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TO IMMEDIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 016 OF 11 JANUARY 1982,  
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, WARSAW,  
INFO PRIORITY ALL OTHER NATO POSTS, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKMIS GENEVA,  
UKREP BRUSSELS, MADRID,  
INFO SAVING TOKYO, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, PRAGUE, SOFIA, EAST  
BERLIN, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, BELGRADE, STOCKHOLM, VIENNA, BERNE,  
HELSINKI.

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING : POLAND. *MS*

1. IN LESS THAN FOUR HOURS OF DISCUSSION - AND DESPITE ATROCIOUS WEATHER WHICH DELAYED SEVERAL MINISTERS (NOTABLY GENSCHER UNTIL LUNCHTIME AND MACGUIGAN TILL AFTER THE MEETING HAD ENDED) - MINISTERS AGREED ON A COMPREHENSIVE DECLARATION ON THE ALLIANCE POSITION (TEXT IN MIPT). ALL ALLIES EXCEPT ICELAND WERE REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS. GREEK DIFFICULTIES WERE MET BY FOOTNOTES INDICATING PORTIONS OF THE TEXT WHICH TTTTES COULD NOT SUBSCRIBE.
2. THIS WAS A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME WHICH WILL I HOPE DRAW THE STING OF THE PERSISTANT MEDIA ALLEGATIONS OF ALLIANCE DISARRAY. IT WAS BASED ON SOME INTENSIVE PRIOR CONSULTATION BEFOREHAND TO STIFFEN UP THE VERY WEAK LANGAUGE ON POSSIBLE MEASURES WHICH REPRESENTED THE MAXIMUM LEVEL OF AGREEMENT POSSIBLE IN THE DRAFT PREPARED BY DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OVER THE WEEKEND. YOU AND YOUR PARTY PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN THESE CONSULTATIONS AND IN THE PROMOTION OF MORE SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE. IN THE END WE TABLED NEW LANGUAGE ON POLITICAL MEASURES AND THE AMERICANS ON ECONOMIC. WE ALSO TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN URGING DR LUNS TO FOCUS DISCUSSION FROM THE OUTSET ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION AND TO KEEP GENERAL STATEMENTS TO A MINIMUM. HE RESPONDED READILY AND ALL MINISTERS COOPERATED FULLY IN THIS. FURTHER TIME WAS SAVED BY RESERVING DISCUSSION OF THE PARAGRAPHS ON MEASURES TO THE COUNCIL ITSELF WHILE DEPUTIES FINALISED THE REST OF THE TEXT FOR LARGELY FORMAL APPROVAL BY MINISTERS.
3. THE DECLARATION REPRESENTS A FIRM AND CLEAR MESSAGE BOTH TO THE POLES AND THE SOVIET UNION THAT BUSINESS AS USUAL IS NOT POSSIBLE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THE THREE WESTERN REQUIREMENTS OF THE POLISH REGIME ARE RESTATED. (THERE WAS NO DISPOSITION TO GIVE JARUZELSKI MUCH CREDIT FOR THE RELAXATIONS ALREADY ANNOUNCED). THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IS CLEARLY RECOGNISED AND DEPLORED. THE DECLARATION OUTLINES A NUMBER OF FIELDS, BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, IN WHICH ACTION IS BEING TAKEN OR IS TO BE FURTHER CONSIDERED, BOTH IN THE SHORTER AND THE LONGER TERMS. THE LAST CATEGORY INCLUDES ENERGY, AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES AND TECHNOLOGY. IT REAFFIRMS AT THE SAME TIME THAT ARMS CONTROL DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE. IT MAKES CLEAR THAT MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN ACCORDING TO NATIONAL POSSIBILITIES, AND THAT THERE WILL BE FULL AND CONTINUING CONSULTATION.

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4. EVERY MINISTER CLEARLY RECOGNISED THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY AND SPEED. YOU AND HAIG STRUCK A RESPONSIVE CHORD WHEN YOU URGED AT THE OUTSET THAT THE COUNCIL MUST AVOID TURNING A DEFEAT FOR THE EAST INTO ONE FOR THE WEST. THE ANALYSES OF THE MAJORITY OF MINISTERS OF WHAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD CONTAIN WERE VERY SIMILAR AND THE CAREFUL LANGUAGE OF OUR AND THE U S REVISED TEXTS HELPED TO SECURE MUCH READIER AGREEMENT ON MEASURES THAN COULD HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED EVEN A FEW DAYS AGO.

5. NOTES OF DISCORD WERE FEW. AMERICAN/GERMAN DIVERGENCES WERE PARTLY BRIDGED IN THE CONSULTATIONS BEFORE REVISED TEXTS WERE CIRCULATED AND GENSCHER CLEARLY ATTACHED OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE TO AVOIDING ANY APPEARANCE OF DISUNITY. HALSTEDSBQC UHQIPLC WAS CAREFUL TO REPEAT THAT CANADA WAS READY TO DISCUSS BUT NOT TO DECIDE. HARALAMBOPOULOS (GREECE) CAME WITH FIRM INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE CRITICAL OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN GENERAL, NOR SANCTIONS OF ANY KIND. HOWEVER HE READILY ACCEPTED LUNS' SUGGESTION THAT HE SHOULD SUBSCRIBE TO THE COMMUNIQUE AS A WHOLE AND EXPRESS SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES. GREEK/TURKISH ISSUES DID NOT SURFACE OPENLY. TURKMEN (TURKEY) COMPLAINED OF COMPARISONS MADE BY SOME ALLIES BETWEEN POLAND AND TURKEY. OLESEN (DENMARK) NONETHELESS SPOKE IN PRECISELY THIS VEIN THOUGH WITHOUT SPECIFYING TURKEY. STRAY (NORWAY), IN A REFRESHINGLY ROBUST INTERVENTION, THEN TOOK HIM TO TASK FOR SPEAKING IN THESE TERMS. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT WAS THAT EACH ALLY SHOULD SATISFY ITSELF THAT IT WAS NOT APPLYING DOUBLE STANDARDS.

6. IN RESPONSE TO A PORTUGUESE QUESTION HAIG CONFIRMED THAT AS OF NOW HE STILL EXPECTED TO MEET GROMYKO ON 27 JANUARY THOUGH THIS COULD BE AFFECTED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEANTIME. THE U S WANTED TO STAY IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE RUSSIANS. HE DID NOT HOWEVER SEE ANY EARLY SUMMIT MEETING IN PROSPECT.

7. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD MEET NEXT WEEK TO START THE FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES FOR WHICH THE DECLARATION CALLED. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW LONG THE AMERICANS WILL BE PREPARED TO ALLOW THIS PROCESS TO TAKE. HOWEVER, HORMATS GAVE BRIDGES THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT SEEK TO PRESS WORK IN NATO TO A CONCLUSION BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL ON 25 JANUARY. DELEGATIONS WILL BE FREE TO DECIDE ON APPROPRIATE SUPPORT FOR THIS WORK. CHEYSSON SAID FOR THE RECORD THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY EXPANSION OF NATO COMPETENCE INTO THE ECONOMIC FIELD.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO TOKYO, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, PRAGUE, SOFIA, EAST BERLIN, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, BELGRADE, STOCKHOLM, VIENNA, BERNE, HELSINKI.  
ROSE

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