SECRET GPS 240 DEDIP BURNING BUSH SECRET FM FCO Ø41646Z APR 81 TO IMMEDIATE TOKYO TELEGRAM NUMBER 177 OF 4 APRIL INFO IMMEDIATE (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR) BONN PARIS UKDEL NATO AND PEKING. MIPT: POLAND 1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT BEGINS: OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SOVIET POSTURE REGARDING POLAND SUGGESTS THAN AN INTERVENTION BY THE U.S.S.R. IS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS INFORMED PRESIDENT BREZHNEV OF THE SEVERE CONSEQUENCES THAT WOULD RESULT SHOULD THE SOVIETS INTERVENE. I HAVE DECIDED TO LEAVE ON SCHEDULE FOR MY TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT I WANTED YOU TO KNOW IF A CRISIS DEVELOPS IN POLAND, I WILL IMMEDIATELY RETURN TO WASHINGTON. UPON RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, I WOULD CONSULT WITH THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THEREAFTER I WOULD TRAVEL TO BRUSSELS FOR THE EMERGENCY NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MINISTERIAL WHERE WE WOULD DECIDE ON THE LIST OF PROPOSED MEASURES TO DEAL WITH THE POLISH SITUATION. IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT WE MUST, AT BRUSSELS, BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE RAPID AND CONCRETE ALLIANCE DECISIONS. NONE OF US WILL BE ABLE TO LINGER IN BRUSSELS, AND IT WILL BE DECISIVELY IMPORTANT TO CONVEY SWIFTLY TO THE SOVIETS A CLEAR AND PAINFUL SIGNAL. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE EMERGENCY MINISTERIAL TO DEVELOP INTO A WESTERN DEBATE. UNITY AND DECISIVENESS ARE DEMANDED BY THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET CHALLENGE AND, MOST CERTAINLY, BY OUR PUBLICS AND PARLI AMENTS. /IN ADDITION SECRET

SECRET IN ADDITION TO THE GENERAL POINTS SET OUT ABOVE WHICH I HAVE SHARED WILL ALL OF THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FOUR OF US HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY WITH REGARD TO POLAND. THE ALLIANCE PACKAGE OF MEASURES BUILDS ON THE CONSENSUS REACHED BY OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIRECTORS. THE NATO LIST, HOWEVER, HAS SOME OPEN QUESTIONS AND CAVEATS THAT COULD EASILY CAUSE THE MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION TO DEGENERATE AND LEAD TO A LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR. IT WILL TAKE LEADERSHIP BY ALL OF US TO INSURE THAT THIS DOES NOT HAPPEN. YOU WILL HAVE AN ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN ENCOURAGING OUR ALLIES WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO COME PREPARED TO MAKE SOME COURAGEOUS BUT NECESSARY DECISIONS. THEREFORE, FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, WE WILL NEED TO GET TOGETHER IN A QUADRIPARTITE CONTEXT BEFORE THE MINISTERIAL TO PLAN HOW WE CAN HEAD IT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. ENDS: CARRINGTON [COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

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GR 6ØA DEDIP

BURNING BUSH

SECRET

FM FCO Ø41645Z APR

TO IMMEDIATE TOKYO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 176 OF 4TH APRIL 1981
INFO IMMEDIATE (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR) BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO,

PEKING.

FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY ON ARRIVAL: POLAND

- 1. MIFT CONTAINS TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM HAIG TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, DELIVERED TO THE RESIDENT CLERK AT NOON BST ON 4 APRIL.
- 2. PEKING SHOULD TAKE NO ACTION TO PASS THE MESSAGE ON UNLESS THE SITUATION IN POLAND MARKEDLY DETERIORATES.
- 3. RECOMMENDATION FOR A DRAFT REPLY WILL FOLLOW.

CARRINGTON

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