

GRS 569

SECRET

DESKBY 261330Z

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TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS GENEVA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 7 OF 26 JANUARY

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON PARIS BONN ROME UKDEL NATO UKREP BRUSSEL  
CSCE MADRID MEETING

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE DATED 26 JAN.  
IMMEDIATE TO MR HAIG:

BEGINS:

DEAR AL

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF 23 JANUARY CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AND THE MADRID MEETING. I ENTIRELY AGREE WITH YOU THAT WE NEED URGENTLY TO CONCERT OUR APPROACH SO THAT AT THE MADRID MEETING WE ALL SPEAK WITH THE SAME VOICE. AS YOU SAY, MADRID WILL BE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ALLIES TO SUSTAIN PUBLIC ATTENTION ON POLAND AND TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE EAST THE DAMAGING EFFECTS WHICH THE CRACKDOWN WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS.

I HAVE A LONG STANDING COMMITMENT TO VISIT THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THIS MEANS THAT IT WOULD BE VERY AWKWARD TO GET TO MADRID FOR THE FIRST MEETING ON 9 FEBRUARY. INSTEAD I PLAN TO ARRIVE IN THE AFTERNOON OF 11 FEBRUARY, AND TO SPEAK AT THE SECOND PLENARY MEETING ON 12 FEBRUARY. I THINK IT IN ANY CASE MAKES SENSE TO SPREAD OUR OWN INTERVENTIONS OVER TWO SESSIONS.

AS TO OUR COMMON THEMES, I AGREE WITH THE GENERAL LINES OF WHAT YOU PROPOSE. I AM HOWEVER A LITTLE DOUBTFUL ABOUT THE WISDOM OF DECIDING NOW THAT ONLY WHEN THE POLISH REGIME HAS MET OUR THREE CONDITIONS SHOULD WE AGREE TO RESUME A NEGOTIATION TOWARDS A SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOME AT MADR. I WOULD PREFER TO LEAVE THIS OPEN AND TO DECIDE IN DUE COURSE WHETHER A 'GENUINE EFFORT TOWARDS A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION HAS BEEN MADE.' FURTHERMORE

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THE NEUTRAL AND NONALIGNED COUNTRIES ARE LIKELY TO BE CRITICAL IF WE TRY TO IMPOSE UNILATERALLY A SPECIFIC CONDITION CONCERNING THE CONTINUITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS.

AFTER THE DEBATE ON POLAND, I WOULD BE CONTENT TO WORK FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING UNTIL THE AUTUMN. BUT THE QUESTION IS HOW BEST TO GO ABOUT IT, SO THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES AND THE NNA COUNTRIES WILL JOIN IN THE CONSENSUS NECESSARY FOR THIS. WHILE AN EARLY ADJOURNMENT WOULD MAKE A LOT OF SENSE, I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE IN THE WESTERN INTEREST FOR US TO BECOME DEMANDEUR FOR SUCH AN ADJOURNMENT OR TO BE THE FIRST TO WALK AWAY FROM THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. THIS IS WHY, AS TINDEMANS WILL BE EXPLAINING TO YOU, THE TEN DID NOT AT PRESENT WANT THE MADRID TALKS TO BE SUSPENDED. WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHAT THE NNA COUNTRIES WILL HAVE DECIDED UPON AT THEIR MEETING IN VIENNA ON 25-26 JANUARY. IT SEEMS A LITTLE EARLY TO CAST OUR TACTICS IN CONCRETE.

SUBJECT TO THE ABOVE, IT MIGHT BE TACTICALLY PREFERABLE FOR US TO FOLLOW-UP THE STATEMENTS ON POLAND ON 9 FEBRUARY WITH SOME AMENDMENTS TO THE NNA DRAFT OF 16 DECEMBER WHICH, WHILE BASING THEMSELVES ON WESTERN POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE, WOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR REFUSAL TO COUNTENANCE 'BUSINESS AS USUAL' IN THE FACE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. WE WOULD HAVE A NATURAL OPPORTUNITY TO ACT IN THIS WAY IN THE INFORMAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS SCHEDULED FOR 10 AND 11 FEBRUARY. THE EAST AND THE NNA WOULD THEN BE BROUGHT TO REALISE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROFIT IN CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME OF HARDENED POSITIONS.

AT ALL EVENTS, LET US HAVE OUR PEOPLE THRASH OUT THESE QUESTIONS BEGINNING WITH THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETING ON 27 JANUARY. THEY ARE INDEED TACTICAL MATTERS AND THEY DO NOT CALL INTO QUESTION OUR POSITION OF 'NO BUSINESS AS USUAL'.

WITH BEST WISHES

YOURS EVER

PETER

CARRINGTON

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