

GERMAN DELEGATION
TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

DÉLÉGATION ALLEMANDE
AU CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE-NORD

Brussels, 1 December 1982

Reg. PA
Mr. Cella
Mr. Johnson
Mr. Serelichof
Mr. Jodil

REG. P.A.
ACTION SLIP
No 16554/82

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 4813/82

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No 19-10-01 (Poland)

Dear Glenn,

with reference to our discussion we had in the Political Council's meeting of 30 November 1982 I enclose, as promised, my speaking notes.

I am sending a copy of this letter to all members of the Political Committee.

Sincerely yours

Antoni

Mr. Glenn CELLA
Director and Chairman of
the Political Committee
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No. 4813/82

Subject: Continued Alliance consultations on Poland

1. In discussing western responses to any repeal of martial law, the Alliance should not allow being put under pressure of time with regard to preparing possible favourable western action. For hypothetical Polish decisions the West should not necessarily seek any just as hypothetical replies at present.

What we might, at best, do is:

- (a) give preparatory consideration to the assessment of measures at the repeal of martial law.

(Criteria: (1) what individual measures do in fact improve the situation of the population; (2) what is cosmetics; (3) what has been replaced by civil arrangements and devalued as "improvement"; (4) what continues to exist as arrangement - such as the institution of the Military Council; (5) what were the requirements for the release or amnesty of prisoners; (6) what is the meaning of "resumption of the dialogue"; (7) with whom and on what subjects are the talks to be conducted; (8) attitude of the Church - of what weight is it for western decisions, etc.)

- (b) contemplate what areas require decisions on a short-term of long-term basis.

We consider that the following subject matters should be included:

- rescheduling of debts;
- attitude of the West in Madrid;
- cancellation of EEC measures against the Soviet Union
- Poland's application for membership in the International Monetary Fund;
- Poland in the Commission on Human Rights;
- Poland in the ILO;
- resumption of contacts at higher level;

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- agricultural project of the Roman Catholic Church;
- encouragement of crafts and small enterprises.

2. Only upon careful analysis of measures actually taken by the Polish Government and after the assessment on the basis of criteria already now discussed by the Committee should and could conclusions for western conduct be drawn. A question in itself is the debt rescheduling problem in which allowance for our own interests has to be made.

Even now we are in favour of discussing measures which benefit the Polish people:

- agricultural project of the Church;
- encouragement of small enterprises and crafts (the Church has indicated that this group is seeking and exploiting a continuing economic free space).

Steps beyond that should be taken only in the light of a thorough and balanced analysis based on actual decisions of the Polish Government.