

SECRET

January 21, 1982

Dear Peter:

As we approach the January 23 reinforced meeting of the North Atlantic Council, to take measures in response to the situation in Poland, I believe it is important for us to recognize that conditions in Poland have actually deteriorated since we gathered in Brussels on January 11. Martial law appears now to be a reality for the indefinite future. Large numbers of political prisoners continue to be held. If anything, the human rights situation is considerably worse, with heightened secret police activity, large scale arrests and firings, and intense pressure on workers to renounce Solidarity and, in effect, their own aspirations for a more open, just and productive society.

At the same time, Soviet officials are saying that the restoration of dialogue in Poland is out of the question, because that would mean placing Solidarity on the same level as the government. They are attempting politically to decapitate Solidarity by relegating Walesa to the status of a political non-person, and some are even insisting that while a union in some form may be able to survive, it could not use the name "Solidarity." This not only again gives the lie to Soviet claims of non-intervention, it is a tragic commentary on the likely future direction of events in Poland if we stand idly by.

It is therefore all the more important that we emerge from the January 23 meeting with decision in hand on political and economic measures which can help to achieve our objectives in Poland. That will be possible if those of us who share similar perceptions of the Polish situation continue to exercise firm leadership within the Alliance. To do otherwise would be a disservice to the Polish people and to what we stand for as Allies. It would frankly raise the prospect for my Government of being forced to take additional steps to ensure that the overall message sent by the West is sufficiently clear and forceful to have a chance of influencing events.

We have of course set out in our declaration the general areas in which we will be working to effect these measures. What we need now is to translate those

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general principles into specific actions. On the political side, I would hope that these would include such national decisions as additional restrictions on the size and movements of Soviet and Polish diplomatic missions and on reduction/non-renewal of exchanges. In the economic field, I hope we can reach agreement on visible, significant and demonstrative measures. In my view, this should include at a minimum the announcement that notice is being given that certain steps will be taken or that certain agreements will be suspended or allowed to lapse. The crucial point is that these national decisions have immediate impact on Soviet and Polish decision making and maintain a maximum of Allied unity and credibility.

We should also take advantage of the opportunity provided by the January 23 meeting to begin a longer term discussion of where we are going in East-West relations as a result of the new Polish reality and continuing Soviet conduct. This discussion should deal with such difficult issues as agricultural commodities, the security dimension of technology transfer to and energy dependence on the Soviet Union, and financial dealings with the East.

It is crucial that we act now if we are to maintain the momentum and the credibility that we established with our declaration on January 11. I hope you will arrive before January 23 at decisions on national measures with regard to the Soviet Union, and that you will instruct your representatives at the NATO meeting to take lead in encouraging meaningful contributions by all to an Alliance response. The Polish people and our own publics look to us to give substance to the earnest of good intentions contained in the declaration. I think you will agree with me that we can only deter the Soviet and Polish authorities, and bring about a return to democratic renewal in Poland, if we are willing to act on those intentions.

Sincerely,

/s/

Al

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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

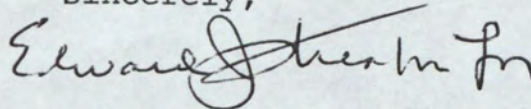
cc PS
PS (Lord Fitzgibbon)
~~PS (Mr. Bullard)~~
Mr Bullard
Lord Bridges
Mr Hanway
January 21, 1982
Mr Evans
Planning Staff
GCW(E)
Defence Dept
HO News Dept

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.

cc Mr Coles, 10 Downing St
(2 copies)
2/1/82

Sincerely,



John J. Louis, Jr.
Ambassador

Enc:

SECRET

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

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Mr Coles
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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 76 OF 21 JANUARY.

INFO BONN, PARIS, UDKEL NATO, MOSCOW AND WARSAW.

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE FROM HAIG WHICH WAS RECEIVED IN LONDON THIS MORNING:

'DEAR PETER:

AS WE APPROACH THE JANUARY 23 REINFORCED MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, TO TAKE MEASURES IN RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION IN POLAND, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT CONDITIONS IN POLAND HAVE ACTUALLY DETERIORATED SINCE WE GATHERED IN BRUSSELS ON JANUARY 11. MARTIAL LAW APPEARS NOW TO BE A REALITY FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. LARGE NUMBERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUE TO BE HELD. IF ANYTHING, THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IS CONSIDERABLY WORSE, WITH HEIGHTENED SECRET POLICE ACTIVITY, LARGE SCALE ARRESTS AND FIRINGS, AND INTENSE PRESSURE ON WORKERS TO RENOUNCE SOLIDARITY AND, IN EFFECT, THEIR OWN ASPIRATIONS FOR A MORE OPEN, JUST AND PRODUCTIVE SOCIETY.

