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TO FLASH UKDEL NATO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 275 OF 30 DECEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN

MY TELNO 273, PARAGRAPH 4: US SANCTIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

on the measures
1. FOLLOWING IS BRIEF ANNOUNCED BY REAGAN LAST NIGHT PREPARED FOR TODAY'S MEETING OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIRECTORS OF THE TEN. BEGINS

MEASURE 1: SUSPENSION OF AEROFLOT TO USA

OTHERS' VIEWS?

POINTS TO MAKE.

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

SCHEDULED AIR SERVICES BETWEEN UK AND USSR ARE GOVERNED BY A BILATERAL AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT WHICH HAS TREATY STATUS. SIX MONTHS' NOTICE OF SUSPENSION WOULD BE REQUIRED.

HOWEVER, IN PRACTICE, THE PRESENT LEVEL OF AIR SERVICES COULD BE STOPPED BY TERMINATION OF THE RELATED CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING. AEROFLOT'S OPERATING PERMIT ISSUED UNDER THE L980 AIR NAVIGATION ORDER COULD ALSO BE TERMINATED AT SHORT NOTICE.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRADE ALSO HAS THE POWER TO TERMINATE BRITISH AIRWAYS FROM CONTINUING ITS OPERATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION IN RESPECT OF BOTH SCHEDULED AND CHARTER FLIGHTS.

OVER-FLIGHTS MAY PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. THE USSR IS A SIGNATORY TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION (1944) WHICH PERMITS NON-SCHEDULED OVER-FLIGHTS TO UK TERRITORY. DOT DO NOT CONSIDER THAT WE CAN RESTRICT OR PREVENT OVER-FLIGHTS UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TO BE IN BREACH OF THIS CONVENTION. WE CAN, HOWEVER, PREVENT THE -OVER-FLIGHT OF SCHEDULED AIR SERVICES WHERE THE RUSSIANS NEED TO OBTAIN ADVANCE PERMISSION FOR EACH FLIGHT. IN ORDER FOR DENIAL OF OVER-FLYING RIGHTS TO BE EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THE USSR WOULD NEED TO BE TAKEN ON AN ALL-EUROPEAN BASIS.

MEASURE 2: CLOSURE OF SOVIET PURCHASING COMMISSION

POINTS TO MAKE.

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THERE IS NO COMPARABLE UK ORGANISATION. DOES ANY EXIST IN OTHER EC COUNTRIES? WOULD ANY PURPOSE BE SERVED BY CLOSURE? ESSENTIAL FACTS.

THE PURCHASING COMMISSION WAS ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED TO ORGANISE THE PROCUREMENT OF EQUIPMENT FOR THE KAMA RIVER TRUCK PLANT PROJECT IN THE SEVENTIES. SUBSEQUENTLY ITS FUNCTION WAS EXTENDED TO COVER OTHER PURCHASES. IT IS IN NO WAY COMPREHENSIVE (I.E. MANY PURCHASES FALL OUTSIDE ITS REMIT) AND IS NOT REGARDED AS HAVING A MAJOR ECONOMIC ROLE.

THERE IS NO UK EQUIVALENT.

MEASURE 3: 'THE ISSUANCE OR RENEWAL OF LICENCES FOR THE EXPORT TO THE USSR OF ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT, COMPUTERS AND OTHER HIGH TECHNOLOGY MATERIALS IS BEING SUSPENDED'

POINT TO MAKE.

OTHERS' VIEWS?

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

THIS WOULD TIGHTEN THE AGREEMENT IN COCOM POST-AFGHANISTAN, ON A 'NO GENERAL EXCEPTIONS POLICY' ON EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET UNION. (ONLY MINOR EXCEPTIONS FOR MEDICAL EQUIPMENT AND SPARES HAVE BEEN PERMITTED.)

OF ESTIMATED US EXPORTS IN 1980 TO THE SOVIET UNION OF US DOLLARS 1,500 MILLION ONLY AN ESTIMATED US DOLLARS 100 MILLION COMES INTO THIS CATEGORY. →

HOWEVER, WEST EUROPEAN MANUFACTURERS OF COMPUTERS AND OTHER ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT MAY BE AFFECTED BY THIS SUSPENSION, AS MANY RELY ON US COMPONENTS, WHICH REQUIRE US RE-EXPORT LICENCES.

