



ORGANISATION DU TRAITE DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

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To: Secretary General
cc: Deputy Secretary General
ASG, Political Affairs
From: v Acting Executive Secretary

Summary Record of a Restricted Meeting of the Council held
on Monday, 14th December, 1981 at 4 p.m.

DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND ✓

A. SYNADINOS

cc: Archives

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ATTENDANCE:

RESTRICTED

AGENDA:

NO

MEETING PLACE:

ROOM 1

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I. DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

The CHAIRMAN, before turning to the subject under discussion, stated that it was with the greatest regret that he informed the Council of the death of Mr. Michael Jordan, Deputy Executive Secretary, after a long and painful illness. Mr. Jordan had been an able, sympathetic and discreet member of the International Staff whose great devotion to the Alliance had not gone unrecognised.

2. This special meeting of the Council had been called in the wake of the recent developments in Poland and after due consultation with Permanent Representatives and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Haig, who himself had been in touch with Foreign Ministers Genscher, Cheysson and Carrington, amongst others. He wished first of all to extend a warm welcome to the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. Eagleburger, as well as to other senior officials of the countries of the Alliance. In the light of the latest news of many strikes in Poland and of factories being occupied, he wondered whether the Chairman of the Military Committee had any additional information.

3. The CHAIRMAN of the MILITARY COMMITTEE stated that his report would be a negative one. Intelligence sources had revealed no sign of any military activities by either Soviet or Warsaw Pact forces in Poland. Equally, he had nothing significant to report with regard to the Polish armed forces. Implementation of martial law measures continued, but no cases of unreliability amongst the Polish armed forces had been reported. Moreover, no official reports of strike activity or widespread disobedience had been received. In conclusion, he stated that the introduction of martial law had led to a dangerous and confused situation from a military point of view and one which could erupt at any time.

4. The CHAIRMAN referred Permanent Representatives to the most recent Reuters report on the situation in Poland.

5. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE noted that no changes in the movements of Soviet forces or their state of readiness had been identified. He wondered whether the Chairman of the Military Committee could comment on the present state of readiness of Soviet troops in the Western military districts, as well as in the GDR and, particularly, on how this affected their ability to intervene at short notice.

6. The CHAIRMAN of the MILITARY COMMITTEE stated that it had not been his intention to imply anything other than that there had been no apparent change in the Soviet level of readiness. The Soviet forces had finished the normal troop rotation prior to the winter training cycle. He had already given a report to the Council on the post-rotation activities and the good state of operational effectiveness of Soviet forces. There had been no change in their communications, command and control (C3) capabilities since that report. Whether the Soviets would intervene in Poland remained a question of intention since they certainly possessed the capability to do so.

7. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE wondered whether any further measure of alertness would normally be expected if the situation arose where the Poles called for assistance from the Soviets.

8. The CHAIRMAN of the MILITARY COMMITTEE replied that, in such an event, he would expect to see some notice either through communications or by watching troop movements. Up to 30 divisions would be needed for a major intervention. Any reaction from the Poles would normally be visible. He would estimate some 72 hours notice if the Poles did call for assistance from the Soviet Union. Of course, the Soviet divisions presently in Poland would be able to react much quicker than those stationed outside.

9. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE stated that Secretary of State Haig had originally been scheduled to leave Brussels the previous morning for South Asia, Pakistan and India but, in view of the recent developments in Poland, had decided to remain in Brussels. Press statements by Secretary Haig and the United States Delegation issued earlier in the day had been circulated to Permanent Representatives. Secretary Haig had since left for Washington at noon in view of the uncertainties over Poland but had asked that his regards be extended to the Council. During his stay in Brussels Secretary Haig had talked with a number of Foreign Ministers of the countries represented in the Council. The United States Representative added that he had also circulated a Polish situation report, drawn up on the basis of Press and intelligence reports by his delegation, which contained the most pertinent facts about the latest developments.

10. On the morning of 13th December, the United States Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw was summoned to a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Weijacz, who had underscored that there would be no return to the situation which existed before August 1980 and that the reform process would continue.

