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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 42 OF 7 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO (DESKBY 070900), BONN, PARIS, PRIORITY
OTHER NATO POSTS, UKREP BRUSSELS
INFO SAVING DUBLIN.

MY TELNO 39 (NOT TO ALL): POLAND

1. WE HAVE NOW OBTAINED FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT THE FOLLOWING DRAFT (NOT YET FINALLY APPROVED BY HAIG) WHICH THEY ARE LIKELY TO CIRCULATE TOMORROW AS THE BASIS FOR THE COMMUNIQUE AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING. IN ADDITION, THE STATE DEPARTMENT WILL BE BRIEFING US AND THE OTHER ALLIES TOMORROW ON SOME SPECIFIC ECONOMIC MEASURES ON WHICH THEY HOPE THE ALLIES MIGHT AGREE. THEY REALISE THAT IT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO GET A DECISION ON SUCH MEASURES AT THE MEETING ON MONDAY BUT HOPE THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THE DISCUSSION ON THAT OCCASION:

ALLIANCE POLICY DECLARATION ON POLAND

THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL AND REFORM WHICH HAD BEEN UNDERWAY IN POLAND SINCE AUGUST 1980 WAS ONE OF THE MOST HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. LIBERALIZATION IN POLAND, RESULTING FROM THE OVERWHELMING PRESSURE OF THE MAJORITY, PROMISED TO GIVE EFFECTIVE VOICE TO THE GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS OF A PROUD PEOPLE. THIS PROCESS OFFERED THE PROSPECT OF FULFILLMENT OF THE HOPES HELD IN BOTH THE WEST AND THE EAST THAT ENHANCED STABILITY IN EUROPE WOULD BRING WITH IT A MORE DECENT AND OPEN LIFE FOR THE OPPRESSED.

BUT THE REPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE THREATENS TO REVERSE THE GAINS OF THE PAST 16 MONTHS, TO STRIP FROM THE POLISH PEOPLE THEIR HARD-WON RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, AND TO DESTROY THE BASIS FOR THE RECONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO POLISH PROGRESS AND STABILITY.

THIS OPPRESSION CONSTITUTES A MASSIVE VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT FOR WHICH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND THE SOVIET UNION BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY. THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE A CLEAR FAILURE TO ABIDE BY PRINCIPLE VII OF THE FINAL ACT, CONCERNING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THE PRESSURES AND THREATS OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH LED TO THESE ACTIONS BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, AND SOVIET COMPLICITY IN THE CONTINUING SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, ALSO ARE IN VIOLATION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S UNDERTAKINGS UNDER THE FINAL ACT, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO PRINCIPLES I (SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS INHERENT IN SOVEREIGNTY); II (REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE); III (NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS); AND VIII (EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES).

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THE NATO ALLIES CALL FOR A RESTORATION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL IN POLAND BASED ON THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED, RECONCILIATION, GENUINE NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE. ONLY THUS CAN THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE BE PROTECTED AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY BE SECURED. ONLY THUS CAN THE FREEDOM OF POLISH WORKERS BE ENHANCED. BUT THIS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE SO LONG AS OPPRESSION BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND INTERFERENCE BY THE SOVIET UNION PERSIST. THE CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP WHICH THE NATO ALLIES SEEK DEPENDS UPON REALIZATION OF THESE GOALS.

INDEED, THE PERSISTENCE OF REPRESSION IN POLAND IS ERODING THE POLITICAL FOUNDATION FOR PROGRESS ON THE FULL AGENDA OF ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE EAST AND WEST. THE ALLIES REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PURSUIT OF ARMS CONTROL AND STAND BY THE INITIATIVES CONTAINED IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH. THE SOVIET UNION WILL BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY IF ITS INTERFERENCE IN POLAND AND FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO EXISTING INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS DAMAGE THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS.

PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON A MANDATE FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE HAVE BEEN DAMAGED BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. IN VIEW OF THIS BLATANT CHALLENGE TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THE ALLIES WILL INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS IN MADRID TO BRING ABOUT GREATER RESPECT FOR AND STRENGTHENING OF THE CSCE PROCESS. THEY CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL TO CONSIDER VIOLATIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO PURSUE REMEDIAL ACTIONS.

THE GENEVA TALKS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES WILL RESUME ON JANUARY 12. IMPROVEMENT OF THE TREATMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD HELP CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND RESTRAINT REQUIRED FOR PROGRESS TOWARD MEANINGFUL RESULTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

BECAUSE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN MADE MOST DIFFICULT BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, THE ALLIES WILL INSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

A. RESTRICTIONS ON SOVIET AND POLISH DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS.

B. CURTAILMENT OF CULTURAL, ACADEMIC, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES.

THE ALLIES WILL ALSO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORT TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THE CRIMES BEING COMMITTED AGAINST THE POLISH PEOPLE.

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SO LONG AS THE SITUATION IN POLAND DOES NOT IMPROVE, ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT CONTINUE AS BEFORE. THE ALLIES WELCOMED THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO SEND A STRONG SIGNAL OF DISAPPROVAL OF THE POLISH SITUATION IN THE FORM OF ECONOMIC MEASURES. THEY WILL DO NOTHING TO WEAKEN THE EFFECTS OF THOSE MEASURES OR MEASURES TAKEN BY ANY OTHER ALLY. THE ALLIES ARE ACTIVELY CONSULTING ON ECONOMIC STEPS PARALLEL TO THOSE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES. THEY WANT THERE TO BE NO DOUBT THAT CONTINUATION OF REPRESSION IN POLAND WILL FURTHER AFFECT EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

THE ALLIES HOPE THAT THERE WILL SOON BE NO REASON FOR SUCH ACTIONS, AND THAT NORMAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE RESUMED. WITH RECONCILIATION AND A RESTORATION OF THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL IN POLAND, THE WEST WOULD STAND PREPARED TO DO ITS SHARE TO ASSIST POLAND TO OVERCOME ITS SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND EMBARK ON A NEW PERIOD OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY. IN ANY CASE, HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE POLISH PEOPLE, WITH APPROPRIATE GUARANTEES THAT IT WILL REACH THOSE FOR WHOM IT IS INTENDED, WILL NOT BE AFFECTED BY ANY OTHER MEASURES DECIDED UPON BY THE ALLIES. THIS ASSISTANCE WILL BE MAINTAINED, AND WHERE POSSIBLE AND APPROPRIATE, INCREASED.

FCO PASS SAVING DUBLIN

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[REPETITION TO REYKJAVIK
REFERRED FOR DEPARTMENTAL DECISION
REPEATED AS REQUESTED TO OTHER POSTS]

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