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FM UKDEL MADRID 131240Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 16 OF 13 FEBRUARY 1982

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON PARIS BONN MOSCOW UKDEL NATO BRUSSELS

UKMIS GENEVA UKDEL VIENNA WARSAW BERNE STOCKHOLM VIENNA EAST BERLIN

DUBLIN COPENHAGEN BUCHAREST LUXEMBOURG ATHENS

AND SAVING TO UKREP BRUSSELS THE HAGUE SOFIA OTTAWA PRAGUE HELSINKI

BUDAPEST REYKJAVIK ROME VALLETTA OSLO LISBON ANKARA BELGRADE

UKDEL STRASBOURG CAIRO RABAT ALGIERS TUNIS BEIRUT DAMASCUS

TRIPOLI TEL AVIV HOLY SEE

MADRID CSCE MEETING, 2ND PLENARY SESSION, 12 FEBRUARY

PLEASE SEE MIPT

1. DISCUSSION THIS WEEK HAS BEEN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ABOUT POLAND. THE EAST'S SUGGESTION THAT BUSINESS SHOULD BE AS USUAL WAS SWEEPED ASIDE. IN REPLY TO SPEECH AFTER SPEECH FROM WESTERN AND NEUTRAL MINISTERS AND DELEGATES, THE EAST WAS ABLE TO REPLY ONLY THAT COMMENTS ON POLAND CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN HER INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE EASTERN PROCEDURAL ABUSES ON 9 FEBRUARY, WHICH DENIED THE FLOOR TO A NUMBER OF WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS (MOST NOTABLY CHEYSSON) WERE NOT REPEATED ON 12 FEBRUARY. THIS FACT STRENGTHENS THE THEORY THAT THE SOVIET AIM ON 9 FEBRUARY HAD BEEN TO SECURE A STRIKING PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF POLISH LOYALTY TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN EVERY OTHER WAY IT WAS DETRIMENTAL TO SOVIET INTERESTS. THE SYMPATHETIC AND ARTICULATE POLISH VICE-MINISTER WIEJACZ, WHO HAD LEFT THE DIRTY WORK TO HIS DEPUTY, HAS SINCE BEEN MAKING GREAT EFFORTS IN THE CORRIDORS AND WITH THE PRESS TO TRY TO RESTORE THE DAMAGE TO HIS DELEGATION'S REPUTATION.

2. NO ONE ELSE HAS COMMITTED HIMSELF, LIKE THE SWISS FOREIGN MINISTER, TO AN EARLY ADJOURNMENT, THOUGH THE COURSE OF THIS FIRST WEEK HAS MADE THIS EVEN MORE LIKELY THAN BEFORE. WHILE THERE IS A STRONG US PREFERENCE FOR THE MEETING TO BREAK NEXT WEEK, THE AMERICANS HAVE TRIED AT A TACTICAL LEVEL TO AVOID PUTTING THEMSELVES IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR FOR AN ADJOURNMENT. THE FRG AND THE REMAINDER OF THE TEN AGREE FULLY ON THE LATTER POINT, BUT WOULD NOW

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BE READY TO ACCEPT AN ADJOURNMENT. THE EAST'S BEHAVIOUR HAS HELPED DEMONSTRATE TO GENSCHER THE TOTAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF FRUITFUL NEGOTIATION AT THIS STAGE. IN THE CORRIDORS, THE RUSSIANS ARE HINTING AT READINESS TO ACCEPT AN ADJOURNMENT BUT ALSO WILL NOT ASK FOR ONE. THEY ARE TRYING TO AVOID ITS BEING SEEN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THEY HAVE SUGGESTED, PRESUMABLY AS THEIR OPENING BID, THAT ONE POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE A FURTHER FOUR WEEKS BEFORE AN ADJOURNMENT WITH NO DISCUSSION ON POLAND DURING THE LAST TWO. WE COULD NOT, OF COURSE, JOIN IN ANY SUCH UNDERTAKING.

3. THE PLENARY YESTERDAY ADOPTED A TRUNCATED NEW WORK PROGRAMME, EXTENDING ONLY AS FAR AS 17 FEBRUARY. A DECISION COULD BE REACHED ON THAT DAY, BUT MAY WELL TAKE SOMEWHAT LONGER. THE SOVIET UNION WILL OBVIOUSLY EXPLOIT ANY TENDENCY FOR THE MEETING TO DRIFT TOWARDS BUSINESS AS USUAL.

THE WEST IS ALIVE TO THIS DANGER AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO OBSERVE A STRICT SILENCE IN SUCH MEETINGS OF THE SO-CALLED DRAFTING GROUP AS ARE HELD.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

WILBERFORCE

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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