

ORGANISATION DU TRAITE DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

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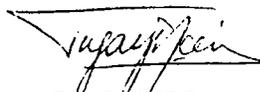
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To : Secretary General
cc: Deputy Secretary General
ASG, Political Affairs
From : Executive Secretary

Summary Record of a Restricted Meeting of the Council held on
Wednesday, 3rd February, 1982 at 10.15 am and 3.30 pm

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I. THE SITUATION IN POLAND


T. OZCERI

c.c. Index ✓

COUNCIL MEETING ON 3RD FEBRUARY 1982LIST OF PARTICIPANTSfrom Capitals

<u>BELGIUM</u>	:	Monsieur A. CAHEN Ambassadeur Directeur Général de la Politique Monsieur J. CASSIERS Ambassadeur, En Mission Spéciale
<u>DENMARK</u>	:	Ambassador Benny KIMBERG Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Amb. Klaus Otto KAPEL Head of Div. Eco. Co-operation, MFA.
<u>GERMANY</u>	:	Dr. H. DRÖGE Deputy Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr. MATTHIAS, Deputy Director of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<u>ICELAND</u>	:	Mr. Hannes HAFSTEIN Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary, Foreign Affairs
<u>ITALY</u>	:	Ministre Plénipotentiaire Giacomi ATTOLICO Directeur Général Adjoint des Affaires Economiques Conseiller Giovanni BATTISTINI Chef du Bureau pour les Pays de l'Est, Direction Générale des Affaires Economiques Conseiller Carmelo LIOTTA Chef du Bureau pour les Pays de l'Est, Direction Générale des Affaires Politiques
<u>LUXEMBOURG</u>	:	M. Joseph WEYLAND Directeur des relations économiques internationales Ministère des Affaires Etrangères M. Jean CLOOS Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

NETHERLANDS

: Miss A.E. DE BIJLL NACHENIUS
Head Political Affairs Section,
Atlantic Co-operation & Security
Affairs Department

NORWAY

: Mr. P.M. ÖLBERG
Acting Deputy Director General,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. T. AALBU
Head of Division,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

UNITED KINGDOM

: Mr. Julian BULLARD
Political Director
Foreign & Commonwealth Office
Lord BRIDGES
Economic Director
Foreign & Commonwealth Office

UNITED STATES

: Mr. H. Allen HOLMES
Acting Assistant Secretary of State
for European Affairs
Mr. Robert D. HORMATS
Assistant Secretary of State for
Economic & Business Affairs

ATTENDANCE

Restricted

AGENDA

No

MEETING PLACE

Room 1

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1. The CHAIRMAN stated that he wished to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to the newly appointed Permanent Representative of Greece on the North Atlantic Council, Mr. Stylianos Vassilicos, who had taken up his functions on 1st February, 1982.

I. THE SITUATION IN POLAND

2. The CHAIRMAN, having welcomed those Representatives from capitals to this meeting of the Council, stated that the situation in Poland since the previous meeting had not changed but, if anything, had worsened. There had been no evidence to suggest that the Polish military leadership intended to end the state of Martial Law, release those arrested and restore a dialogue with the Church and Solidarity. Moreover, Moscow did not appear for the moment to be ready to relax its pressure on Poland and to allow a return to the process of renewal.

3. The reactions of the Soviet Union to the Council Ministerial Declaration of 11th January and the meeting of the Council on 23rd January served not only to underline how sensitive the Soviets were to such expressions of Alliance unanimity but also confirmed the importance of pursuing consultations within the Alliance with a view to keeping the focus of attention on the situation in Poland. He would therefore invite nations to give their assessments of the situation in Poland and to outline the various measures taken by their Governments.

4. In conclusion, he felt that, as previously, it would be useful to issue a brief statement to the Press simply underlining that the member nations continued to follow the development of the situation in Poland and to draw their own conclusions. To this effect, he had circulated a draft statement for consideration and comment.

5. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Authorities had welcomed this second follow-up meeting to the Ministerial Session on 11th January and in particular the participation of senior officials from capitals to review the situation in Poland. The United States fully endorsed the view that a broader base of opinion and increased attention to the subject of Poland constituted the best means of reaching a consensus and common purpose amongst the member nations of the Alliance.

6. He did not think anyone would disagree with him when he said that the situation in Poland had, far from improving, actually deteriorated. There was no sign that Martial Law would be lifted and political repression reduced. Lech Walesa had himself been imprisoned by a letter of internment post-dated to 12th December, 1981. More than 5,000 political prisoners had now been detained. The military courts were in full operation and, for example, those involved in initiating strike actions could be liable for prison sentences of up to five years.

7. Moreover, the Polish Authorities had not provided any positive evidence that they were seeking a meaningful dialogue with either the Church or Solidarity. On the contrary, reports that had been received of talks taking place between Government officials and Solidarity representatives were a gross distortion of the truth. There were growing doubts that Solidarity would even continue in existence. This 10 million member organization might well be made illegal in a de facto sense. Censorship continued to be strict in Poland and journalists and editors had been fired for showing sympathy with Solidarity. In the intellectual sphere, compulsory study of both Russian and Leninism had been introduced in

universities and there were indications that a university faculty purge might well take place in the near future. This political purification process had also been extended to workers who had been required to sign pledges or else be fired. The Polish Authorities had also introduced heavy restrictions on travel within the country and limited the activities of Western diplomatic personnel. In short, Poland seemed to be receding to the stark days of the early 1950s with the security organs in that country dominating everyday life.

8. The United States therefore believed it was now vital for those who upheld freedom and the right of the ordinary people to have elemental rights not to continue business as usual in protest against the massive violation of human rights in that country. The United States Government therefore wished to underline the importance in reaching some element of progress during this joint examination in measures that Allied Governments could apply to both Poland and the Soviet Union. There was a time to study but also a time to make decisions and take action. It was his Government's sincere hope that the Allies would acknowledge the seriousness of the situation and indicate their willingness to face the challenge this represented for not only Western society as a whole but also for the Alliance. In listing those measures Governments had already taken or were about to take in the political, diplomatic, technical or scientific spheres, the United States did not purport to interfere with the right for each individual country to introduce those measures deemed most appropriate. However, as the United States considered it useful to have a compendium of types of actions to be taken, a statement for release at the end of the meeting had been prepared to give some guidelines on possible measures.

9. In summary, he expressed the hope that, through discussion, the substantial rhetorical unity of the Alliance would be enhanced with regard to the situation in Poland. In this manner, the Soviet Union and the Polish Authorities would be left in no doubt about the determination of a united Western world to bring pressure to bear on them to abstain from future actions, to pull back from actions they had taken in the past and so reverse the downward trend in the situation in Poland over the past two months.

10. The BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Authorities agreed entirely with the United States assessment that the situation in Poland was deteriorating and that the Polish Authorities had no intention of lifting Martial Law or of releasing detainees nor of restoring a dialogue with Solidarity. The Ministerial Declaration of 11th January had clearly stated the importance of fulfilment of these conditions on the attitude of the West. He was able to confirm that Lech Walesa had been interned and was being held in the suburbs of Warsaw. A similar fate had been meted out to other leading figures of Solidarity. There therefore seemed to be no hope that any dialogue would be resumed with Lech Walesa. He felt it was also important to point out that following the previous week's incidents at Gdansk, restrictions had again been imposed with vigour and that means of communication with that town had been severed. The situation was therefore very precarious. The possibility of similar measures being adopted in Warsaw could not be excluded especially if violence erupted. Warsaw radio had already made mention of incidents in industrial complexes near the capital city.

11. In view of the lack of any encouraging signs in Poland, the European Community had held meetings on the 4th and 25th/26th January to discuss possible measures in the political, economic and humanitarian fields and their implementation.

