THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

December 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT 81 1 24 All: 47

From

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

- Consultations on Poland: Europe and China. In the North Atlantic Council meeting today, the Allies expressed strong concern about developments in Poland but were hesitant to come to grips with concrete measures. Our other consultations in Europe give a similar picture. At yesterday's meeting with the French, British and West Germans, consensus was reached on a limited range of political and economic steps. The Allies were not prepared, however, to decide now on comprehensive measures against the Soviets. The French were firmest, but supported only political measures; the British were also willing to consider economic measures; the Germans were the most reluctant, supporting only suspension of decisions on new credits. In other consultations, the Dutch shared our assessment of the seriousness of the situation and have taken some steps themselves. But they thought it was too early for measures aimed at the Soviets, and opposed a visible role for NATO. The Belgians shared our concern but evaded comment on sanctions. Finally, we provided briefings on Poland to the Chinese in Beijing and Washington. We asked them to consider possible actions to bring pressure on Moscow now and to explore whether there were other things we could do together in the event of more direct Soviet involvement. The Chinese said that our suggestions would be reviewed at higher levels and restated their position that the Polish people should resolve the problem themselves. (SECRET/SENSITIVE)
- High-Level Briefings on Poland for Key Private Sector Groups. Private groups briefed yesterday on Poland included several former U.S. Ambassadors, a group of businessmen and Polish-American representatives. The latter urged that we should demand access by the Red Cross to those interned in Poland. They also wanted to concentrate Radio Free Europe and Voice of America transmitters in a massive campaign to overcome Soviet jamming. Finally, we told the voluntary agencies, CARE and Project HOPE, that the Polish Government would cooperate with them on private food and medical shipments. Agreements would be renegotiated to ensure that the Catholic Church would monitor the distribution of such supplies in Poland. (C)
- Developments in Chad. Chadian President Goukouni broke his appointment with our Ambassador to Cameroon December 21 and thus did not receive your letter. The previous day Goukouni had stated publicly that the OAU Peacekeeping force was "useless," a reference to the OAU's reluctance to fight the forces of Hissene Habre. Our Ambassador will seek another appointment with Goukouni immediately after Christmas to deliver your letter and to urge Goukouni to move toward a reconciliation with all Chadian factions. In the meanwhile, we are urging the commander of the Peacekeeping Forces and OAU Chairman Moi to try to negotiate a ceasefire so that the OAU troops can be inserted between the Goukouni and Habre forces. (C)

RDS 2/3 12/23/01 (HAIG, Alexander M., Jr.)



SENSITIVE

SECRET/SENSITIVE ATTACHMENT