11. Also on 13th December, Under Secretary Stoessel called in Soviet Deputy Chief of Mission Bessmertnykh in Washington. He emphasised that the United States was deeply concerned about developments in Poland and had urged that all parties exercise the maximum degree of restraint, prudence and caution in their approach to the Polish situation. Bessmertnykh had replied that the Polish events were a domestic matter and not the subject for any diplomatic activities between the United States and the USSR. However, TASS had in the interim issued an official Soviet statement approving the actions of the Polish régime. It was worth noting that this statement had been made within an hour of the declaration of martial law.

12. No reports had yet been received of clashes between demonstrators and police/army units. No violence seemed to have occurred, save for the use of water cannons by Polish militia against demonstrators at Solidarity Headquarters in Warsaw. Despite indications that the 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew would be "inflexibly" enforced, the Embassy had observed some pedestrians and a surprisingly large number of private cars on the streets during the night. During the period of the curfew, government forces did reoccupy the Headquarters of the Warsaw Solidarity Chapter. The streets of Warsaw were reported calm this morning.

13. However, the situation in Krakow appeared to be less quiet than that in Warsaw. The steel workers had begun an occupation strike at the Nowa Huta Works involving some 10,000 people. The Students Association at the Krakow University had demanded that martial law be lifted and called for an "absentee strike" of classes.

14. Western Press reports indicated that the authorities were attempting to persuade Lech Walesa to appear on Polish television, presumably to discourage workers from carrying out a general strike. Although he was in consultation with the government, the exact position of Lech Walesa was not clear.

15. While the action of the Polish government could be seen as a preemptive move on their part, it was the judgement of the United States Embassy in Warsaw that this must have been done with the full knowledge of the Soviet Union, in view of the rapidity of their official statement. If the measures proved successful, the transition to martial law could be accepted without bloodshed. However, while there might be some element of success in the short term, the basic pressures would still persist over the long term. The West could but hope that the process of gradual reform would continue. It was most important that the Polish government would continue to implement its policies and, in this respect, the United States would be guided by the reassurances of the Polish authorities that they would pursue the process of reform. In recognition of these reassurances the United States was prepared to consider ways of assisting the Polish authorities, for instance through re-scheduling the Polish debt. The United States Government would adopt a low profile on Poland, while at the same time leaving the Polish authorities in no doubt that they viewed the recent developments as extremely serious. In this context, he believed that other national expressions on the Polish situation should be co-ordinated within the framework of consultation of the Alliance on a continuing basis.

16. In conclusion, he stated that, should bloodshed occur within the next 48 hours, the whole matter would be thrown once more into question. Depending on the level of violence experienced, the United States would not hesitate to seek a meeting of Foreign Ministers. While the United States did not wish to discourage the forces of freedom active in Poland, on the other hand they did not wish to incite them to take any action which could lead to bloodshed.

17. Mr. EAGLEBURGER stated that before Secretary Haig left Brussels, he had talked with him on the following three subjects: the Madrid meeting, the INF negotiations in Geneva and the impact, if any, of the events in Poland. He wished to share Secretary Haig's views with the Council.

18. The United States had a number of concerns about the Neutral and Non-Aligned proposal introduced by Austria in Madrid and more specifically on the ambiguity surrounding the formulation for a Conference for Disarmament in Europe and, secondly, on the Human Rights issue. While this proposal did not meet all the desiderata of the United States, nevertheless in view of the situation in Poland, it was considered not appropriate or wise at the present time to conclude the Madrid meeting with a substantive agreement this week. The United States would not make this statement public. They

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believed that delegations should return to Madrid after a short Christmas recess as planned. However, it should be made clear in Madrid that any Soviet intervention in Poland would undermine the entire basis of the CSCE talks.

19. If there was not a significant level of violence and the Soviet Union did not intervene in Poland, the United States would proceed with the INF negotiations in Geneva due to recess on 17th December. Ambassador Nitze would stress in private that the conduct of the Soviet Union during the Polish crisis would affect the future of these negotiations. Ambassador Nitze would be addressing the Council on his return to the United States later this week. He added that the United States would, as it had done so in the past, make it clear in public that Soviet conduct vis-à-vis Poland would impact on these negotiations.

20. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE said that the latest information he had received squared with what had been said by the United States Representative and by the Chairman of the Military Committee. The situation was still quite uncertain; the decisive element would be the reaction of workers at the factories. So far, there had been scattered evidence of an occupation of a few enterprises near Warsaw, but not enough to allow any serious judgement on the public reaction to the introduction of the martial law.

21. The Soviet reaction had been restrained so far. Moscow had insisted on the fact that this was an internal Polish problem and that the situation was followed with the greatest interest.

22. As for the military situation, although certain alert measures had been taken within the Polish forces and an increased state of alert had been reported for the Soviet forces, on the whole there had been so far no abnormal activities in the districts around Poland. The Danish Authorities had decided to increase the surveillance activities over the Baltic.

23. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE said that his government was following the developments in Poland with the greatest attention and concern. At this juncture, he saw no alternative than to observe restraint in public reactions and to maintain the line of non-interference in Polish affairs, which had been followed over the last months.

24. The Ambassador of the Federal Republic in Warsaw had had an interview with Mr. Czyrek, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had stressed that his government would do as much as possible in order to keep the crisis under control without outside interference and that it was its firm intention not to return to the methods in force before August 1980 and to proceed with social reforms, even if they had to be temporarily suspended. He asked that Western governments show understanding for the Polish leaders, whose decisions had been inspired by the necessity to stop the country sliding into chaos and to prevent civil war. Nevertheless, the constitutional organs had not been abolished and the trade unions had only been temporarily suspended. Negotiations with Walesa continued. In the circumstances, Poland sincerely wished to maintain its co-operation with the West.

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25. The German Representative went on to say that his government wondered whether this attitude would hold against events. Walesa would not probably feel free to negotiate and much would depend on how long the state of emergency would have to remain in force. As for the Soviet Union's attitude, it had probably been influenced by the critical evolution of the situation. On 11th December, TASS had accused Solidarity of counter-revolutionary action. It was more than likely that the measures taken by the Polish government had been co-ordinated with Moscow.

26. In conclusion, he stressed the need for continuing the consultations within the Alliance, but without over-dramatising the situation. Since the present meeting of the Council had been made public, he suggested that the NATO spokesman should make a statement along the following lines:

- "(1) The Allies are following the situation with careful attention and great concern.
- (2) They are and shall remain in closest consultations among themselves.
- (3) They believe that Poland's problems should be resolved by compromise and consensus among the various national groupings in Poland.
- (4) The Allies shall observe a policy of strict non-intervention and they expect all signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to do the same."

27. The CHAIRMAN stated that there had been close consultation between himself, Permanent Representatives and Secretary Haig. However, he had received several telephone calls from the Press looking for a statement. While he fully agreed with the German Representative not to over-dramatise the situation, he nevertheless felt that everyone expected NATO to do something. This was the rationale behind calling this special meeting of the Council. As it was unavoidable to have a certain amount of publicity, he drew the attention of the Council to the draft Press statement which had been circulated and on which he would base his oral comments to the Press. He believed that the points referred to in the German draft were adequately reflected therein.

28. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Government was not alone in being seriously concerned and, to some extent, also surprised over the most recent events in Poland. While it was true in the light of developments over the last weeks and days there was every reason to expect a new show down between the Polish authorities and Solidarity, particularly against the background of a new threat of a general strike on 17th December, it was equally true that Moscow's public criticism of events in Poland had again strongly increased over the last week, accusing inter alia, Solidarity of putting on the agenda the question of over-throwing both the executive and legislative arms of Poland's government. Reference had also been made to "demagogical demands being made for Poland's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and the COMECON" as well as to irridentist claims for a revision of the Polish/Soviet border. In spite of this, the far reaching and draconian character of the measures taken by the Polish authorities had not been expected.

29. In a statement issued the previous day, the Norwegian Government had expressed its deep regret over the declaration of martial law in Poland and the fact that the country was now under the control of a military council. It had also noted with concern that a number of arrests had been made. Further, his Government had stressed that the Polish people should be left to solve its problems without any outside interference, in accordance with the wish of the Polish people for continued democratization.