(ALL UK EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET UNION, SUBMITTED TO COCOM FOR APPROVAL IN 1980 TALLING POUNDS STERLING 34.1 MILLION, CAME UNDER THE COMPUTER CATEGORY.)

THE ANNOUNCEMENT PRE-EMPTS DISCUSSION AT THE COCOM HIGH LEVEL MEETING (HLM) IN PARIS ON 19-20 JANUARY, WHICH WILL DISCUSS WIDE-RANGING US PROPOSALS TO TIGHTEN AND WIDEN SCOPE AT COCOM.

MEASURE 4: SUSPENSION OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR A LONG-TERM GRAIN AGREEMENT

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AN EFFECTIVE GRAIN EMBARGO WOULD BE A POWERFUL WEAPON AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, AS THE NATO PAPER RECOGNISED. BEST USED FOLLOWING NATO 'WORST-CASE' SCENARIO OF OVERT SOVIET INTERVENTION IN POLAND. PRESENT MEASURE A USEFUL REMINDER TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT GRAIN EMBARGO IS A WEAPON THE US ARE PREPARED TO USE. MAY ALSO STIFFEN THE RESOLVE OF OTHER GRAIN EXPORTERS. NO CORRESPONDING ACTION REQUIRED BY THE TEN.

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

THE EXISTING US/USSR GRAIN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO 30 SEPTEMBER 1982. SOVIET UNION HAS ALREADY PURCHASED MORE THAN THE 8 MILLION TONNES THEY ARE ENTITLED TO UNDER THE AGREEMENT, FOR THE PERIOD 1 OCTOBER 1981 TO 30 SEPTEMBER 1982, AND MOST OF THIS HAS BEEN DELIVERED. NO REFERENCE IN REAGAN'S STATEMENT LAST NIGHT TO THE UNDELIVERED BALANCE NOR TO FURTHER SUPPLIES UP TO A TOTAL OF 18 MILLION TONNES WHICH SOVIET UNION IS EXPED TO ORDER FOR DELIVERY BY 30 SEPTEMBER 1982.

MEASURE APPLIES TO NEW LONG-TERM AGREEMENT, PERHAPS UP TO FIVE YEARS, WHICH US WERE EXPECTING FORMALLY TO NEGOTIATE AFTER HAIG/GROMYKO MEETING IN JANUARY. IF ANY NEW AGREEMENT FOLLOWS THE PATTERN OF THE OLD, IT WILL PROVIDE FOR A MINIMUM AMOUNT OF GRAIN TO BE SUPPLIED BY THE US, PLUS FURTHER AMOUNTS SHOULD THE SOVIET UNION REQUIRE THEN.

MEASURE 5: SUSPENSION OF NEW US/SOVIET MARITIME AGREEMENT AND NEW REGIME OF PORT ACCESS CONTROL

POINTS TO MAKE.

OTHERS' VIEWS?

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

UK HAS A MARITIME TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION SIGNED IN 1968.

TERMINATION OF THE TREATY WOULD REQUIRE 12 MONTHS¹ NOTICE.

IT MIGHT PROVE POSSIBLE TO USE SECTION 14 OF THE 1974 MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT TO IMPOSE IMMEDIATE CONTROLS. THIS ACT GIVES

WIDE POWERS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRADE TO REGULATE

SHIPPING WHERE FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ADOPT PRACTICES WHICH DAMAGE THE SHIPPING INTERESTS OF THE UK.

OUR SHIPPING TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS OVERWHELMINGLY IN THEIR FAVOUR. THE TREATY HAS NOT BEEN HELPFUL TO US.

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SUSPENSION OF IT WOULD ENABLE THE DOT EVENTUALLY TO RENEGOTIATE A MORE FAVOURABLE AGREEMENT.

MOST OF OUR COMMUNITY PARTNERS (EXCLUDING THE FRG) HAVE SIMILAR MARITIME TREATIES. THE US/SOVIET AGREEMENT IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT BEING BASED UPON RECIPROCITY OF TREATMENT. WE WOULD NEED TO CLEAR OUR LINES WITH DOT BEFORE AGREEING TO ANY ABROGATION OF THE MARITIME TREATY.