12. In the political field, he wished to inform the Council of the following initiatives:

- demarche by the Belgian Ambassador in Warsaw on behalf of the Ten to protest against the restrictions imposed on Embassies as well as on contacts between Poles and foreign diplomatic missions;
- adoption of an attitude of reserve in matters of protocol with Poland;
- demarche in Warsaw in support of the request by the Director General of the ILO to visit Poland;
- coordinated action in support of a possible complaint to be brought by one or more of the Ten on the basis of Article 26 of the ILO Convention;
- demarche in Warsaw to obtain the necessary permission for a Red Cross official to visit the detainees in Poland;
- joint declaration at the UN Human Rights Commission to denounce the violation of human rights in Poland.

13. He had the following additional information to provide on these various initiatives outlined above.

- (a) Referring to the demarche made by the Belgian Ambassador in Warsaw on behalf of the Ten in which he had stressed the concerns of the ILO about the negative effects of Martial Law, especially with regard to Trade Unions, he stated that the Polish Vice-Foreign Minister had replied that as Trade Union activities had been suspended it was difficult to agree to the ILO request. However, in the face of some insistence on the part of the Belgian Ambassador, the Vice-Foreign Minister eventually agreed that the Polish Authorities would be ready to meet with the Director General of the ILO.
- (b) With respect to the restrictions imposed on Embassies and contacts between Poles and foreign diplomatic missions, the Vice-Foreign Minister had stated in reply to the Belgian Ambassador that these had been introduced at the time of the declaration of Martial Law but had added that these had since been relaxed. The Polish Authorities intended to lift all restrictions and to return to the situation as normal prevailing before 13th December, 1981. The Belgian Ambassador had in turn condemned this action by the Polish Authorities as being in contravention of the Vienna Convention. Moreover, judging by General Jaruzelski's speech and the proposals contained therein, the Polish Authorities clearly did not yet envisage the lifting of Martial Law and these restrictions. The Belgian Ambassador had therefore commented that such restrictions were completely unacceptable to the Ten and that any deterioration in East/West relations in general could only but adversely affect any cooperation between the Ten and Poland.
- (c) Finally, he was able to report that as a result of the demarche in Warsaw, permission had been granted for a Swiss Representative from the Red Cross to visit two centres for detainees in Poland. Further permission had also been granted to repeat these visits at all internment centres. He added that the number interned

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had been estimated at 5,000 in some 40/50 centres.

- (d) In the economic sphere, he stated that at its meeting on 25th/26th January, the Council of Ministers decided to discontinue the advantageous conditions accorded to the Polish Government with respect to sales of food products.

14. He went on to say that as far as humanitarian measures were concerned, proposals would be put before the Council for decision on 22nd February. Other questions such as the problem of lines of credit for the Soviet Union and the impact of the economic measures taken by the United States on relations between the countries of the Ten and Poland on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other were currently under examination. He added that recommendations would shortly be put before the Council for consideration.

15. In conclusion, he wished to stress to those countries not represented within the European Community that the Ten would continue to study in all earnest the implementation of those measures both political and economic arising out of the discussions of 4th and 25th/26th January respectively.

16. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE wished first of all to introduce Dr. H. Droge and Mr. Matthias to the Council from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn. He would ask Mr. Matthias later to speak on the question of economic relations with the Soviet Union and the military regime in Poland.

17. He went on to state that his Authorities shared the assessments put forward by his Belgian and United States colleagues on developments in the situation in Poland, which continued to be very tense. The Polish military regime had made it clear at a recent session of Parliament that they were not willing to make any commitment to set a deadline for the lifting of Martial Law and to comply with their promise of 13th December with regard to the release of detainees and the reopening of a dialogue with the Church and Solidarity. On the other hand, it had to be said that the military regime was not in a position at the present time to stabilise the country nor able to formulate a political programme for the future of Poland. The tense situation persisted because of the Polish Authorities' inability to rally public support.

