

Prime Minister

Mr Ingham

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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

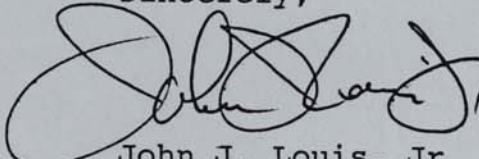
December 29, 1981

Dear Foreign Secretary:

I have been asked to deliver the enclosed message to you from Secretary Haig, which was received at the Embassy this morning. Also enclosed is a summary of President Brezhnev's December 26 reply to President Reagan's letter of December 23.

I am enclosing as well a message regarding an emergency CSCE meeting in Madrid during the first week of January. The message on CSCE is being delivered in all NATO capitals, Stockholm, Bern, Belgrade, Vienna, Helsinki, Dublin, and Nicosia. I have been asked to make clear that we will not propose such a meeting publicly until we have made an effort to gather as much support as possible.

Sincerely,



John J. Louis, Jr.
Ambassador

Enclosure:
SECRET

The Rt.Hon. The Lord Carrington, KCMG, MC,
Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London, SW 1.

DEAR LORD CARRINGTON:

IN SPITE OF COSMETIC MEASURES TAKEN BY THE POLISH REGIME OVER THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS, THE WIDESPREAD REPRESSION OF THE POLISH POPULACE CONTINUES WITH NO SIGN OF ABATING. NOR IS THERE ANY INDICATION THAT MOSCOW'S COMPLICITY IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S BASIC RIGHTS HAS IN ANY WAY LESSENED. PRESIDENT BREZHNEV HAS RESPONDED TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER ON POLAND BY UNDERSCORING THE SOVIET UNION'S SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH REGIME'S ACTIONS; BY REAFFIRMING

THE SOVIET UNION'S "RIGHT" TO INTERVENE IN POLISH AFFAIRS; AND BY ACCUSING THOSE WHO DEFEND THE BASIC FREEDOMS EMBODIED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AS THE GUILTY PARTIES. THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE BEEN GIVEN AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW THEIR READINESS TO PERMIT AND ENCOURAGE THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION IN POLAND; YET TO DATE WE HAVE SEEN NOTHING TO SUGGEST THAT THEIR GOAL IS ANYTHING LESS THAN THE END OF THE POLISH REFORM MOVEMENT.

PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS THEREFORE DETERMINED THAT HE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO BEGIN TO TAKE CONCRETE MEASURES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. SPECIFICALLY, HE HAS DECIDED THAT THE FOLLOWING STEPS WILL BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY BY THE UNITED STATES AND WILL ANNOUNCE ALL BUT THE LAST TWO ON DECEMBER 29:

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

1. ALL AERCFLOT SERVICE TO THE UNITED STATES WILL BE SUSPENDED.

2. THE SOVIET PURCHASING COMMISSION IS BEING CLOSED.

3. THE ISSUANCE OR RENEWAL OF LICENSES FOR THE EXPORT TO THE USSR OF ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT, COMPUTERS AND OTHER HIGH-TECHNOLOGY MATERIALS IS BEING SUSPENDED.

4. NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW LONG-TERM GRAINS AGREEMENT ARE BEING POSTPONED.

5. NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW U.S.-SOVIET MARITIME AGREEMENT ARE BEING SUSPENDED, AND A NEW REGIME OF PORT-ACCESS CONTROLS WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT FOR ALL SOVIET SHIPS WHEN THE CURRENT AGREEMENT EXPIRES ON DECEMBER 31.

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

7. U.S.-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 U.S.-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS.

8. RADIO BROADCASTING TO THE SOVIET UNION AND ANTI-JAMMING ACTIVITIES WILL BE INTENSIFIED.

9. CONDEMNATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ROLE IN POLAND WILL BE STEPPED UP. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PRESIDENT WILL URGE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY THE ILO.

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THESE MEASURES, LIKE THOSE WE HAVE IMPLEMENTED TOWARD THE POLISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES, ARE AIMED AT REESTABLISHING THE CONDITIONS FOR RECONCILIATION AND A RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL IN POLAND. THEY REPRESENT THE IMPOSITION OF PENALTIES ON THE SOVIET UNION, AND AN EARNEST OF OUR COMMITMENT TO MEET REPRESSION AND INTERVENTION WITH CONCRETE AND SERIOUS RESPONSES. BUT THEY ALSO ARE REVERSIBLE IF REPRESSION AND SOVIET COMPLICITY IN POLAND ARE REVERSED.