AT THE SAME TIME, SOVIET OFFICIALS ARE SAYING THAT THE RESTORATION OF DIALOGUE IN POLAND IS OUT OF THE QUESTION, BECAUSE THAT WOULD MEAN PLACING SOLIDARITY ON THE SAME LEVEL AS THE GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE ATTEMPTING POLITICALLY TO DECAPITATE SOLIDARITY BY RELEGATING WALESZA TO THE STATUS OF A POLITICAL NON-PERSON, AND SOME ARE EVEN INSISTING THAT WHILE A UNION IN SOME FORM MAY BE ABLE TO SURVIVE, IT COULD NOT USE THE NAME 'SOLIDARITY'. THIS NOT ONLY AGAIN GIVES THE LIE TO SOVIET CLAIMS OF NON-INTERVENTION, IT IS A TRAGIC COMMENTARY ON THE LIKELY FUTURE DIRECTION OF EVENTS IN POLAND IF WE STAND IDLY BY.

IT IS THEREFORE ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE EMERGE FROM THE JANUARY 23 MEETING WITH DECISION IN HAND ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES WHICH CAN HELP TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES IN

/POLAND.

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POLAND. THAT WILL BE POSSIBLE IF THOSE OF US WHO SHARE SIMILAR PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLISH SITUATION CONTINUE TO EXERCISE FIRM LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD BE A DISSERVICE TO THE POLISH PEOPLE AND TO WHAT WE STAND FOR AS ALLIES. IT WOULD FRANKLY RAISE THE PROSPECT FOR MY GOVERNMENT OF BEING FORCED TO TAKE ADDITIONAL STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE OVERALL MESSAGE SENT BY THE WEST IS SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR AND FORCEFUL TO HAVE A CHANCE OF INFLUENCING EVENTS.

WE HAVE OF COURSE SET OUT IN OUR DECLARATION THE GENERAL AREAS IN WHICH WE WILL BE WORKING TO EFFECT THESE MEASURES. WHAT WE NEED NOW IS TO TRANSLATE THOSE GENERAL PRINCIPLES INTO SPECIFIC ACTIONS. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, I WOULD HOPE THAT THESE WOULD INCLUDE SUCH NATIONAL DECISIONS AS ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE SIZE AND MOVEMENTS OF SOVIET AND POLISH DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND ON REDUCTION/NON-RENEWAL OF EXCHANGES. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, I HOPE WE CAN REACH AGREEMENT ON VISIBLE, SIGNIFICANT AND DEMONSTRATIVE MEASURES. IN MY VIEW, THIS SHOULD INCLUDE AT A MINIMUM THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT NOTICE IS BEING GIVEN THAT CERTAIN STEPS WILL BE TAKEN OR THAT CERTAIN AGREEMENTS WILL BE SUSPENDED OR ALLOWED TO LAPSE. THE CRUCIAL POINT IS THAT THESE NATIONAL DECISIONS HAVE IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON SOVIET AND POLISH DECISION MAKING AND MAINTAIN A MAXIMUM OF ALLIED UNITY AND CREDIBILITY.

WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY THE JANUARY 23 MEETING TO BEGIN A LONGER TERM DISCUSSION OF WHERE WE ARE GOING IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS A RESULT OF THE NEW POLISH REALITY AND CONTINUING SOVIET CONDUCT. THIS DISCUSSION SHOULD DEAL WITH SUCH DIFFICULT ISSUES AS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES, THE SECURITY DIMENSION OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO AND ENERGY DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION, AND FINANCIAL DEALINGS WITH THE EAST.

IT IS CRUCIAL THAT WE ACT NOW IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM AND THE CREDIBILITY THAT WE ESTABLISHED WITH OUR DECLARATION ON JANUARY 11. I HOPE YOU WILL ARRIVE BEFORE JANUARY 23 AT DECISIONS ON NATIONAL MEASURES WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND THAT YOU WILL INSTRUCT YOUR REPRESENTATIVES AT

/THE NATO

THE NATO MEETING TO TAKE LEAD IN ENCOURAGING MNINGFUL CONTRIBUTIONS BY ALL TO AN ALLIANCE RESPONSE. THE POLISH PEOPLE AND OUR OWN PUBLICS LOOK TO US TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE EARNEST OF GOOD INTENTIONS CONTAINED IN THE DECLARATION. I THINK YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT WE CAN ONLY DETER THE SOVIET AND POLISH AUTHORITIES, AND BRING ABOUT A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL IN POLAND, IF WE ARE WILLING TO ACT ON THOSE INTENTIONS.

SINCERELY,

/S/

AL''

CARRINGTON

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MR GOODISON

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