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 FM USMISSION GENEVA  
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4164  
 INFO RUEHMU/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 4742  
 RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 7098  
 RUDKRW/AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 1371  
 BT  
 S E C R E T GENEVA 00314 COMBINED SECTION

EXDIS

FOR ACDA/DIRECTOR ROSTOW

USINF

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 01/12/88 (NITZE, P. H.) OR-0  
 TAGS: PARM, INF  
 SUBJECT: (S) US STATEMENT ON POLAND

REFERENCE: STATE 007080

1. THIS IS INF-051. SECRET--ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PRIOR TO THE FORMAL PLENARY MEETING, HELD AT THE BOTANIC BUILDING, AMB NITZE MET WITH AMB KVITSINSKIY PRIVATELY, AND READ THE STATEMENT CONTAINED BY THE REFERENCED CABLE. A COPY OF THE STATEMENT WAS HANDED TO AMB KVITSINSKIY.
3. BEGIN TEXT:

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State Dept. review completed.

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- I AM INSTRUCTED TO MAKE A COMMENT ON RECENT EVENTS IN POLAND. AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES REGARDS DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AS A MATTER OF GRAVE INTERNATIONAL CONCERN. THE FORCIBLE SUPPRESSION OF THE POLISH WORKER'S MOVEMENT WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND ASSISTANCE OF THE USSR AFFECTS THE ENTIRE CLIMATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ARMS CONTROL. IT FURTHER HEIGHTENS INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. WHILE THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND WILL HAVE A SERIOUS IMPACT ON WHAT WE HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH HERE.

- I AM INSTRUCTED TODAY TO CALL SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE PROPOSAL MADE BY PRESIDENT REAGAN IN HIS REMARKS OF DECEMBER 23. "IF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WILL HONOR THE COMMITMENTS IT HAS MADE TO BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN DOCUMENTS LIKE THE GDANSK AGREEMENT, WE IN AMERICA WILL GLADLY DO OUR SHARE TO HELP THE SHATTERED POLISH ECONOMY, JUST AS WE HELPED THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AFTER BOTH WORLD WARS." THIS PROPOSAL IS A SERIOUS ONE. IN THE PROPER SETTING IT COULD BECOME A LARGE-SCALE AND SIGNIFICANT EFFORT WHICH COULD MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO POLAND'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RENEWAL. BUT ITS REALIZATION DEPENDS UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN POLAND: THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW, RELEASE OF DETAINEES, AND RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE AMONG ALL ELEMENTS OF POLISH SOCIETY. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS EMPHASIZED, THIS IS THE SOLE PATH TO LONG-TERM STABILITY IN POLAND AND THEREFORE IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE.

- AS PRESIDENT REAGAN STATED IN HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV, THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET UNION IN A STABLE POLAND. BUT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT STAND IDLY BY WHEN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ARE FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED. UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THE USSR COMMITTED ITSELF TO REFRAIN FROM "ANY INTERVENTION, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE, IN THE INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS FALLING WITHIN THE DOMESTIC JURISDICTION OF ANOTHER PARTICIPATING STATE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS." THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ALSO

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REAFFIRMS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION  
CONTAINED IN THE U.N. CHARTER.

AS SECRETARY HAIG HAS SAID, WHAT THE UNITED STATES  
SEEKS IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS NO  
MORE THAN WE ASK OF ANY OTHER STATE, AND NO LESS THAN  
IS REQUIRED BY THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THE HELSINKI  
FINAL ACT, AND BASIC TENETS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. WE  
MUST BOTH LIVE BY THE SAME RULES. SOVIET POLICY TOWARD  
POLAND HAS RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT THE USSR'S WILLINGNESS TO  
ABIDE BY ITS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND TO SUPPORT  
AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON PEACEFUL CHANGE.  
END TEXT.

AMB KVITSINSKIY SAID IN RESPONSE, AND REFERRING TO  
NOTES, THAT HE AND NITZE HAD DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION  
IN THIS VERY ROOM ON ONE PREVIOUS OCCASION. HE COULD  
ONLY REITERATE WHAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY  
POINTED OUT, I.E., THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN IN POLAND  
BY THE MILITARY COUNCIL WERE THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF  
POLAND AND THAT NO ONE WAS IN A POSITION TO PRESCRIBE  
TO THE POLISH STATE HOW TO ORDER ITS AFFAIRS. ANY OTHER  
APPROACH TO THIS MATTER COULD ONLY BE VIEWED AS  
INTERVENTION IN AFFAIRS THAT WERE STRICTLY WITHIN THE  
JURISDICTION OF THE POLES THEMSELVES.

KVITSINSKIY NOTED THAT THE SOVIET-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS

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FOR ACDA/DIRECTOR ROSTON

IN GENEVA WERE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE,  
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND, INDEED, FOR THE FUTURE  
OF "OUR CONTINENT." BOTH SIDES WERE EQUALLY INTERESTED  
IN THE SUCCESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEREFORE, THE  
SOVIET SIDE BELIEVED AND STILL BELIEVES THAT THESE  
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE LINKED OR MADE DEPENDENT  
ON TOTALLY UNRELATED PROBLEMS, PROVIDED, OF COURSE,

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THAT THERE WAS NO DESIRE TO USE SUCH PROBLEMS TO THE  
DETRIMENT OF THE PROSPECTS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. HE  
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE TWO SIDES WOULD NOW PROCEED  
TO CARRY OUT THE TASKS WITH WHICH THEY HAD BEEN CHARGED  
BY THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS, AND WOULD UNDERTAKE  
ALL NECESSARY EFFORTS TO COMPLETE THIS TASK FOR THE  
BENEFIT OF PEACE. NITZE

END OF MESSAGE

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