THESE MEASURES ARE IN LINE WITH AND IN SOME CASES

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

IDENTICAL TO THOSE CONTAINED IN THE NATO CONTINGENCY PLAN -- ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT GO AS FAR, SINCE THAT PLAN WAS ESTABLISHED AS A RESPONSE TO OVERT SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION. THERE ARE APPROPRIATE RESPONSES REMAINING IF THE REPRESSION IN POLAND CONTINUES AND THE SOVIET ROLE THERE ESCALATES.

IT IS ONLY THROUGH CONCERTED ACTION THAT THERE WILL BE ANY CHANCE FOR A RETURN TO NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE IN POLAND. WE HOPE, THEREFORE, AND URGE THAT YOU TAKE PARALLEL STEPS OF YOUR OWN TO DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMON RESOLVE AND THE COST TO THE SOVIET UNION OF ITS ROLE IN THE POLISH TRAGEDY.

WE SHOULD STAY IN ESPECIALLY CLOSE TOUCH IN THE QUADRIPARTITE CONTEXT. IN THAT REGARD, I HAVE EXPRESSED TO HANS-DIETRICH THE HOPE THAT THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY THE LEADING ROLE IN PREPARING, FOR PRESENTATION IN THE NAC, SUGGESTED THEMES FOR ALLIED DEMARCHES IN MOSCOW, WARSAW, OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND IN THE THIRD WORLD. I HOPE THAT THE ALLIED DEMARCHES CAN REFLECT WESTERN UNITY AND SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIONS WHICH PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS TAKEN.

WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO MAINTAIN EFFORTS TO RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF POLAND. WE WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, PROVIDED WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT IT WILL GO TO THE NEEDY.

AS YOU CAN SEE, WE HAVE TAKEN NO DECISIONS THAT WOULD AFFECT THE INF NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZES THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO ALTER OUR STANCE UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS.

WE CONTINUE TO FEEL STRONGLY THAT A MEETING OF NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD BE HELD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO REVIEW THE SITUATION IN POLAND -- POSSIBLY THE FIRST OR SECOND WEEK IN JANUARY. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR THOUGHTS REGARDING THE ADVISABILITY OF SUCH A MEETING AND THE TIMING.

SINCERELY, ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.

S E C R E T

2. ON DECEMBER 26 BREZHNEV SENT REPLY TO PRESIDENT
REAGAN'S LETTER OF DECEMBER 23 CONCERNING SITUATION IN
POLAND. BREZHNEV LETTER MAKES FOLLOWING GENERAL POINTS:

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S
REPLY TO PRESIDENT
REAGAN'S LETTER ON
POLAND

-- US OVERT AND COVERT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL
AFFAIRS OF POLAND HAS BEEN UNDERWAY FOR A LONG TIME AND
GROSS INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S AFFAIRS IS THE OFFICIAL
POLICY OF THE US. THE SOVIET UNION CONDEMNS THIS POLICY
AND CONSIDERS IT UNACCEPTABLE.

-- BY CITING THE SOVIET CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 5 JUNE
1981 AS EVIDENCE OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN POLAND, THE US
IS ITSELF INTERFERING IN NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
CPSU AND PZPR. THIS IS THE BUSINESS OF THE PARTIES
THEMSELVES AND NO ONE ELSE. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT
TO EMPHASIZE THIS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE.

-- YOU, YOURSELF, ARE CALLING FOR OVERTHROW OF THE
EXISTING STATE SYSTEM IN POLAND. THIS IS GENUINE
INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER SOVEREIGN
STATE. SIMILAR ATTEMPTS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN ALSO IN
RELATION TO THE SOVIET UNION BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS WHO
UNINTERRUPTEDLY REVILE OUR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEM.
WE RESOLUTELY REJECT THIS.