NEW PRIMARY LEGISLATION WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR THE CLOSURE OF PORTS. ANY CONTROLS OF THIS NATURE WOULD ONLY BE EFFECTIVE IF TAKEN ON A EUROPEAN BASIS SINCE THIS WOULD REDUCE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRANS-SHIPMENT.

MEASURE 6: 'LICENCES WILL BE REQUIRED FOR THE EXPORT TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR AN EXPANDED LIST OF OIL AND GAS EQUIPMENT. ISSUANCE OF SUCH LICENCES WILL BE SUSPENDED. THIS INCLUDES PIPELAYERS.'

POINTS TO MAKE.

THIS SEEMS TO BE AIMED AT THE WEST SIBERIAN GAS PIPELINE. OTHERS (GERMANY, FRANCE, ITALY) MORE INVOLVED THAN US. WILL IT HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE PROJECT?

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRACTS WITH WESTERN SUPPLIERS, INTER ALIA FOR COMPRESSOR STATIONS, GAS REFRIGERATION STATIONS, AND COMPUTER AND CONTROL SYSTEMS, HAVE BEEN SIGNED, BUT EQUIPMENT NOT YET SUPPLIED. MOST EQUIPMENT COMES FROM WESTERN EUROPE, BUT CERTAIN KEY ELEMENTS, INCLUDING ROTORS FOR JOHN BROWN GENERATORS, ARE TO COME FROM THE US. NOT CLEAR HOW FAR US SUPPLIES NOW EMBARGOED COULD BE SUPPLIED BY OTHERS OR DOMESTICALLY PRODUCED: IT MAY BE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE ROTORS. (US HAVE SUPPLIED THE SOVIET UNION WITH PIPELAYERS FOR OTHER PROJECTS THIS YEAR, BUT HAVE ALREADY SAID THEY WILL NOT SUPPLY THEM FOR THE WEST SIBERIAN PIPELINE.)

UK'S MAIN STAKE IS POUNDS STERLING 100 MILLION CONTRACT FOR GENERATORS, BUT OUR INTEREST IS SMALL COMPARED TO THAT OF FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY.

MEASURE 7: UK-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS

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POINTS TO MAKE.

UK AGREEMENTS FEW IN NUMBER AND LIMITED IN SCOPE. ACTIVITIES MUCH REDUCED SINCE AFGHANISTAN. SUSPENSION WOULD BE LARGELY SYMBOLIC GESTURE WHERE UK IS CONCERNED. COROLLARY TO STRONGER MEASURES?

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

UK-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS COMING UP FOR RENEWAL IN THE NEAR FUTURE, INCLUDING THE AGREEMENTS ON ENERGY AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, WILL NOT BE RENEWED. THERE WILL BE A COMPLETE REVIEW OF ALL OTHER UK-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS.

(A) TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION AGREEMENT

(I) NUCLEAR ENERGY (PARTICULARLY FUSION)

(II) HEALTH

(III) ENVIRONMENT

(IV) AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

ACTIVITY UNDER THESE AGREEMENTS HAS BEEN SCALED DOWN SINCE THE AFGHANISTAN INVASION AND THERE HAVE BEEN NO ANNUAL REVIEW MEETINGS. ROUTINE EXCHANGES CONTINUE IN DESCENDING ORDER OF IMPORTANCE.

MINISTERS HAD AGREED THAT IN THE EVENT OF A SOVIET INVASION THESE AGREEMENTS MIGHT BE FROZEN.

(B) SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES

EXCHANGES BETWEEN WORKING GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL SCIENTISTS CONTINUE UNDER THE TRADE AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMMES.

(C) CULTURAL AGREEMENT

THE CURRENT AGREEMENT WAS CONCLUDED IN MARCH 1981 FOR A TWO-YEAR PERIOD.

(D) NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND THE SOVIET ACADEMY AND SOME OTHER RELATED NGOS CONTINUE AT A MODEST LEVEL.

(FOLLOWING TWO MEASURES WERE MENTIONED IN HAIG'S MESSAGE YESTERDAY AS HAVING BEEN DECIDED, BUT NOT TO BE ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT BY REAGAN.)

