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TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE
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E.O. 12065: RDS-3 1/6/02 (GOMPERT, DAVID C.)

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PL

SUBJECT: NAC MINISTERIAL: DECLARATION

1. ~~S-ENTIRE~~ TEXT.

2. FOR USNATO: IN PARA. 5 BELOW WE PROVIDE THE TEXT OF OUR DRAFT "ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND," WHICH YOU SHOULD CIRCULATE IMMEDIATELY TO PERMPERS AND IS AS THE BASIS FOR THE DOCUMENT TO BE APPROVED BY MINISTERS ON JANUARY 11. IN DOING SO, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT WE BELIEVE THIS DOCUMENT OBVIATES ANY COMMUNIQUE AND THAT WE WOULD, AT A MINIMUM, BE OPPOSED TO A COMMUNIQUE WHICH DEPARTS FROM THE THRUST AND SUBSTANCE OF THE DECLARATION.

3. FOR CAPITALS: YOU SHOULD SHARE OUR TEXT WITH APPROPRIATE HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. YOU MAY ELICIT THEIR COMMENTS, BUT YOU SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT IN ANY WAY

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TO NEGOTIATE THE SUBSTANCE. THE TEXT WILL BE WORKED AT NATO, AND IS THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATIONS HERE IN WASHINGTON.

4. IN PRESENTING AND DISCUSSING THE DECLARATION, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE REPRESSIVE POLICIES OF THE POLISH REGIME WILL SERVE ONLY TO DEEPEN THE POLISH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS.

-- JARUZELSKI MAY TAKE A DRAMATIC INITIATIVE AIMED AT REINFORCING HIS CONTENTION THAT HE HAD NO CHOICE AND AT CONVINCING THE WEST THAT HIS INTENTIONS ARE GOOD. BUT THE HARD EVIDENCE POINTS TO EXTENDED REPRESSION, ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED BY THE SOVIET UNION, AS THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ATTEMPT TO JAM THE SOLIDARITY GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE AND STIFLE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS POLAND DESPERATELY NEEDS.

-- THEREFORE, WE MAY WELL FACE LONG-TERM INSTABILITY IN POLAND, WITH MASSIVE, SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTINUING, PERHAPS INCREASING, PROSPECTS OF OVERT SOVIET INTERVENTION. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD DO INCALCULABLE DAMAGE TO ANY PROSPECTS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP, AND IT COULD GRAVELY THREATEN SECURITY AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

-- CONSEQUENTLY, WE ARE CONFRONTED NOW WITH THE NECESSITY TO CONCERT OUR EFFORTS. WE MUST GO BEYOND RHETORIC AND AGREE ON A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR ALLIANCE ACTIONS AIMED AT FOSTERING RECONCILIATION AND RETURN TO RENEWAL WHICH ARE CRUCIAL TO LONG-TERM STABILITY, PROGRESS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S MOST BASIC FREEDOMS.

-- THE DRAFT ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND PROVIDES A BASIS FOR AN AGREED POLICY FRAMEWORK AND FOR A CONCERTED ALLIANCE STRATEGY TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES.

-- WE SEEK TO HAVE THIS DOCUMENT APPROVED BY FOREIGN

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MINISTERS ON MONDAY AND RELEASED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MINISTERIAL AS AN AGREED ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON POLAND. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH A STRONG NATO DECLARATION IS VITAL IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF TURNING THE SITUATION IN POLAND AROUND AND OF MINIMIZING SOVIET TROUBLE-MAKING.

-- YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE POLITICAL MEASURES INDICATED IN THE DECLARATION ARE GENERAL IN NATURE. THEY WOULD ALLOW APPROPRIATE DISCRETION ON THE PART OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS.

-- BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ALL TAKE STEPS THAT MOVE US COLLECTIVELY IN THIS DIRECTION. TO DO NOTHING AT

THE POLITICAL LEVEL, OR TOO LITTLE, WOULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL ABOUT ALLIED UNITY AND RESOLVE. IT COULD ENCOURAGE THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO BELIEVE THEY COULD, WITHOUT PENALTY, CONTINUE OR EVEN INTENSIFY THEIR REPRESSION; IT COULD LEAD THE SOVIETS TO THINK THAT THEY COULD GET AWAY WITH EVEN MORE BLATANT INTERVENTION IN POLISH AFFAIRS WITHOUT COST.

-- IN ADDITION TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON THIS OVERALL ALLIANCE APPROACH, IN THE FORM OF A MINISTERIAL DECLARATION, WE WANT TO USE THE MINISTERIAL TO BEGIN ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC STEPS PARALLEL TO THOSE TAKEN BY THE U.S.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT AGREEMENT ON THESE STEPS AT THIS MINISTERIAL IS NOT POSSIBLE. BUT WE WOULD HOPE AT LEAST TO ESTABLISH AN AGENDA FOR FURTHER CONSULTATION. WE NOTE THAT THE EC MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE STATED THAT CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIFIC MEASURES SHOULD BEGIN, AND WE SEE THIS MINISTERIAL AS AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP.

S. BEGIN TEXT: 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

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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).

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 NO 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

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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

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EXCHANGES.

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

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. END TEXT. HAIG

END OF MESSAGE

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