30. While he agreed that the rationale and motives behind General Jaruzelski's decision were a matter for speculation, it was tempting to believe that this action had been taken in anticipation of a new show-down with Solidarity this week. Moreover, in the light of the new strong language from Moscow, General Jaruzelski might have felt that the patience of the Soviet leaders was now starting to wear thin and that Poland was in fact, to use his own words, at the "edge of the abyss". According to the Norwegian Embassy in Moscow, the Central Committee had reportedly sent a new message to the Polish leadership, although this was as yet unconfirmed.

31. Another factor in the situation was that the constant confrontation with Solidarity had weakened the Polish Communist Party to the point where it was starting to lose relevance as a social force in Polish society. Its membership had been reduced by some 400,000 since July 1980. Jaruzelski and his colleagues in the Politburo might have felt this was the last chance to restore the authority of the Party particularly since the Polish authorities' efforts to create a national front had not gained any broad support, neither from the Church nor from Solidarity.

32. It was the Norwegian view that the Polish authorities had probably already prepared detailed contingency plans for a state of emergency. However, the efficiency and swiftness of the whole operation did not necessarily indicate that a decision to introduce the state of emergency had been taken some time before. The decision might well have been taken fairly recently, perhaps in the light of new strong indications of Soviet disapproval and concern.

33. The evolution of the crisis would probably first and foremost depend on the severity of the implementation and the duration of the state of emergency, as well as on the reaction of the Polish people to the measures. In spite of some reports of strikes and occupation of factories, the Poles seemed to pay more attention to the appeal from Archbishop Glemp not to resort to violence against what he called "an infringement of civil and human rights" than to the appeal for a general strike from a group of Solidarity leaders.

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34. A second decisive factor would be the reaction of the Soviet Union to any further developments. For the time being, the Soviet Union did not seem to have any increased incentive to intervene militarily. The clamp-down on Solidarity by the Polish authorities was probably exactly what the Soviet Union would have wanted. Furthermore, Jaruzelski had once more stressed that Poland was and would remain a firm link of the Warsaw Pact and an unflinching member of the Socialist community. On the other hand, should Jaruzelski lose control of the situation, as a result of resistance on the part of the Polish people, these assumptions might soon lose any validity.

35. General Jaruzelski had stressed that there was no question of going back to the situation prevailing before the establishment of Solidarity. The reform process would continue. In this context, the arrests of Gierk and Jaroszewicz might well serve to underline this point. On the other hand, it was difficult to see how the Polish authorities could go back to the situation before the last crisis started to develop. Indeed, Jaruzelski had made no reference in his speech to the future role of Solidarity.

36. However, the fact that Lech Walesa had not himself been arrested and was apparently continuing talks with the Polish authorities seemed to be the only glimmer of hope that the dialogue for a broad political solution might be resumed. The possibility however, could not be excluded that Lech Walesa might, as a result of his reaction to the latest events, have undermined his credibility and support among the rank and file of Solidarity to some extent.

37. Having made these points, he stressed that Norway also agreed that it would be wise to continue to adopt a relatively low profile with regard to Poland until it was clear how the situation would develop. Equally, Norway believed that the most recent events in Poland should not influence the negotiations in Madrid or other on-going negotiations on arms control and disarmament. However, should bloodshed occur, and in particular a Soviet military intervention take place, the situation then facing the Alliance would be entirely different.

38. The CHAIRMAN wished to stress that the reason Lech Walesa had not been arrested was presumably to prove that he was still in constant touch with the government. From a Soviet point of view the reaction in the West must be viewed as unpleasant. For instance, the Netherlands Socialist Party had held a demonstration in The Hague, and the Italian and Netherlands Communist Parties had condemned the Polish government. While the French Communist Party had been somewhat subdued, demonstrations had nevertheless been organized. Should the situation deteriorate further there could be a reaction from the working populations in the countries of the Alliance.

