN FOR DISCUSSION WHETHER

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POLAND SHOULD BE PRESENT ''ONLY IN CERTAIN PHASES.''

5. AMBROZIAK SAID THAT MAZOWIECKI WOULD BE SENDING TO BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS A MESSAGE CONFIRMING THE POLISH POSITION ON THESE POINTS.

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