18. As a result, renewed unrest had broken out in Poland. During the recent Parliamentary debate, critical voices had been heard. The resolution adopted to allow Trade Unions to continue on the basis of the 1980 agreement contrasted sharply with reality. Equally, the fact that General Jaruzelski had not referred to the leading role of the Party in his speech served to underline the real conflict existing between the orthodox and central elements within Poland. The dialogue with the Church did not seem to hold any particular promise. Moreover, the future of Solidarity remained uncertain. This, together with the return of students to universities had led to increased uneasiness in the country.

19. In view of the present internal situation in Poland, the immense economic problems facing that country and the stance taken by the West, the impression in Germany was one of uncertainty in both Moscow and Warsaw as how best to proceed. In the meantime, Germany would continue to insist both in Bonn and in Warsaw on the full implementation of the assurances given by the Polish leadership on the 13th December for a return to the policies of national renewal and genuine reforms. With this in mind, he added that Germany would continue to make any demarche to the Polish Authorities to condemn the imposition of Martial Law and denounce the violation of human rights in controvention of the Final Act of Helsinki.

20. The German Representative stated that he was happy to inform the

Council today that following agreement in the Council on guidelines for demarches, German Ambassadors in all Warsaw Pact countries, excluding Warsaw and Moscow, as well as in some selected Third World countries, had received instructions to undertake demarches at Ambassador level to underline the declarations issued by the European Community and by the Foreign Ministers of the Alliance.

21. Secondly, applications for visas by Soviet and Polish nationals would be examined in future on a case by case basis in order to curtail contacts not considered to be in the interests of Germany, for instance those with the Front Line Organization and the Communist Party. Germany also intended to restrict the exchange of officials and apply the same policy to public events of a bilateral nature.

22. Before handing over to Mr. Matthias to comment on measures taken by Germany in the economic sector, he wished to add that he would have some comments to make later on with regard to the guidelines for the NATO spokesman as circulated.

23. MR. MATTHIAS stated that the Permanent Representative had already stressed the great importance his Authorities attached to the Ministerial Declaration of 11th January, 1982. At the meeting held on 23rd January, Germany had made it clear that the Federal Government was determined to send out an unmistakable signal to the Soviet leadership in terms of economic measures. As a consequence, the Federal Government was prepared to take the following measures:

- (a) In accordance with the joint Declaration of 11th January, Germany continued to support those economic measures already initiated by Allies vis-à-vis Poland. In particular, Germany had noted that commercial credits for goods other than foods had been placed in abeyance and that it was considered inappropriate under the present circumstances to hold negotiations about the payments due in 1982 on Poland's official debts.
- (b) On the occasion of Brezhnev's visit to Bonn in November 1981, it had been agreed to resume negotiations on a basic agreement to cover the fields of science and technology. This had now been indefinitely postponed. Equally, a specialised agreement in ten other fields would not now take place as previously planned. Germany was also ready to renounce all cooperation between officially financed research institutions and the Soviet Union.
- (c) Negotiations already started with the Soviet Union on two transport agreements concerning ocean shipping and inland waterway shipping, both of which were of substantial interest, would be discontinued.
- (d) Furthermore, in the economic field, Germany would implement its agreement with the Soviet Union on economic cooperation in a restricted manner, even though this might be to the detriment of the German economy.
- (e) Finally, Germany would participate in those measures to be taken in the framework of the European Community as outlined by the Belgian Representative.

The above five points constituted in his opinion a meaningful contribution to the NATO package. As the above measures would place a considerable strain on the German economy, he assumed that other Allies would adopt a similar approach.

24. He wished also at this time to mention other significant elements which would impact on the effectiveness of Allied action. In particular, he referred to the need for burden sharing and conformity in measures adopted. The cooperation of other industrialised countries, such as Japan, Australia and New Zealand was not only important but expected by a number of these countries. To exclude such countries from these deliberations would run the risk of any Western measures being bypassed and competitive advantages exploited.

