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A verbal summary.

A.F.C.

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TO PRIORITY UKDEL NATO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 13 OF 14 JANUARY

INFO PRIORITY ALL NATO POSTS, DUBLIN, MOSCOW, BUDAPEST, SOFIA, BUCHAREST, PRAGUE, BELGRADE, EAST BERLIN, BMG BERLIN, STOCKHOLM, VIENNA, BERNE, MADRID, TOKYO, WELLINGTON, HELSINKI, UKMIS NEW YORK, USMIS GENEVA, WARSAW, CANBERRA, UKREP BRUSSELS UK POLICY ON THE POLISH CRISIS

BEGINS

1. THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE ON OUR THINKING MAY BE HELPFUL FOLLOWING THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON 4 JANUARY AND THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON 11 JANUARY. (SEE UKREP BRUSSELS TELNO 2 OF 4 JANUARY AND UKDEL NATO TELNOS 15 AND 16 OF 11 JANUARY).
2. OUR THREE SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES REMAIN AS SET OUT BOTH IN THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMUNIQUE AND IN THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' DECLARATION: THE ENDING OF MARTIAL LAW, THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED AND THE RESTORATION OF A GENUINE REPEAT GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY. THESE WILL BE HARD TO ACHIEVE GIVEN JARUZELSKI'S VERY LIMITED ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE AND, NO DOUBT, STRONG SOVIET OPPOSITOON. NONETHELESS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST SHOUL DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY ITS CONCERN AT EVENTS AND BE SEEN TO BE TRYING TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE.
3. AS TO ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND, YOU WILL NOTE FROM NATO DECLARATION (PARA 13) THAT, WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF INCREASED HUMANITARIAN AID AND CONTINUED CREDIT FOR FOOD SUPPLIES, FURTHER ASSISTANCE WHETHER IN THE FORM OF RESCHEDULING OR NEW CREDITS HAS BEEN SUSPENDED FOR THE TIME BEING. (WE OURSELVES DO NOT INTEND TO PROVIDE FURTHER CREDIT FOR COMMERCIAL FOOD SALES IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES BUT SHALL BE CONCENTRATING IN THE COMMUNITY ON INCREASING HUMANITARIAN AID INCLUDING SOME FOOD). WE BELIEVE THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN SUPPORT WILL ADD TO POLAND'S ALREADY CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.
4. TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION OUR AIM IS TO SHOW THAT THE SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN POLAND SO FAR (UNQUESTIONABLE COMPLICITY IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW, AND INTENSE PRESSURE ON SUCCESSIVE POLISH LEADERSHIPS EVER SINCE AUGUST 1980) IS UNACCEPTABLE AND INCONSISTENT WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, AND THAT FURTHER (ESPECIALLY MILITARY) INTERVENTION WOULD HAVE THE GRAVEST CONSEQUENCES FOR EAST/WEST RELATIONS. IN OUR VIEW, THIS REQUIRES THE REST OF THE ALLIANCE TO TAKE MEASURES PARALLEL TO THOSE ANNOUNCED BY THE UNITED STATES ON 29 DECEMBER, WHILE LEAVING ENOUGH MEASURES IN RESERVE TO HELP TO DETER SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION OR TO RESPOND TO THIS IF IT OCCURS. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITHIN NATO TO THIS END: HENCE THE MEASURES IN PARAGRAPHS 11(A) AND (B) AND 14 OF THE DECLARATION.

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ALLIANCE COHESION

5. OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE OVER THE LAST THREE WEEKS HAS HOWEVER BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE UNITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND TO ENSURE THAT THE ACTUAL CRISIS IN POLAND DID NOT BECOME A CRISIS FOR THE ALLIANCE AS WELL. WE WERE FACED WITH: (I) DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF EVENTS BETWEEN SOME EUROPEANS, PARTICULARLY THE GERMANS, ON THE ONE HAND AND THE AMERICANS ON THE OTHER: AND (II) THE AMERICAN ANNOUNCEMENT OF UNILATERAL MEASURES TOWARDS POLAND ON 23 DECEMBER AND TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION ON 29 DECEMBER, WITHOUT REAL PRIOR CONSULTATION. WE HAVE WORKED TO RECONCILE THE POSITIONS OF THE TEN AND OTHER EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO WITH THAT OF THE AMERICANS. THE MEASURES WE ARE CONTEMPLATING ARE DIRECTED AS MUCH TOWARDS MAINTAINING ALLIANCE COHESION AS INFLUENCING THE SOVIET UNION OR POLAND. NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THAT THE STEPS AGREED CONSTITUTE A CLEAR AND VALUABLE WARNING TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT PRESSURE TO PREVENT A RETURN TO RENEWAL AND REFORM IN POLAND WOULD INDEED CARRY SEVERE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PENALTIES, AND SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION EVEN MORE SO. THE OUTCOME OF THE NATO MEETING WAS SATISFACTORY IN SHOWING A MUCH GREATER DEGREE OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY THAN HAD BEEN FEARED: ALL NATO MEMBERS SUBSCRIBED TO THE COMMUNIQUE WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF THE GREEKS WHO RESERVED THEIR POSITION ON THE SOVIET ROLE AND ON ACTUAL SANCTIONS (THE GREEK WORD) AGAINST POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION.

THE FUTURE

6. FURTHER DISCUSSION IS NOW IN PROGRESS IN THE COMMUNITY, THE TEN AND NATO OF THE RANGE OF MEASURES IDENTIFIED AT THE NATO MEETING FOR POSSIBLE USE AGAINST POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE PROCESS OF CONVERTING THE STRONG WORDS OF THE NATO DECLARATION INTO ACTION WILL NOT BE EASY. A CRUCIAL FACTOR WILL BE THE US ATTITUDE TO EXISTING CONTRACTS INVOLVING US COMPONENTS FOR THE WEST SIBERIAN GAS PIPELINE. IF THEY ALLOW CONTRACTS TO GO AHEAD UNIMPEDED WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE ON A PACKAGE OF MUTUALLY CONCERTED THOUGH NOT IDENTICAL MEASURES.

7. THERE WILL BE A FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL ON 25/26 JANUARY AND PROBABLY A NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL SHORTLY AFTERWARDS. WE WOULD THEREFORE EXPECT DECISIONS TO BE MADE PUBLIC FAIRLY SOON AFTER THESE TWO MEETINGS.

CARRINGTON

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