MEASURE 8: (NOT ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT) RADIO BROADCASTING TO THE SOVIET UNION

POINTS TO MAKE.

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HAVE INCREASED BROADCASTING IN POLISH. WOULD INCREASED BROADCASTS IN RUSSIAN BE COST EFFECTIVE? LIKELY TO BE COUNTERED BY JAMMING. PROBABLY BETTER TO KEEP IN RESERVE FOR USE IN EVENT OF INVASION.

ESSENTIAL FACTS.

CURRENTLY THE BBC BROADCASTS 45 HOURS A WEEK (6 AND A HALF TO 7 AND A HALF HOURS A DAY IN RUSSIAN). EXPANSION OF BROADCASTING IN RUSSIAN WAS PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET JAMMING OF THE BBC WHICH WAS RESTARTED IN MID-1980 IN APPARENT REACTION TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND.

PREVIOUS DECISIONS TO EXPAND BROADCASTING HAVE BEEN TAKEN ON AN AD HOC BASIS IN RESPONSE TO EVENTS. MINISTERS HAVE ALREADY SUGGESTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN ANALAGOUS EXPANSION FOLLOWING SOVIET INVASION OF POLAND.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL ANNOUNCED TO THE HOUSE DURING THE DEBATE ON 22 DECEMBER THE EXPANSION OF BROADCASTING TO POLAND BY AN ADDITIONAL FIVE HOURS PER WEEK. WE HAVE HITHERTO CONSIDERED THAT EXPANSION OF BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A RESPONSE TO AN INVASION. SUCH AN EXPANSION WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE TO BE MADE AT THE COST OF CUTTING SOME SERVICES TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

MEASURE 9: (NOT ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT) CONDEMNATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS OF SOVIET UNION'S ROLE IN POLAND.

POINTS TO MAKE

IMPORTANT TO BE SELECTIVE AND TO INITIATE ACTION ONLY WHERE WEST CAN EXPECT TO SUCCEED. AT THIS STAGE TOO MUCH CONFUSION ABOUT POLISH REGIME'S INTENTIONS TO BE CERTAIN OF WINNING THIRD WORLD SUPPORT. WORKING ACTIVELY BEHIND SCENES IN ILO.

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TO FLASH UKDEL NATO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 274 OF 30 DECEMBER

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN

MIPT: POLAND AND CSCE

1. YOU SHOULD SUPPORT THE US CALL FOR AN EARLIER RESUMPTION OF THE CSCE MEETING.
2. IF YOU JUDGE IT APPROPRIATE YOU MAY SAY THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS NO PROCEDURAL DEVICE WITHIN THE CSCE PROCESS WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE MEETING TO RECONVENE EARLIER THAN 9 FEBRUARY AND THAT IN ANY CASE WE ALSO REALISE THAT THE POLES HOLD THE CHAIR UNTIL THE MEETING RECONVENES. BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT:-
 - (A) TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE POLISH AND SOVIET FAILURE TO ABIDE BY THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE FINAL ACT:
 - (B) TO SHOW THE PUBLIC AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS THAT THE ALLIES TAKE THE CSCE PROCESS SERIOUSLY AND EXPECT OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO DO THE SAME:
 - (C) TO INDICATE TO THE POLES AND RUSSIANS NOW THAT THEIR FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF THE FINAL ACT WILL AFFECT THE MADRID MEETING.

3. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION WE WISH TO HEAD OFF PRESSURE IN WASHINGTON FOR AN EARLY DECISION THAT CSCE IS A DEAD LETTER.

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TO FLASH UKDEL NATO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 273 OF 30 DECEMBER

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN

POLAND: NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETING 30 DECEMBER.

1. AS WE SEE IT, THERE ARE TWO SPECIFIC THINGS WHICH THE NAC SHOULD DO AT ITS MEETING TODAY:-

A) REACH A CONSENSUS ON THE AMERICAN SUGGESTION FOR AN EARLY MEETING OF NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS. ON THIS YOU SHOULD SAY THAT I WARMLY WELCOME THE IDEA AND HOPE THE MEETING CAN BE ARRANGED SOON. THE WEEK BEGINNING 11 JANUARY APPEARS SUITABLE, BUT I COULD MANAGE NEXT WEEK IF THAT IS MORE CONVENIENT TO OTHERS. (IF PRECISE DATES ARE DISCUSSED, YOU SHOULD CONSULT THE PRIVATE SECRETARY BY TELEPHONE).