25. In conclusion, he stated that while Germany recognised the importance of such economic measures, he reminded the Council that at the Ministerial Session on 11th January, 1982 both Germany and the United Kingdom had called attention to Paragraph 15 of the Communiqué which referred to the need to maintain close consultations on the implementation of Allies' resolve not to undermine the effect of each other's measures. This was a matter which would require careful attention at an early date.

26. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE wished merely to confine himself to underlining the importance his Government attached to the present meeting as a follow-up to those held on 11th and 23rd January. He now wished to hand over to Mr. Bullard, Political Director of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to comment on the situation in Poland.

27. MR. BULLARD, in stressing once more the importance his Government attached to this meeting, recalled that at their meeting of 11th January, Foreign Ministers had very clearly stated their views with regard to events in Poland, their expectations for the future and their intentions with regard to future policy. However, these expectations had not been fulfilled. The Polish military regime had not taken the three steps outlined in paragraph 5 of the Ministerial Declaration, namely to end the state of Martial Law, to release those arrested and to restore immediately a dialogue with the Church and Solidarity. Moreover, the Soviet Union had not ceased to exert pressure, either direct or indirect, on Poland with a view to frustrating the desire of the Polish people for national renewal and reform. As a consequence, the United Kingdom Government now felt the time had come for them and other Allied Governments to take those precise and concrete decisions outlined in the second part of the Ministerial Declaration from paragraph 10 onwards.

28. At the meeting of the North Atlantic Council on 23rd January the United Kingdom and other member nations had clarified the position and intentions of their respective Governments. While the United Kingdom did not expect unanimity of action, he nevertheless would judge that the Soviet Union had been impressed by the degree of unity attained within the Alliance to date. He felt it was important to preserve this sense of unity today and in the future through concerted action. The process of consultation had advanced in capitals since that meeting of 23rd January to a point where Governments were ready to act. For its part, the United Kingdom Government intended to do the following:

(a) In the diplomatic, political and security fields:

- The United Kingdom was ready to impose a 25 mile restriction on Polish officials based in London and Glasgow. Special permission to travel beyond the 25 mile limit would therefore be required from Polish Embassy and Consulate officials and their families, as well as those working for LOT, the Polish Shipping Company, the Polish Trading

Company, the Polish Cultural Institute and their families. He added that permission would only be granted in essential cases. This measure was designed to be reciprocal in response to measures taken by the Polish Authorities against United Kingdom officials in Poland.

- (a) Internal instructions had been given to downgrade United Kingdom relations with Poland in both the political and cultural fields while nevertheless maintaining essential contacts.
- In London, the total number of Soviet personnel had for some years been controlled especially since 1971. However, in addition to the United Kingdom's firm policy to refuse visa applications to identified Soviet intelligence officers, the already existing travel notification scheme would now require Soviet officials to seek permission for any travel beyond 25 miles.
- United Kingdom Embassies in some Third World countries and other capitals had already received appropriate instructions to undertake demarches to stress once more the Western view with regard to the situation in Poland.
- (b) In the economic, commercial and financial spheres:
 - The United Kingdom had already decided to suspend commercial credits except for those contracts previously concluded with Poland and moreover agreed it would be inappropriate in the present circumstances to hold negotiations about the payments due in 1982 on Poland's official debts.
 - Discussions were still in progress on the conditions surrounding export credits to the Soviet Union and, in the framework of the European Community, the United Kingdom would favour restrictions being imposed on imports from the Soviet Union.
- (c) As far as exchanges and agreements were concerned:
 - The United Kingdom had decided to reduce to a minimal level activities on all four technical cooperation agreements negotiated with the Soviet Union, namely health, environment, atomic energy and agricultural research.
 - The United Kingdom would be ready to take action to eliminate the imbalance existing between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union by terminating the Anglo Soviet maritime agreement if this action were reciprocated by other Allies.
 - The United Kingdom, as from 1st February, 1982 would be introducing licensing controls over Soviet trawler vessels.
- (d) As far as humanitarian and food aid was concerned, the United Kingdom was in favour of making a direct financial contribution towards the administrative expenses of voluntary agencies active in this field.