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39. Le REPRESENTANT DE LA FRANCE déclare que l'Ambassadeur de France à Varsovie a, lui aussi, rencontré M. Gzyrek qui lui a tenu à peu près les mêmes propos qu'à l'Ambassadeur de la République Fédérale. Un élément intéressant de son explication des décisions prises est l'annonce d'une amnistie de tous les délits politiques commis avant le 13 décembre, pourvu que les bénéficiaires prennent l'engagement par écrit de modifier leur attitude. Il a, par ailleurs, confirmé que Walesa se trouvait à Varsovie et s'entretenait avec le Ministre chargé des relations avec les Syndicats. Il a donné l'assurance que le but du Général Jaruzelski était, non pas d'en revenir au statu quo ante, mais de créer les conditions nécessaires de la poursuite du progrès social, conformément aux conclusions du 9ème Congrès.

40. Selon des informations de l'Ambassade de France à Varsovie, le nombre des arrestations dépasserait les 1000 annoncées. Le quadrillage militaire, bien que peu agressif, est suffisamment intimidant pour décourager les manifestations. Dans l'ensemble, aucune preuve de mouvements de grève étendus n'a pu être obtenue, sauf pour ce qui concerne Cracovie. Toutefois l'appel à la grève générale pourrait susciter des réactions d'une plus grande ampleur dans les jours qui viennent.

41. L'attitude de l'Eglise polonaise est, lui semble-t-il, un facteur important de la situation. Il rappelle que dans son homélie, le Primat de Pologne a fermement condamné le coup de force mais qu'il a aussi lancé un appel à la raison, afin que soit préservé ce bien suprême qu'est la vie humaine. Ces paroles faisaient écho à celles de Jean Paul II, qui a prié pour que le sang ne coule pas en Pologne. Il constate que l'attitude de l'Eglise va dans le sens de la modération observée par les gouvernements occidentaux. Cette modération n'implique pas que les réactions doivent être timides. Ce n'est pas le cas en France et il rappelle les manifestations qui se sont déroulées à Paris avec la participation de tous les Syndicats, à l'exception de la CGT et du Parti Communiste, auquel son attitude nuancée pourrait bien créer des difficultés.

42. Quant à l'attitude que devrait adopter le Conseil, sa position est très proche de celle du Représentant de l'Allemagne. Il accepte les quatre points proposés par celui-ci comme base de la déclaration que le Secrétaire Général pourrait devoir faire à la Presse. Il serait d'avis de réserver la possibilité d'une déclaration du Conseil lui-même pour une occasion plus grave.

43. Pour ce qui concerne la Conférence de Madrid, il a pris note avec intérêt de la suggestion de M. Eagleburger, mais demande un délai de réflexion positive à la proposition des Neutres et Non Alignés qui s'était fait jour dans les discussions à la Session Ministérielle. Il ne voit guère de risques que Madrid se termine de façon définitive et satisfaisante avant Noël. Il ne croit pas que les Occidentaux aient intérêt à interrompre le processus d'examen de cette proposition à un moment où les Soviétiques auraient peut-être intérêt à conclure et à se montrer plus conciliants.

44. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw had received from the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister the same explanations as given to other Allied diplomats. The latter had underlined that this was the last chance for Poland and had asked for understanding on the part of Western governments. He had pointed out that after the meeting of Solidarity at Radom, which had revealed the political ambitions of its leaders, General Jaruzelski had no other choice.

45. As for the Soviet Union, he felt that its tolerance might have been brought to an end on three points:

- the possibility of a break down of law and order on 17th December;
- the failure to secure Parliament's approval for the condemnation of strikes;
- the call for a democratic government in Poland, as well as the reference to military relations with the Soviet Union and to the possibility for Poland to leave the Warsaw Pact which could be found in various statements by Solidarity's leaders.

In his view, Jaruzelski's warning that this might be the last chance for the Poles to resolve their problems by their own means should be taken seriously. The fact that Walesa had not been arrested suggested that Jaruzelski might hope to resume the dialogue with more moderate Unions. The role of the Church was also of great importance.