-- IN LIGHT OF THESE AND OTHER GENERALLY KNOWN FACTS,
NOTHING REMAINS OF YOUR ARGUMENTS CONCERNING OUR ALLEGED
INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF POLAND.

-- US ALLEGATIONS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS, IN ITS
CONDUCT TOWARD POLAND, VIOLATED THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT
ARE GROUNDLESS.

-- NO ONE SHOULD INTERFERE WITH WHAT THE POLISH
AUTHORITIES ARE DOING IN THEIR OWN HOME. THE SOCIAL
ORDER IN POLAND WAS CHOSEN BY THE POLES THEMSELVES AND NO
ONE CAN DIRECT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP ON HOW TO CONDUCT
ITS AFFAIRS OR ON WHICH METHODS SHOULD BE USED TO
STABILIZE THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. THE SOVIET UNION
REJECTS CLAIMS OF ANYONE TO INTERFERE IN THE EVENTS
OCCURRING IN POLAND. SUCH ATTEMPTS GROSSLY VIOLATE
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ARE THOROUGHLY AMORAL.

-- YOUR COMMUNICATION INTERPRETS MILITARY MANEUVERS NEAR
POLAND AS CONNECTED WITH THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY.
THIS IS COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED CONJECTURE. INSTEAD, WE
COULD ASSESS US MANEUVERS AS A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION
AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

-- YOUR LETTER HINTS THAT STEPS MAY BE TAKEN IN THE
US-SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP UNLESS EVENTS DEVELOP IN
POLAND AS THE US DESIRES. BUT THE US ADMINISTRATION HAS
ALREADY UNDERMINED MUCH OF WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN
RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. TODAY NOT THAT MUCH
REMAINS OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL POLITICAL CAPITAL. BEFORE
TAKING FURTHER STEPS, ONE SHOULD MORE CALMLY TAKE
EVERYTHING INTO ACCOUNT.

-- THE US WILL BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY FURTHER
DETERIORATION IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS. IT WOULD BE MUCH
MORE USEFUL IF WE WERE TO TAKE NEW STEPS TO SLOW DOWN AND
STOP THE ARMS RACE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED THIS NO
LESS THAN THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND OTHER NATIONS.

SECRET

SUBJECT: CSCE: EMERGENCY MEETING ON POLAND

--DESPITE COSMETIC MEASURES TAKEN BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT OVER THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS, THE WIDESPREAD REPRESSION OF THE POLISH POPULACE THAT BEGAN WITH IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW ON DECEMBER 13 CONTINUES UNABATED.

--NOR IS THERE ANY SIGN THAT MOSCOW'S COMPLICITY IN THE REPRESSION OF THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE HAS IN ANY WAY LESSENED.

- IN HIS RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S REAGAN'S LETTER ON POLAND, PRESIDENT BREZHNEV TOOK AN UNPROMISING AND UNCOMPROMISING STANCE.

- AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS DECIDED TO BEGIN TO TAKE CONCRETE MEASURES AGAINST

THE SOVIET UNION.

- THESE MEASURES COVER A BROAD RANGE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, PREDOMINANTLY IN THE ECONOMIC AREA.

--IN ADDITION, THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO CALL FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF CSCE IN MADRID FOR THE FIRST WEEK IN JANUARY TO DISCUSS THE POLISH SITUATION.

- THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND SOVIET RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT CLEARLY RUN COUNTER TO THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND FOR THAT REASON CANNOT BE IGNORED BY THE OTHER CSCE SIGNATORIES.

- BEFORE WE PROPOSE SUCH A MEETING, HOWEVER, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK FOR YOUR SUPPORT.

--WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PRESENT POLISH REGIME ARE UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO SUCH A MEETING.

--NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT A PROPOSAL SUPPORTED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF CSCE SIGNATORIES WOULD DRAMATICALLY FOCUS ATTENTION ON EVENTS IN POLAND AND UNDERLINE SOVIET COMPLICITY IN THEM. IN SO DOING, IT WOULD EMPHASIZE THE VIABILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS.

--FAILURE TO POINT UP THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL SPIRIT OF THE CSCE PROCESS WILL ON THE CONTRARY SEVERELY WEAKEN ITS CREDIBILITY IN THE EYES OF OUR PUBLICS.]