(e) The United Kingdom was also interested in the question of Polish refugees. The Austrian request for assistance in resettling a large number of Poles at present in Austria was under consideration. The United Kingdom would as far as possible assist the other Allies in this effort but, he added there was some doubt whether the Poles concerned would qualify for the status of refugee. He would welcome further information on other Governments intentions in this regard.

(f) He had nothing further to add on the United Kingdom's information effort.

29. He went on to state that the above measures envisaged by the United Kingdom Government had not yet been communicated to those affected by them and indeed had not yet been announced in Parliament. For these reasons, any Press statement as a result of this meeting could only refer in a general way to possible measures to be taken by the United Kingdom. In this regard, he added that the United States Press statement as drafted was in general terms acceptable to the United Kingdom.

30. In conclusion, he wished at this point to endorse once more the points raised by his German colleague, namely that the attitude and policies of other Allied Governments would be most important in the economic field and drew attention to the fundamental problem which remained to be resolved on the need for the Allies to maintain close consultations on the implementation of their resolve not to undermine the effect of each other's measures.

31. The ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Authorities also attached great importance to this second follow-up meeting to the Ministerial Session held on 11th January to discuss the Polish situation, the Soviet involvement and Allied measures. He joined previous speakers in emphasising the importance of reaching a high degree of unanimity in the positions and intentions of member Governments with regard to Poland.

32. The Ministerial Declaration of 11th January had called for the Polish regime to carry out its repeated promises of a return to the policies of national renewal and genuine reforms. However, the intervening weeks had shown the Polish Authorities incapable of living up to their declared intentions. The time had therefore come for the West to pursue actively those measures outlined in the Ministerial Declaration of 11th January.

33. At the meeting held on 23rd January Italy had informed the Council of its intentions with regard to possible measures. These measures had subsequently been incorporated into the compendium circulated to members of the Political Committee under reference ISD/290 dated 2nd February, 1982. In this context, he wished to point out that under diplomatic, political and security measures, Italy had already decided to impose travel restrictions on Polish citizens similar to those already applied to Albanian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and East German nationals.

34. He wished to reiterate at this time the concerns of his Authorities that no economic measures envisaged by Allies should be such that one nation's measures adversely affected those of another. Burden sharing was also another crucial element when considering economic measures.

35. Before handing over to Mr. Attolico to talk more specifically on economic measures, he wished to refer to the Press guidelines circulated by the United States for consideration. He stated that he could in general agree to this

text with some minor drafting amendments.

36. Mr. ATTOLICO (Italy), complementing the Italian statement of position given on 23rd January, said that it was clear that the situation in Poland was now such that it was necessary to transmit a clear signal to the Soviet Union and that this should include economic aspects. The Italian Government, for its part, had decided that relations between Italy and the Soviet Union would be modified. Pressure would be exerted on the USSR in the economic field and for this purpose, several methods were available, some of them of a national nature. Official contacts with the Soviet Union on economic cooperation would be slowed down. This policy had already been implemented: as was the case with other member nations, Italy had a number of agreements on economic cooperation which provided for meetings of experts: some of these meetings, scheduled for an early date, had been postponed.

37. Italy was prepared to renegotiate some agreements, notably concerned with shipping which had in any case proved to give the Soviet Union an advantage in practice. Other measures had been mentioned on 23rd January and they included restrictions on credits. Policy in this field would be pursued.

38. In conclusion, Mr. Attolico supported the remarks made by the German and United Kingdom Delegations on the need to include certain non-NATO members in the dialogue - particularly members of the OECD. He could also support the views of those who had pointed to the importance of defining clearly the commitment mentioned in Paragraph 15 of the Declaration of 11th January.

39. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that like a number of other speakers, he could see few grounds for optimism in the situation in Poland. The speech made before the Sejm by General Jaruzelski on 26th January had been a tough one, with little being said as to the future and no indication given as to when the process of reconciliation might start. The easing of restrictions on civil liberties had been tied to the requirement to give commitments to avoid "illegal acts" and the maintenance of the verification process was an ominous sign. The Sejm had given strong support to the continuation of Martial Law and this suggested that the old line was returning. Nevertheless, it was possible that Poland would remain slightly open to pressure and he would therefore suggest that while economic and political measures were being maintained, the dialogue with Poland should be kept open.

40. It was possible that the situation within Poland would deteriorate further. New price increases had been announced and such steps had led to considerable trouble in the past. The recent incidents in Gdansk had shown that economic policies - even if they were appropriate ones - could mean confrontation between the people and the authorities. It was, however, too early to draw any conclusions on this point.

41. It was of interest that the Norwegian Embassy in Warsaw had reported a statement made on 26th January by an official of the Polish Foreign Ministry, to the effect that it was important that Poland should not be seen as giving in to pressure and that the Polish Authorities found themselves in a difficult position. Of course, it was possible that this statement had only been of a tactical nature.

42. As for the measures to be taken, he could agree that pressure should be maintained with a view to achieving the three basic objectives. Each member nation gave individual consideration to the measures which it might take and the IS paper (ISD/290) illustrated the comprehensive and varied nature of Western reactions. Measures taken would inevitably be diverse in nature and this did not imply a lack of unity. All the same, a united front should be maintained.

43. As far as the United States draft guidelines were concerned, he could support the general thrust of this document but had some problems as to details of the text.

44. As had been stated on 23rd January, the reactions of Norway had principally taken the form of political and diplomatic demarches directed at the Soviet Union. They had been listed in ISD/290 - a document which he hoped would be updated as necessary. A strong political signal had taken the form of the postponement of visits to Moscow scheduled for delegations from the Norwegian Parliament, Trade Unions and Press.

45. Norway could support the initiative taken within the OECD to have the Soviet Union designated as an industrialised country in the context of export credits. In addition, Norway had taken a broad range of measures with regard to Poland and these had been listed in ISD/290. Furthermore, Norway was participating in the debate on Poland taking place in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, although not a member of that body. It might well be difficult to resolve any problems in the Commission and the obstruction which had been seen there might well presage similar tactics in Madrid. Norway intended to contact the ILO and the CICR in order to see what assistance could be given to these bodies in their task of monitoring and influencing the situation in Poland.

46. Lastly, financial support given to Norwegian firms participating in Polish Trade Fairs would be frozen. Two such fairs were to take place during the next few months, at Gdansk and at Poznan. There would be no official Norwegian Delegation at the Poznan fair.

47. The NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE supported the assessments of the Polish situation which had been heard earlier in the meeting. He also found ISD/290 to be a useful paper giving a valuable survey and he hoped that it could be updated regularly.

48. The Netherlands, like Norway, supported the initiative designed to secure upgrading of the Soviet Union into the industrialised category for export credits. He considered, however, that the effect should apply to existing commitments as well as to new credits. This was not a condition for Netherlands approval but it would make a much stronger signal and would avoid discrimination.

49. Measures taken by the "Ten" had been mentioned earlier by his Belgian colleague.

50. With respect to transportation agreements, mentioned in Paragraph 14 of the Declaration of 11th January, none of the agreements to which the Netherlands was a party was due for extension or renegotiation. Termination at short notice would be of little assistance as such agreements provided for a one year period for this purpose. However, agreements of this kind would be implemented in a very restrictive fashion, particularly as far as non-commercial vessels were concerned.

51. The Netherlands was examining the options which were open in the case of most-favoured-nation treatment and in the case of exports of technology. It should be noted that the most-favoured-nation approach was embodied in agreements between the Benelux and the Soviet Union and accordingly, any measures taken in this field would have to be considered by the three Benelux countries in the first place.