46. As for the Alliance's position he felt that while following the situation with concern and calm, its members should exercise restraint in their reactions. It was his government's hope that the Poles would be able to solve their problems peacefully. However, it was too early to take position on an action which it might not be possible to follow. His authorities were in favour of maintaining a low profile and had sent instructions to Madrid for a "business as usual" attitude, in consultation with other Allied delegations. They had not yet convened a "Task Force" in Ottawa on Poland. They were in favour of close consultation in the Council, if only to co-ordinate the assessments of public statements.

47. As for the Press guidance to the Secretary General, he could approve the four points proposed by the German Representative.

48. Finally, he suggested that the Senior Political Committee might have a look at the "grey scenario" put forward in a United States document in February..

49. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE stated that he could agree with many of the comments made by his colleagues in their interventions. The problems facing the Alliance were further aggravated in this respect because of the lack of information from Poland. Western Governments could only rely on Press reports and these concerned principally events in Warsaw and little of what was going on in the rest of the country. According to a Reuters report Lech Walesa was staying in a "government guest house" whatever that might mean.

50. As far as the situation in Warsaw was concerned, he stated that, according to some reports from the United Kingdom Embassy in Warsaw that morning, their impression was that the city was rather quiet. The Chargé d'Affaires had stated that, although the ruling military council had assumed sweeping powers, they were not implementing them fully. For instance, no car checks were being carried out and, while the riot police were watching the crowds, they were not implementing the rules with respect to unauthorised gatherings. He confirmed that there had been no major incident the previous night and the police had adopted a lower profile today. Buses and trams were working as usual. The conclusion reached was that while the measures themselves were very serious, they had been applied with a relatively light hand. Everything would depend on the reaction of the Polish people and this was something which could not be predicted with any certainty. It was therefore difficult to speculate on how events would proceed. He agreed with his German colleague that the Alliance should keep a close watch on the situation, but added that to sit back and not do anything which might be taken as provocative or unnecessarily interfering might prejudice what was or was not happening in Warsaw. He therefore stressed the need for the Council to meet on a fairly frequent basis to keep the situation under constant review.

51. He went on to state that the United Kingdom Chargé d'Affaires had been summoned the previous day by the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister who had given him a similar message on the Polish government's position. It had been explained that under the Polish constitution there was no provision for a state of emergency, but only for a state of war and a state of "war-likeness". He felt that a clear distinction over these two terms should be made, to avoid any confusion, particularly since the Press had already referred to a state of war in Poland.

52. Western Governments could only speculate on the reasons why such action had been taken at the present time. He assumed that this had been done primarily because of the growing frustration over the behaviour and activities of Solidarity. It was impossible to say if the initial impulse had come from Moscow or Warsaw. It was the considered opinion of the United Kingdom Government that it was more likely that this had come as a preemptive move by the Poles themselves to stem the tide of reform. This conclusion was reinforced by the assurances of the Polish Ministers about the continuation of renewal and the gains of Solidarity over the last 17 months. These reassurances had an important effect on the West's attitude.

53. He fully agreed with the German and the French statements on the general aims of Allied action in this respect. The Allies should do everything possible to keep the crisis contained and encourage Poland to solve its own problems without outside interference.

54. As far as any statement to the Press was concerned, he endorsed the four points outlined by the German Representative in his proposal. He found the second paragraph of the Chairman's draft text somewhat provocative.

55. During his intervention, the United States Representative had stated that, although the situation in Poland was relatively under control, should violence break out, the United States would not hesitate to call a meeting at Foreign Minister level. He felt sure that if the Polish government decided to take repressive action, the suggestion to hold a Foreign Ministers' meeting would be forthcoming. However, he felt the Alliance should be very careful in deciding at what point such a meeting should be convened. This was an internal problem for Poland and, as such, was a grey area scenario for the Alliance as to when the actions by the Poles themselves to preserve law and order would lead to a situation so intolerable that the West would have to show its dislike. The problem here was that, to call such a meeting too early, could be seen by the Soviets as a provocative move on the part of the West and could risk giving them a pretext to intervene in Poland. To call a meeting at Foreign Minister level was a major political step: to convene such a meeting before Soviet intervention would reduce its effect if the Soviets did later intervene.

