

BRIEF FOR THE CHAIRMANMEETING OF THE COUNCIL ON SATURDAY, 23RD JANUARY, 1982ITEM: FOLLOW-UP TO THE 11TH JANUARY MINISTERIAL MEETING ON POLANDYou may wish to say:

Permit me to begin by extending a hearty welcome to all of the senior officials who have journeyed from capitals to join us for this important meeting. We are gathered today to carry forward work within the Alliance concerning the situation in Poland following the imposition of martial law there on 13th December last and on Allied reactions to that situation. The "Declaration on Events in Poland", issued after the Special Ministerial Session held here on 11th January, provides the basic framework for our discussion on this occasion, bearing in mind that one delegation has reserved its position on a number of points set forth in that Declaration.

To begin with, I would note that paragraph 5 of the 11th January Declaration specifically urged the Polish authorities to take three steps; namely, "to end the state of martial law, to release those arrested, and to restore immediately a dialogue with the Church and Solidarity." To date, there has been no significant progress on any one of these three fronts. On the contrary, the evidence strongly suggests that, despite their public promises of moderation, the martial law leadership is determined to roll back the process of reform that had been underway in Poland since August of 1980.

It seems, therefore, that the West should continue to exercise pressure in every appropriate way towards the achievement of the aims spelled out in the 11th January Declaration and in keeping with the action programme outlined in that document. It further seems to me that, in essence, the purpose of our meeting is to identify the most effective

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ways to arrive at our objectives in Poland and how individual Allied efforts might best be coordinated. With that in mind, and while some delegations may wish to review steps already taken by their governments and to assess their impact as an aid in charting a course for the future, I suggest that we structure our exchange by moving through what might be termed the operative paragraphs of the 11th January Declaration one by one. It will be recalled that such a procedural device proved its worth in promoting an orderly, efficient, and highly productive discussion at the Ministerial Meeting which produced that Declaration.

The first operative paragraph is paragraph 9 dealing with the CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Madrid. Since that particular subject will be taken up by the Council next week, I recommend that we pass over it for the time being with the understanding that we could have a "tour de table" at the end of our work today to bring everyone up-to-date on current national plans regarding the attendance of Ministers at the reconvening of the Madrid Meeting.

If the procedures I have just outlined are agreeable, and unless anyone wishes to make some general remarks, we could move directly to paragraph 10 of the Ministerial Declaration. As you know, that paragraph refers to the intensification of Allied efforts "to bring to the attention of world public opinion and international organizations" human rights violations and violence in Poland. Does anyone wish to take the floor on this point?

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May we turn now to paragraph 11, beginning with sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) on restrictions on Soviet and Polish diplomats and on the curtailment of certain scientific and technical arrangements. Who would like to start our consideration of these two points?

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The balance of paragraph 11 concerns ensuring that the truth is available to the Polish people, the quality of bilateral relations with the military régime in Warsaw, and the plight of Poles stranded abroad by events in their country. Does anyone wish to address these matters?

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I believe we can take paragraphs 12 and 13 together. The first is a general reference to the importance of economic measures as a means of registering Allied concerns over Poland and stresses the significance of steps already announced by President Reagan in this regard. Paragraph 13 goes on to state Allied intentions concerning future commercial credits for Poland, Polish debt payments due in 1982, ^{and} humanitarian assistance. It strikes me that it might be particularly worthwhile to exchange information on the details of the current status of Polish commercial credits and on the experience various Allies have had so far in guaranteeing that humanitarian assistance is actually reaching the intended recipients. To whom may I give the floor?

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Paragraph 14 concerns economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union as well as Poland and notes that the Allies "will examine" the future course of those relations. It also notes that the Allies "will examine" measures in a number of specific fields. We might begin by inviting delegations to report on the status of these examinations and to offer any reflections they might have on other possible areas for economic and commercial measures. To whom may I give the floor?

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If we can now turn to paragraph 15, it cites Allied "resolve not to undermine the effect of each other's measures". One of the elements suggested for discussion today in a letter circulated by the U.S. Delegation on 15th January is the "operational meaning" of this pledge. Perhaps, we might start by asking the U.S. to give us the benefit of its own thinking on this point?

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Paragraph 16, which concludes the 11th January Declaration, addresses the need to reflect on longer-term East-West economic relations. It singles out "energy, agricultural commodities and other goods, and the export of technology" as particularly meriting such reflection. As I believe we are all aware, the U.S. has explicitly proposed that we discuss today possible actions over the longer-term and so it occurs to me that the U.S. might wish to commence our consideration of this point as well. From the Chair, I would simply note that the study of the implications of technology transfers to Warsaw Pact states, commissioned by the Council well before the imposition of martial law in Poland, is making steady progress towards completion prior to the May NAC Ministerial Meeting.

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I return now to the matter of Ministerial participation in the CSCE Review Meeting upon its resumption in Madrid next month. According to my information, the following is the status of Allied plans in this regard..... Are there any corrections to this list?

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Before we take up what I believe is the last item of business left before us - that is, what should be said to the press following this meeting - I would like to try to summarize the main conclusions to be drawn from our discussion. First, I think there is general agreement that

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I would now like to read out the draft text of a possible statement to the press. First, I would recall that the Council previously seemed more or less agreed that, especially since a Saturday meeting is in itself rather extraordinary, it is safe to assume a high degree of media interest in its outcome. Nevertheless, any public statement should be relatively brief and issued on the authority of the Secretary General or his representative. Finally, I would add that obviously we would not want to say anything that could detract from the important public affairs benefits obtained from the success of the 11th January Ministerial Meeting. The draft statement seeks to take account of all of these points. It goes as follows: