



UNITED STATES MISSION
TO THE
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
(USNATO)
Brussels

Reg. PA
Mr. Cella
Mr. Johnson
Mr. Serelshoff
Mr. Schil
Mr. Abrahamson

REG. P. A.
ACTION SLIP
No 16. 868 / 82

December 8, 1982

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Glenn R. Cella
Chairman, Political Committee
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Brussels, Belgium

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

Dear Glenn:

As mentioned at yesterday's meeting, we believe the International Staff has done an excellent job in assessing the Polish situation and synthesizing Allied views and comments. Moreover, we place great importance in maintaining NATO as the primary forum of Allied coordination on the Polish situation. In our view, the three criteria contained in the January 11, 1982, Declaration should continue to be the benchmark for Allied policy, pending a final and thorough Allied assessment of possible changes in Poland. In this regard, it will be important to avoid premature judgments on the extent to which actions by the Polish authorities may or may not meet the NATO criteria.

Enclosed are further, detailed comments on the draft paper: "The Situation in Poland". I am sending a copy of this letter, together with its enclosure, to the other members of the Political Committee for their information.

Sincerely,

Norman H. Frisbie
Deputy Political Advisor

Enclosure: As stated

cc: Members, Political Committee
Mr. D.J. Johnson, IS

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U.S. Delegation
December 7, 1982

SUBJECT: Comments on International Staff Draft Paper:
"The Situation in Poland", dated December 3, 1982

1. By way of summarizing the specific conclusions noted in the body of the report, it would seem useful to include in the initial section of the report -- possibly in para 4 -- a sentence noting that the three NATO criteria remain unfulfilled and that, even in the event the regime takes the liberalizing steps which have been reported, the criteria would still not be met in full.
2. To avoid a further blurring of terminology, which in turn tends to further confuse the situation with regard to the number of persons incarcerated, we suggest that references in paras 2, 3 and 12 to "detainees/detained" be replaced by "internees/interned", which has a more precise meaning. In addition and for further clarification in this regard, para 6 might be supplemented by the insertion of a sentence along the following lines: "Far less certain is the timing and scope of an amnesty that may be decreed for the thousands of Solidarity activists -- a category separate from the internees -- who have been jailed for violation of martial law."
3. Following from the commentary in para 6, it would seem the concluding sentence more appropriately might note that it is very likely this criterion will not be met in full (rather than may not be met in full).
4. With regard to para 10, a simple comparison of the Polish situation with that in the other Warsaw Pact countries, in our view, tends to skew the thrust of this paragraph and, more importantly, the context in which the Polish situation has been -- and needs to be -- assessed. We agree that a comparison with the situation in other Eastern countries can be useful, but also think this should be balanced, for example, by:
 - contrasting the present Polish situation with the pre-December 13 situation;
 - noting that, while the practices listed are prevalent to the same degree in some (if not many) of the other Warsaw Pact countries, Poland has traditionally taken a

more liberal approach than most Warsaw Pact states to such things as the freer flow of information, ideas and peoples; and

-- pointing out that the new trade union law runs contrary to ILO commitments.

5. To avoid prejudging the content or significance of Polish actions, it would seem prudent to caveat the second sentence of para 11 by substituting "would appear to go" for "would go".

6. Finally, in para 13, it would seem important to reiterate that, pending a final and thorough Allied assessment of possible changes in Poland, the January 11, 1982, Declaration remains the benchmark for Allied policy. In this regard, care needs to be taken to avoid premature judgments on the extent to which actions by the Polish authorities may or may not meet the NATO criteria.

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