56. Finally, referring to the grey area scenario paper prepared by the United States, which had been discussed earlier in the year, he expressed some doubts as to the definition of grey area. While he agreed that this paper could be usefully discussed within the SPC, he would prefer a first round of discussion to be held in the Council, so as to be completely sure on what points the SPC should consider.

57. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE wished to reassure his United Kingdom colleague that a decision to hold a Foreign Ministers' meeting would depend entirely on the nature and level of violence and circumstances in Poland. He recalled that, during his original intervention, he had called for a low profile approach by the West. Nevertheless, the United States viewed the situation in Poland as an extremely serious crisis.

58. Le REPRESENTANT de l'ITALIE fait savoir que M. Colombo a eu, le dimanche après-midi, un entretien avec Jean Paul II qui s'est abstenu de tout jugement. Il note que l'appel à la raison de Monseigneur Glemp a été diffusé toutes les heures par la radio officielle polonaise, ce qui est une marque de l'importance que les autorités lui accordent.

59. La position de son gouvernement est fondée sur le principe de la non-intervention dans les affaires intérieures d'un pays souverain. Néanmoins, M. Colombo a convoqué l'Ambassadeur de Pologne à Rome pour lui faire part de ses préoccupations à l'égard d'un événement qui ne manquera pas d'avoir des répercussions sur les relations entre pays européens. Il rappelle que la réaction de l'opinion italienne a été très vive et que le Parti Communiste a fermement condamné le coup de force.

60. Quant aux réactions de l'Alliance, il estime que le scénario proposé par les Etats Unis devrait être réexaminé. Il cite notamment ce passage: "as long as the situation promised hope of continuation of political reforms and a start towards economic recovery or, in the case of a temporary or partial pull back from the reforms, some hope of reversibility, we should be careful to avoid action which would limit our influence on the Polish government". Il partage le sentiment général qui se dégage de la discussion et qui va dans le sens d'une expectative prudente. Dans l'intervalle, les consultations doivent se poursuivre au niveau du Conseil.

61. Le REPRESENTANT du LUXEMBOURG fait observer que le contraste, entre l'optimisme manifesté lors de la Réunion Ministérielle et la réalité présente, montre combien il est hasardeux de faire des prévisions à propos de la Pologne et combien est difficile la tâche des services de renseignement. Il reconnaît que Solidarité est sans doute allé un peu trop loin et que, par exemple, l'idée d'un référendum sur la légitimité des autorités en place ne serait pas acceptable dans les régimes démocratiques occidentaux. C'est pourquoi il estime que la prudence s'impose pour le moment, en attendant que les éléments de cette crise intérieure polonaise soient mieux connus. Toute déclaration qui mettrait en danger la possibilité d'un redressement est à éviter. Ceci n'empêche que son gouvernement souhaite que des pressions discrètes soient exercées sur les dirigeants polonais, en évitant toute possibilité d'une accusation d'intervention de la part des Soviétiques. Vis-à-vis de l'opinion publique occidentale, c'est, lui semble-t-il, l'occasion de souligner que les régimes communistes sont dans l'incapacité de se démocratiser.

62. Quant aux négociations en cours, elles doivent être poursuivies. Il suggère qu'une déclaration prudente soit faite à Madrid concernant les Droits de l'Homme.

63. Reste le problème de l'aide à la Pologne. Il pense que l'aide organisée par des institutions privées doit se poursuivre, mais il a des doutes sur l'opportunité de maintenir l'aide des gouvernements occidentaux. Si la situation ne se normalise pas, ce sera à l'Union Soviétique de venir en aide à la Pologne.

64. Le REPRESENTANT de la BELGIQUE rappelle les liens de son pays avec la Pologne; la Belgique a accueilli de nombreux réfugiés polonais et de nombreux Belges sont d'origine polonaise. Ceci explique les préoccupations de son gouvernement et de l'opinion publique. M. Nothomb a convoqué l'Ambassadeur de Pologne à Bruxelles pour lui faire part de ses inquiétudes. Son gouvernement pense que tout doit être fait pour aider les Polonais à dénouer la crise eux-mêmes. Une attitude de prudence de la part des gouvernements ne doit pas empêcher que les manifestations spontanées des opinions publiques dans les pays de l'Alliance trouvent un écho dans la déclaration que le Secrétaire Général fera à la Presse. Ceci dit, il est d'accord avec le texte proposé.

