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FM UKDEL MADRID 092112Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 05 OF 9 FEBRUARY 1982

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON PARIS BONN MOSCOW BRUSSELS UKDEL NATO  
UKMIS GENEVA UKDEL VIENNA

AND SAVING TO UKREP BRUSSELS VIENNA THE HAGUE SOFIA OTTAWA PRAGUE  
COPENHAGEN HELSINKI EAST BERLIN ATHENS HOLY SEE BUDAPEST REYKJAVIK  
DUBLIN ROME VALLETTA LUXEMBOURG OSLO WARSAW LISBON BUCHAREST  
STOCKHOLM BERNE ANKARA BELGRADE UKDEL STRASBOURG CAIRO RABAT  
ALGIERS TUNIS BEIRUT DAMASCUS TRIPOLI TEL AVIV

## MADRID CSCE MEETING 1982 OPENING PLENARY SESSION, 9 FEBRUARY

1. THE SESSION OPENED WITH 9 SPEECHES (6 WESTERN AND 3 EASTERN) BEFORE THE POLISH CHAIRMAN RAN THE MEETING INTO THE SANDS BY BOGUS PROCEDURAL MEANS. THE SIX WESTERN SPEAKERS WERE ALL AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL AND STRONGLY CRITICISED BOTH THE POLISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.
2. DETAIL: THE MEETING STARTED AS SCHEDULED AND ON THE BASIS OF AN INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON A COMPROMISE SPEAKER'S LIST OF 22 SPEAKERS INTERLEAVING EASTERN AND WESTERN SPEAKERS. THOSE WHO SPOKE WERE: HUNGARY, CANADA, BELGIUM, GREECE, POLAND, UNITED STATES, ITALY, USSR, FRG AND SPAIN. AMONG THOSE EXCLUDED WERE THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF FRANCE, NORWAY, IRELAND, DENMARK, PORTUGAL AND TURKEY.
3. THE POLISH CHAIRMAN (WIEJACZ) STARTED WITH A PLEA THAT INTERVENTIONS SHOULD QUOTE AT LEAST DO NO HARM UNQUOTE AND THAT SPEAKERS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THAT WHICH BRINGS THE CSCE COUNTRIES TOGETHER.
4. CANADA (MCGUIGAN) SET THE TONE FOR SUBSEQUENT WESTERN INTERVENTIONS STRONGLY CRITICISING THE SOVIET UNION'S ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN ITS MANIFOLD VIOLATIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND ITS INTERFERENCE IN POLISH AFFAIRS. HE SPOKE CRITICALLY AND AT LENGTH ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND. HE DREW ATTENTION TO THE MANOEUVRES WHICH HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN ON THE BORDERS OF POLAND AND THE FIERCE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN BY THE USSR AGAINST THE PROCESS OF REFORM AND RENEWAL.
5. BELGIUM (TINDEMANS) COVERED THE SAME GROUND, ALSO IN FORTHRIGHT TERMS AND SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE TEN. THE TEN WOULD BE READY HE SAID TO RETURN TO COOPERATION WHEN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND HAD REMOVED THE OBSTACLES TO COOPERATION WHICH HAD RESULTED FROM THEIR POLICIES.
6. GREECE (HARALAMBOPOULOS) MISUSED A POINT OF ORDER TO DISTANCE THE GREEK GOVERNMENT FROM THOSE PARTS OF TINDEMANS SPEECH WHICH QUOTE WERE CRITICAL OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND WHICH WOULD LEAD ONLY TO A COLD WAR CLIMATE UNQUOTE.

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7. POLAND (WIEJACZ) RESTATED THE KNOWN POLISH POSITION IN DETAIL AND ADDED THAT SOME PARTICIPATING STATES SEEMED TO HAVE ALLOTTED TO THEMSELVES THE ROLE OF JUDGES AND TO OTHERS, THAT OF OFFENDERS.

8. UNITED STATES (HAIG) SPOKE MOST FORCEFULLY. QUOTING CHURCHILL'S ADVICE ON RETURNING TO FIRST PRINCIPLES AND TAKING SIMPLE ACTION WHEN IN A DIFFICULT POSITION, HE INSISTED ON A RETURN TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. POLAND WAS BEING DENIED ITS SELF-DETERMINATION AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE ACTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE VIOLATIONS WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THE EXERCISE OF ARBITRARY POWER HAD NOW BECOME A PATTERN OF BEHAVIOUR. HE CALLED FOR RELEASE OF TRADE UNION LEADERS, LIFTING OF THE MARTIAL LAW AND THE RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF REFORM. THE MEANS OF MEETING POLISH NEEDS WOULD BECOME AVAILABLE WHEN THESE CONDITIONS HAD BEEN FULFILLED. (THE TEXT OF THIS SECTION OF THE SPEECH HAS BEEN TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY.) IN THE MEANTIME TO ACCEPT BUSINESS AS USUAL WOULD BE TO CONDONE VIOLATIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

9. SOVIET UNION (ILYICHEV) REPLIED AT LENGTH IN A RAMBLING AND VITUPERATIVE SPEECH. HIS CRITICISMS WAS DIRECTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY AGAINST NATO AND QUOTE THOSE CIRCLES IN THE UNITED STATES UNQUOTE WHICH SUPPORTED ISRAELI AGGRESSION, THE EL SALVADOR JUNTA, THE PINOCHET CLIQUE, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS UNQUOTE. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DECISION ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS AGAINST THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

10. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT ACCEPT, AS INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ANY DISCUSSION ON POLAND. THE US MUST CEASE ITS POLICY OF ECONOMIC STRANGULATION OF POLAND. WASHINGTON WAS PUTTING A MINE UNDER THE CSCE AND WISHED TO USE NATO AS A DOG-COLLAR AROUND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES. THE SOVIET UNION WISHED FOR A BALANCED AND SUBSTANTIAL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THE CSCE PROCESS NEEDED POSITIVE RESULTS BASED ON THE PROGRESS MADE SO FAR. THE NNA DRAFT MUST BECOME THE BASIS FOR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE MEETING'S TASK.

11. FRG (GENSCHER) MADE A POWERFUL SPEECH CRITICISING THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE CALLED FOR THE RELEASE OF THOSE ARRESTED IN POLAND, THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE IN POLAND, AND FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO LET POLAND DECIDE FREELY ON ITS OWN FUTURE.

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12. SPAIN (PEREZ LLORCA) SPOKE STRONGLY ALONG SIMILAR LINES AND MADE THE LAST CONTRIBUTION BEFORE THE MEETING DISSOLVED INTO A PROCEDURAL WRANGLE WHICH STARTED ABOUT 3 PM AND LASTED UNTIL 9.30 PM THINGS REACHED SUCH A PITCH DURING THE PROCEDURAL DISCUSSION THAT THE NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS LOUDLY CHEERED FOR A FORTHRIGHT CRITICISM OF THE POLISH CHAIRMAN AND THE LATTER WAS GREETED WITH AUDIBLE DISAPPROVAL WHEN HE RESPONDED.

13. PLEASE SEE MIFT.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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