

Poland/5-18

U.S. MAKES DECISION TO PUNISH RUSSIANS ON ROLE IN POLAND

12/29/81
DETAILS EXPECTED TODAY

Ex-Envoy to Japan Says 'Real Conductors of the Polish Drama' Are in Moscow

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28 — The Reagan Administration decided today on economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union for its role in the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Details of the planned moves were not made public, but President Reagan is expected to announce them on Tuesday, senior Administration officials said.

Poland's former envoy to Japan, who defected last week, said in testimony here today that, under Soviet pressure, the Polish authorities had been preparing for martial law since March and that "the real screenplayers and conductors of the Polish drama sit behind the Kremlin walls." [Page A6.]

Recommendations by Bush Group

Mr. Reagan, in California, made his decisions on what were described here as "measured steps" against the Soviet Union after receiving recommendations from his advisers by telephone.

The advisers, gathered in the so-called Special Situation Group, headed by Vice President Bush, met at the White House this morning for two and a half hours to consider two dozen possible actions, one official said.

The recommendations were then read to Mr. Reagan over a secure telephone by Mr. Bush and Edwin Meese 3d, the White House counselor, who participated in the meeting along with State, Defense, Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and intelligence officials.

Decision to Act Made at Weekend

The decision to take measures against the Russians was made over the weekend, officials said, after the receipt on Friday night of a letter from Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, in response to Mr. Reagan's message last week warning him of economic and political measures if the military crackdown in Poland was not eased.

Mr. Reagan said on Sunday that Mr. Brezhnev's letter was "negative," and a State Department official said today that "negative is an understatement."

The official said Mr. Brezhnev, in his letter, had not only rejected American assertions that the Soviet Union was largely responsible for the crackdown but accused the United States of fomenting the trouble in Poland.

Administration officials said they expected the initial steps against the Soviet Union to be graduated — strong but not extreme — leaving the Russians room to avoid stricter sanctions such as an embargo on sale of grain or a cutoff in arms control talks.

The Reagan Administration has decided to levy sanctions even though its allies are not expected to follow suit at this time, and the sanctions are unlikely to reverse the course in Poland.

But senior officials said public opinion

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

Reagan to Reveal Anti-Soviet Moves Over Poland

Continued From Page 1

was running so strong in Western Europe against the crackdown in Poland that the governments will be compelled to act. Officials said the United States must take the lead in demonstrating more than verbal opposition to the military crackdown in Poland.

Agriculture Department officials said the Administration was under pressure not to invoke a grain embargo, some-

A spokesman for Western banks indicated that Poland would miss a deadline for paying \$500 million in interest on past-due loans. Page D6.

thing that could cause the Russians problems in light of their poor harvest.

Earlier this year the Administration ended a partial grain embargo imposed by President Jimmy Carter in early 1980 after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. The Reagan Administration pledged never again to use a selective embargo of agricultural products.

Moreover, the new farm bill would make it difficult to have a grain embargo because it would require the Administration to pay some \$20 billion in support prices to farmers, throwing the budget off significantly.

Possible Sanctions Are Listed

One senior official said the Bush group had discussed what he called "a menu" of possible moves against the Soviet Union, including these:

¶ An indefinite suspension of talks about a new grain sales agreement for 1983. Under the present one-year accord, the Russians can buy up to 23 million tons of grain. They have so far contracted for 11 million.

¶ A refusal to sell equipment that could be used for a contemplated natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. The United States has been opposed to the pipeline on the ground it makes Western Europe too dependent on Soviet energy.

¶ A ban or tighter curbs on the sale of

advanced equipment for oil and gas extraction.

¶ A refusal to renew a maritime agreement that expires at the end of the year, by which Soviet ships can put into some 40 American ports.

¶ A cancellation of landing rights by Aeroflot, the Soviet airline.

At the moment, the official said, he doubts that the Administration would invoke more serious steps such as a total ban on trade. But he said a broad embargo might be considered in the next round of sanctions if the situation did not improve significantly in Poland.

Several officials said they did not believe Mr. Reagan wanted to take such political steps as canceling the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear forces in Europe that began on Nov. 30 and are due to reconvene on Jan. 12. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. is scheduled to meet in Geneva with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko on Jan. 26 and that meeting is still scheduled.

But there may be a move to draw the United Nations' attention to the Polish

situation without seeking formal action in the Security Council. Also, the United States is likely to raise the matter in the Madrid conference on East-West cooperation in Europe that is following up on the Helsinki accords of 1975, guaranteeing civil liberties and nonintervention in other countries' affairs.

Last week, Mr. Reagan announced sanctions against Poland, including a ban on fishing boats in American waters and a refusal of landing rights for LOT, the Polish airline. The United States has also banned government credits but is allowing food aid to go through if private groups can insure that it is reaching the Polish people.

The Administration has urged its allies to follow the American lead. So far, the Western European countries have announced that they will not extend new credits to Poland. They also want to make sure that food aid is delivered to the population. But they oppose sanctions against the Soviet Union at this time.