

S E C R E T

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PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 2/82

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

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8 January 1982

Dear Ron,

I was grateful for your letter of 24 December about your messages to General Jaruzelski and to President Brezhnev.

Before replying, I wanted to see what progress was made in our discussions with our European partners in the New Year. You obviously had a good meeting with Helmut Schmidt earlier this week, and he will have given you an account of the meeting of the Ten Foreign Ministers in Brussels on 4 January. The task of reconciling views and interests among ten different countries is never easy and you will be aware of some particular difficulties in this case. Nevertheless, the outcome as reflected in the Ten's Communique is better than seemed likely at one stage and reflects ideas for which we fought hard.

I hope we shall be able to go further in the consultations which lie ahead. The statement in the Communique that:

"other measures will be considered as the situation in Poland develops, in particular concerning credit and economic assistance to Poland and measures concerning the Community's commercial policy with regard to the USSR"

/ will be

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will be helpful in this connection. The last word has not been said. We shall certainly be pushing in the same direction as you, believing as I do in the importance of the Western Alliance and the way of life for which we stand.

We must ensure that the focus of attention is directed where it belongs - at a blatant example of the failure of the Soviet system and Soviet ideas - and not at differences between Alliance partners whose aims are identical.

1981 was an eventful year for us all. I send you my warm regards and best wishes for 1982.

*Yours  
Ronald Reagan*

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The President of the United States of America

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SUBJECT

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SECRET  
FROM CABINET OFFICE LONDON  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE

PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL No. T 2/82

MISC 004  
FROM PRIME MINISTER  
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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DEAR RON

I WAS GRATEFUL FOR YOUR LETTER OF 24 DECEMBER ABOUT YOUR MESSAGES TO GENERAL JARUZELSKI AND TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV.

BEFORE REPLYING, I WANTED TO SEE WHAT PROGRESS WAS MADE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS IN THE NEW YEAR. YOU OBVIOUSLY HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH HELMUT SCHMIDT EARLIER THIS WEEK, AND HE WILL HAVE GIVEN YOU AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING OF THE TEN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS ON 4 JANUARY. THE TASK OF RECONCILING VIEWS AND INTERESTS AMONG TEN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES IS NEVER EASY AND YOU WILL BE AWARE OF SOME PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES IN THIS CASE. NEVERTHELESS, THE OUTCOME AS REFLECTED IN THE TEN'S COMMUNIQUE IS BETTER THAN SEEMED LIKELY AT ONE STAGE AND REFLECTS IDEAS FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT HARD.

I HOPE WE SHALL BE ABLE TO GO FURTHER IN THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH LIE AHEAD. THE STATEMENT IN THE COMMUNIQUE THAT: "OTHER MEASURES WILL BE CONSIDERED AS THE SITUATION IN POLAND DEVELOPS, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING CREDIT AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND AND MEASURES CONCERNING THE COMMUNITY'S COMMERCIAL POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE USSR" WILL BE HELPFUL IN THIS CONNECTION. THE LAST WORD HAS NOT BEEN SAID. WE SHALL CERTAINLY BE PUSHING IN THE SAME DIRECTION AS YOU, BELIEVING AS I DO IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND THE WAY OF LIFE FOR WHICH WE STAND.

WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION IS DIRECTED WHERE IT BELONGS - AT A BLATANT EXAMPLE OF THE FAILURE OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND SOVIET IDEAS - AND NOT AT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ALLIANCE PARTNERS WHOSE AIMS ARE IDENTICAL.

1981 WAS AN EVENTFUL YEAR FOR US ALL. I SEND YOU MY WARM REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR 1982.

YOURS EVER  
MARGARET

NNNN



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

7 January 1982

REPLY BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER OF 24 DECEMBER

Francis Richards wrote to me yesterday enclosing a possible draft reply to President Reagan's letter of 24 December.

The Prime Minister was not entirely happy with the draft. As discussed on the telephone this morning, I enclose a fresh draft which I propose to submit to the Prime Minister this evening. I should be grateful for any reactions you may have as soon as possible today.

