

Proc 803 Reg. PA.
Mr. Cella
Mr. Johnson
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United Kingdom Delegation
 To the North Atlantic Council OTAN/NATO 1110 Brussels

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G R Cella Esq
 Director
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Your reference

Our reference

Date 25 November 1982

REG. P. A.
 ACTION SLIP
 No 16,327 / 82

Dear General

P. A. Sub - Registry
 File No 19-10-01

POLAND

1. Following the agreement of the Council yesterday that the Political Committee should assess possible developments in Poland in the next few weeks and their significance, I would like to suggest to you and to our colleagues the following outline, in the hope that this may serve as the basis for an instructed discussion on 30 November. (Poland)

2. As Sir John Graham said in the Council, it seems increasingly likely that Jaruzelski will lift or modify martial law at the Sejm session on 13 December. If this were followed by the release of all or the majority of the detainees, we could be faced with a situation where two out of three NATO criteria were nominally fulfilled but emergency measures remained in force. This likelihood provides both the requirement and the opportunity to assess the implications of these and other recent developments (including the release of Walesa) and to consider our reaction and further reaction.

3. In our view the discussion will need to address the following elements:
 - (a) What is the extent of the relaxations to be anticipated on or around 13 December;
 - (b) What are the implications of these? Amongst considerations to be taken into account will be:
 - (i) to what extent are the changes genuine;
 - (ii) what is their likely impact on the Polish people;
 - (iii) how far are they likely to meet the three criteria set out in the 11 January Declaration, and other Western objectives,
 - (iv) how is the new situation in Poland likely to compare with that in other Eastern European countries?
 - (c) In the light of our conclusions on (a) and (b), what should be the Allies' response, both in the immediate aftermath and in the longer term?

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4. Our view is that we should be prepared to respond positively and flexibly to genuine improvements, but that our reaction should not be precipitate. This probably means that an initial response will be needed which reserves our position on the substance of any measures, and leaves us time to take a measured and considered view.

5. In terms of procedure, it seems to us that an assessment of likely developments, with some suggestions on the possible lines of an initial allied reaction, ought to be completed by the time of our meeting on 7 December, so that it can be available to the Council should they wish to offer a view to Ministers during the Ministerial meeting later that week.

Tom

RJ Alston

R J Alston

cc: All members of the
Political Committee