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U.S. Delegation  
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SKUBISZEWSKI SPEECH ON POLAND'S SECURITY INTERESTS

SUMMARY

ON FEBRUARY 14, POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER SKUBISZEWSKI PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT A SWEEPING TALK ON "THE MAIN QUESTIONS AFFECTING POLAND'S SECURITY." HIS SPEECH COVERED THE IMPACT ON THESE INTERESTS OF THE WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF, DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE, AND IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN PARTICULAR. THE PICTURE THAT EMERGED FROM HIS TALK IS OF A POLAND DETERMINED TO BECOME A PART OF THE WEST. SKUBISZEWSKI SUGGESTED POLAND IS PREPARED TO COMPROMISE ON THE DATE FOR THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM POLAND. END SUMMARY.

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(Poland)

THE GULF WAR - SKUBISZEWSKI SAID:

- POLAND IS PART OF THE COALITION AGAINST IRAQI AGGRESSION, BUT EMPHASIZED "IN POLAND'S POLICY THERE IS NO ROOM FOR AN ANTI-ARAB ATTITUDE;"
- POLAND EXPECTED ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO OBSERVE THE PROVISIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON ARMED HOSTILITIES, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO POWS AND CIVILIANS;
- POLAND HAS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, OMAN, QATAR AND YEMEN AND SOON HOPES TO OPEN RELATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA;
- POLAND IS READY TO PARTICIPATE IN A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE SHOULD ONE BE SET UP "IN THE PROCESS OF REGULATION OF THE CONFLICT."

ON POLAND AND EUROPEAN SECURITY, HE SAID:

- CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE CANNOT BECOME "A GRAY, BUFFER OR NEUTRAL ZONE;"
- NATO "HAS BECOME A PART OF EUROPEAN SECURITY IN ALL - I STRESS - IN ALL PARTS OF THE CONTINENT" BUT "THE ENTRY OF POLAND INTO NATO IS NOT UNDER CONSIDERATION;"
- THE "U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE IS AN ELEMENT OF STABILIZATION;"
- CSCE WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE. "IN THE COURSE OF TIME, ONE SHOULD STRIVE FOR THE FUSION OF THE CSCE SYSTEM WITH NATO;"

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-- POLAND HOPES THAT "THREATS WHICH HAVE APPEARED TO THE RESULTS AND PROSPECTS" OF THE CFE NEGOTIATIONS "WILL BE QUICKLY REMOVED;"

-- CSCE SHOULD, INTER ALIA, "ASSURE THE EUROPEAN MILITARY SUPERPOWER - THE USSR - A ROLE IN GENERAL EUROPEAN SOLUTIONS;"

-- "THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF OUR POLICY IS TO JOIN THE EC," AND "IF ONLY WE CAN MANAGE ECONOMICALLY, WE CAN LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE."

ON POLAND'S REGIONAL ROLE, HE SAID:

-- "BALTIC COOPERATION HAS GREAT TRADITIONS, AND HAS ALWAYS DIRECTED OUR ATTENTION TOWARD THE THREE BALTIC REPUBLICS;"

-- POLAND LINKS BALTIC EUROPE WITH THE SOUTH AND WANTS TO "RECEIVE A MANDATE OF THE BALTIC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS TO REPRESENT THEM AT THE PENTAGONALE IN DUBROVNIK THIS YEAR;"

-- COOPERATION BETWEEN POLAND, HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS NATURAL AND GROWING. THE THREE STATES WILL SIGN "A DECLARATION OF COOPERATION IN THE STRIVING TOWARD EUROPEAN COOPERATION" IN VISEGRAD ON FEBRUARY 15;

ON BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND GERMANY, HE SAID:

-- THE OLD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR IS FINISHED AND A NEW BILATERAL TREATY IS UNDER NEGOTIATION;

-- THE LIQUIDATION OF THE WARSAW PACT IS APPROACHING. "WE SEEK ITS ABOLITION WITH AGREEMENT OF ALL SIDES... THE PACT DID NOT PROVIDE SECURITY BECAUSE IT WAS AN ELEMENT OF AN IMPERIAL POLICY;"

-- POLAND IS NOT INTERFERING IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT "THE REGAINING OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY BY INDIVIDUAL REPUBLICS REQUIRES THAT POLAND ADOPT A NEW APPROACH TO RELATIONS WITH THOSE REPUBLICS;"

-- ONLY DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND THE BALTIC REPUBLICS CAN SOLVE THE CRISIS THERE; "THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES SHOULD BE FULFILLED;"

-- "THE AGREEMENT TO END THE STATIONING OF SOVIET TROOPS IN POLAND SHOULD BE CONCLUDED AT THE SAME TIME AS THE AGREEMENT ON TRANSIT" OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM GERMANY;

-- SOVIET TROOPS SHOULD LEAVE POLAND "BEFORE THE PEAK OF THE TRANSIT (OF SOVIET FORCES) FROM GERMANY." (NOTE: SKUBISZEWSKI DID NOT DEFINE WHAT THIS MEANT. END NOTE.);

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-- BY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE USSR, "THE STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS REQUIRES AGREEMENT OF THE POLISH STATE;" AND "POLAND DECIDES ON THE TIME FRAME FOR THE STATIONING;"

-- "WE WANT AN AGREEMENT (ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL)' BUT ITS POSTPONEMENT BY THE USSR IS NOT THE RIGHT METHOD;"

ON RELATIONS WITH GERMANY:

-- COMPENSATION TO POLISH VICTIMS OF NAZI CRIMES AND THE SITUATION OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN POLAND ARE TWO MAJOR ISSUES YET TO BE COMPLETED IN GERMAN-POLISH TREATY ON COOPERATION AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS;

-- HE DOES NOT SEE ANY GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS ON THE MINORITY ISSUE, BUT CITES UNHELPFUL ACTIONS BY THE EXPELLEES UNION IN GERMANY AND THE MINORITY SPOKESMEN IN POLAND;

IN A BRIEF REFERENCE TO POLISH-U.S. RELATIONS, HE SAID:

-- "WE ARE TIGHTENING OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND THEIR FURTHER INTENSIFYING WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT WITH THE VISIT BY THE POLISH PRESIDENT;"

-- "THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT POLISH-AMERICAN COOPERATION REQUIRES MODERNIZATION.

COMMENT. SKUBISZEWSKI'S REMARKS CONFIRM THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SOLIDARITY ASSUMED POWER IN SEPTEMBER 1989; WALESA'S ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE HAS NOT BROUGHT MAJOR CHANGE TO THAT POLICY. SKUBISZEWSKI CONFIRMED THE BASICS OF POLAND'S POSITION.

COMMENT CONTINUED. OF INTEREST WAS SKUBISZEWSKI'S FORMULATION OF THE POLISH POSITION ON THE ISSUE OF SOVIET TROOP TRANSIT/WITHDRAWAL. HE CONFIRMED THE "PRINCIPLED" POLISH POSITION OF LINKAGE (I.E., POLISH PERMISSION FOR TRANSIT FROM GERMANY DEPENDS ON AGREEMENT ON SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM POLAND), BUT SUGGESTED THE POLES WERE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE ON TIMING. THIS REFLECTS COMMENTS TO US FROM THE LEADER OF THE MFA DELEGATION TO THE TALKS. END COMMENT.

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