AJC

Brian Fall, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

I was grateful for your letter of 24 December about your messages to General Jaruzelski and to President Brezhnev.

Before replying, I wanted to see what progress was made in our discussions with our European partners in the New Year. You obviously had a good meeting with Helmut Schmidt earlier this week, and he will have given you an account of the meeting of the Ten Foreign Ministers in Brussels on 4 January. The task of reconciling views and interests among ten different countries is not easy. <sup>now</sup> But I am less than happy with the <sup>and you will be aware of some particular difficulties</sup> reaction of some European countries so far. I hope we shall be able to go further in the continuing consultations which lie ahead. We fought hard for the statement in the Ten's Communique of 4 January that: "other measures will be considered as the situation in Poland develops, in particular measures concerning credit and economic assistance to Poland, and measures concerning the Community's commercial policy with regard to the USSR". <sup>will be helpful in this connexion</sup> So the last word has not been said. We shall certainly be pushing in the same direction as you, believing as I do in the importance of the Western Alliance and the way of life for which we stand.

We must ensure that the focus of attention is directed where it belongs - <sup>at</sup> on a blatant example of the failures of the Soviet system and Soviet ideas - and not <sup>at</sup> on differences between Alliance partners whose aims are identical.

Nevertheless, the outcome as reflected in the Ten's Communique is better than at one stage seemed likely and reflects ideas to which we fought hard.

1981 was an eventful year for us all. I send you my warm regards and best wishes for 1982.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

*This is much too long. I am not sure I can see our needs. I am sure we shall be able to go*

I was grateful for your letter of 24 December about your messages to General Jaruzelski and to President Brezhnev.

*Further... I do*

You will have discussed with Helmut Schmidt the meeting the Ten Foreign Ministers held in Brussels on 4 January. The task of reconciling views and interests among ten different countries is not an easy one. ~~But I am encouraged that both you and we see the objectives in exactly the same light.~~ I hope that, in the consultations which lie ahead, it will be possible to build on what emerged from the meeting on 4 January. We will certainly be pushing in the same direction as you, even though the detailed steps may be somewhat different. This is the view I expressed in a New Year's Eve interview with the British media and the one which Peter Carrington has pressed hard in meetings of the Ten.

*And I am less than happy with the European... objectives in exactly the same light... in the... of the... which... for... it... stand*

I am sure that our efforts should be devoted to ensuring that the focus of attention lies where it belongs - on a further example of the failure of the Soviet system and ideas - and not on playing up differences between alliance partners whose aims are identical.

1981 was an eventful year for us all. I send you my warm regards and best wishes for 1982.

The President of the United States of America

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 January 1982

Dear John,

*Handwritten initials and a vertical line*

Poland: Prime Minister's reply to President  
Reagan's letter of 24 December

*Handwritten initials*

Thank you for your letter earlier today. I attach what, despite its length, is a not very substantial redraft of the second paragraph after its first two sentences. Lord Carrington would prefer if possible to avoid the 'less than happy' formulation; and the experts tell me that, although we did indeed fight hard for many of the points in the communique which represent an improvement on previous pronouncements, the section on other measures to be considered was a Commission draft. I apologise for misleading you on this point.

*Handwritten signature*

(B J P Fall)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

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The task of reconciling views and interests among ten different countries is never easy and you will be aware of some particular difficulties in this case. Nevertheless the outcome as reflected in the Ten's communique is better than at one stage seemed likely and reflects ideas for which we fought hard. I hope we shall be able to go further in the continuing consultations which lie ahead, and the statement in the communique that:

'other measures will be considered as the situation in Poland develops, in particular measures concerning credit and economic assistance to Poland and measures concerning the Community's commercial policy with regard to the USSR'

will be helpful in this connection. The last word has not been said. . . We shall certainly be pushing in the same direction as you, believing as I do in the importance of the western alliance and the way of life for which we stand.