65. Il a également noté avec un grand intérêt la mesure d'amnistie prise par le gouvernement polonais pour les délits politiques commis au cours des dix-huit derniers mois. Le rôle de l'Eglise lui paraît de la plus grande importance. Quant à l'aide à la Pologne son gouvernement a estimé préférable, en raison des incertitudes de la situation, d'interrompre l'acheminement des colis réunis par l'association "Pax Catholica".

66. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE stated that he welcomed this special meeting of the Council and the fact that it had been convened today rather than the previous day. His Government fully shared the view expressed by previous speakers that the Alliance should adopt a low profile with regard to Poland.

67. The Danish Ambassador in Warsaw had been told that the new measures in no way signalled a change of government attitude and had been given reassurances that the Polish authorities did not intend to revert to the old pattern. Indeed it was difficult to see how they could do so in view of all the changes that had taken place. He felt it was rather significant that General Jaruzelski had announced the detention of extremist and former party leaders, including Gierek. This move could possibly be taken as a signal of the Polish government's intentions.

68. On the question of a statement to the Press, he stated that the four German points could serve as useful guidance for the Press spokesman. However, he felt that this meeting should not in any way be referred to as "special".

69. He agreed with the Norwegian Representative about the difficulty over the role cast for Solidarity in future. This was a grey area and one which would take a long time to clarify.

70. He fully supported the view expressed by the United States that the impulse for the Polish government's action had been co-ordinated with the Soviet Union, even though there was no firm indication of this fact. He also shared the view that Jaruzelski had seen this move as the only means of keeping control of the situation firmly in Polish hands. He did not believe that these two statements were contradictory, but rather complementary.

71. Finally, he felt that more deliberation was required on the way to proceed in Madrid, since all nations agreed that the Polish situation should not be over-dramatised. He felt that the best course of action would be to continue as scheduled in Madrid and, in this connection, he agreed with his French colleague that it was difficult to see any agreement being reached quickly in Madrid.

72. The NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Foreign Minister had, yesterday, voiced the great concern of his Government over the events in Poland and especially the arrest of union leaders and the blocking of activities of Solidarity. Any chance for dialogue had thus diminished. If human rights were violated, the Alliance could only conclude that this was against the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki.

73. As to a Press statement, he agreed that the Council should follow the guidance proposed by Germany in their proposal.

74. Finally, he wished to inform the Council and, in particular, his Belgian colleague, that 133 trucks from the Netherlands were moving towards Poland carrying food parcels. The Netherlands Government had received the assurances of the Polish authorities that these would be allowed to enter the country and to reach their destinations which were mostly church organizations.

75. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE in reply to his Italian colleague's statement, underlined the need for all nations to exercise restraint in Press guidance.

76. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he had noted with satisfaction all the statements made concerning the role the Council and the Alliance should play at this juncture. He fully agreed that this should be kept low key and was a matter for internal review. The concern of the public and of governments was deep rooted and would require constant attention by the Alliance.

77. He had the following additional remarks to make to his previous statement. The German Foreign Minister had asked the Polish Chargé d'Affaires to call on him. During these discussions, he had underlined the West's view that all governments should encourage the Polish government not to part from its present course of reform and that the West would continue to pursue this line so long as there was no deterioration in the situation, no bloodshed and no Soviet intervention. He added that Germany supported continued multilateral approaches, for instance in Madrid. Germany looked to a rapid but business-like conclusion of the Madrid Conference on the basis of the Neutral and Non-Aligned proposal. He had noted with interest the information provided by the United States on what Ambassador Nitze intended to say to the Soviet delegation in Geneva.

78. The CHAIRMAN, in closing the meeting, welcomed the fact that the publics, governments and working populations of the countries of the Alliance had reacted so strongly to the introduction of martial law in Poland. He had found this a frank and friendly exchange of views and had noted Permanent Representatives' wishes to adopt a low profile in conversations with the Press.