B) TO MAKE PROGRESS AND IF POSSIBLE FINALISE THE GERMAN THEMES FOR USE IN DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES TO WARSAW, MOSCOW AND THIRD WORLD CAPITALS. THE VERSION CIRCULATED BY THE GERMAN DELEGATION ON 29 DECEMBER (YOUR TEL. NO. 512) WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF OUR EARLIER COMMENTS. WE DO NOT WISH TO COMMENT FURTHER AT THIS STAGE. AS YOU WILL HAVE GATHERED, WE SAW NOTHING WRONG WITH THE GERMAN DRAFT, BUT IT SEEMED TO US TO FALL SOME WAY SHORT OF THE ACTIVITY ALREADY IN PROGRESS OR IMPENDING, EG WHAT GENSCHER IS LIKELY TO BE SAYING TODAY TO RAKOWSKI.

2. APART FROM THIS WE HOPE THE AMERICANS WILL MAKE A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE US OBJECTIVE AND HOW THEY HOPE TO ACHIEVE IT. HAIG'S REMARKS TO THE AMBASSADORS OF THE TEN (WASHINGTON TEL. NO. 3941) SUGGEST THAT HE IS PURSUING MULTIPLE GOALS WHICH MAY TO SOME EXTENT CONFLICT. THE WAY IN WHICH THE AMERICANS ARE CURRENTLY INTERPRETING THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION WITH THE EUROPEAN ALLIES ALSO RISKS CAUSING DIFFICULTIES FOR THE LATTER. A PAUSE IN THE FLOW OF UNILATERAL AMERICAN DECISIONS WOULD NOW BE APPROPRIATE IF THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IS TO HAVE MUCH POINT. THIS WOULD ALSO ALLOW TIME FOR FURTHER

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CLARIFICATION

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CLARIFICATION OF JARUZELSKI'S SITUATION, OBJECTIVES AND FREEDOM OF MANOEUVRE, ALL OF WHICH ARE STILL NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR TO US.

3. IN GENERAL HOWEVER YOU SHOULD BE AS SYMPATHETIC AS POSSIBLE TOWARDS THE LEAD BEING GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES, WHILE AVOIDING COMMITMENT ON ALL POINTS OF DETAIL. YOU COULD USE THE ARGUMENT THAT A CERTAIN COMPLEMENTARITY IN WESTERN REACTIONS IS NOT ONLY INEVITABLE BUT DESIRABLE, GIVEN THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE POLISH SITUATION WHICH HAIG HIMSELF HAS MENTIONED. WE HOPE NOBODY WILL SEEK TO REPRESENT EG RAKOWSKI'S TALKS IN BONN AS UNDERMINING PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF YESTERDAY, OR VICE VERSA. IT WOULD INDEED BE TRAGIC IF THE MAJOR DEFEAT FOR THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM AND THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTED BY THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND WERE CONVERTED INTO AN OWN GOAL BY NATO THROUGH MISHANDLING ON OUR SIDE. THIS REQUIRES US TO INTERPRET ALLIANCE UNITY NEITHER TOO LIGHTLY NOR IN TOO MECHANICAL A MANNER.

4. WE ARE SENDING YOU SHORT TELEGRAPHIC BRIEFING ON THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION ON 29 DECEMBER. THESE WILL ENABLE YOU TO MAKE PRELIMINARY COMMENTS, BUT NO MORE.

5. INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MADRID PROPOSAL, WHERE AGAIN THE AMERICANS HAVE JUMPED THE GUN, ARE ALSO BEING SENT SEPARATELY.

6. WE WILL TRY TO TELEPHONE YOU NOT LATER THAN 1330 GMT WITH THE LUNCH-TIME SCORE FROM THE MEETING OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE TEN IN LANCASTER HOUSE.

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