52. The Netherlands welcomed the outcome of the recent COCOM meeting, while noting that further study was required. Full cooperation would be given in implementing the COCOM programme.

53. He had heard with interest the remarks made by his United Kingdom colleague as to fish factory ships in the North Sea - these were measures which could also be envisaged by the Netherlands. Furthermore, some of the "Ten" sold fish to the Soviet Union and this was a matter which might also be considered.

54. Finally, with respect to Press guidelines, he could agree the general outline of the text which had been circulated but might well have some remarks to make on details of the text.

55. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE said that he hoped that the "non paper", ISD/290, would be kept very confidential. He had not been aware that the International Staff would publish this document and could not support it: it set out a form of league table and the country by country classification could only lead to invidious comparisons.

56. The CHAIRMAN explained that ISD/290 was only a working paper comprising a report of what had been announced at a meeting within NATO. Its purpose was to simplify the work.

57. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE then reported on measures taken by France in line with the Declaration of 11th January.

58. As far as political measures were concerned, the movement of Soviet diplomatic representatives in France had been limited to a radius of 40 kilometres and this measure also applied to Polish military attaches. It might later be extended to all Polish diplomatic representatives. Useful contacts were being maintained, but those which were only of a protocol nature had been abandoned. France did not intend to lose the means of verifying its own security - and that of others - and of assessing the effectiveness of its own representation.

59. The establishments of Soviet and Polish diplomatic missions in France were being reviewed and consideration was being given to possible limitation.

60. In scientific relations, it had been noticed that since the events in Afghanistan, there had been an effective ceiling on scientific exchanges and French scientists had expressed reservations with regard to cooperation with the Soviet Union and Poland. The French Government intended to ensure a proper balance in this field and would take care to protect French security interests.

61. Diplomatic demarches had been undertaken in the Warsaw Pact countries and might be renewed should the situation in Poland worsen. A similar remark could be made with respect to demarches in Third World nations.

62. France supported the efforts being made within the ILO. As for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, there was already agreement among the Western countries. A more technical point was that of repairs to Soviet ships: France intended to reject all requests for repair facilities for Soviet military vessels.

63. With respect to economic measures, these, whether multilateral or national, were in many cases a problem for consideration by the "Ten". This applied, for example to the problem of assigning industrialised-nation status to the Soviet Union in the OECD context and to the problem of restrictions on imports.

64. Cooperation in sea, air and road transport had been discussed with the Soviet Union and France had, on 15th December, objected to the present lack of balance and had claimed full reciprocity in these arrangements. With respect to commercial credits, arrangements had been made for agricultural and food supplies to Poland. For the 1981-82 cereal crop season, this would cover an amount of 600,000 tons of cereals by July, together with 240,000 of other food products. France would

insist that these products be supplied in a normal way to the entire Polish people. With regard to industrial products, the French line of credit for 1981, which amounted to nine hundred million francs would be activated on a case by case basis. For 1982, the line of credit would be frozen. In addition, the credit for capital goods amounting to two thousand, nine hundred million francs, would be frozen.

65. As far as air links were concerned, LOT flights between Paris and Warsaw were permitted only as a pool operation with Air France. The joint agreement in this field had been suspended after the introduction of Martial Law but in practice, occasional LOT flights had been permitted for humanitarian reasons. The Polish Authorities had subsequently expressed the wish to resume regular flights and the French response had been that this could only be done on a basis of reciprocity. More recently, the exceptional LOT charter flights had operated almost weekly and France had accordingly reminded the Polish Authorities of the conditions which had been set and had asked them to direct their attention more towards normal commercial flights. France would permit one weekly LOT flight on condition that Poland agreed to a second weekly flight by Air France once demand was sufficient.

66. France was at present considering the policy to adopt with respect to the Poznan fair.

67. Turning to COCOM, the French Representative pointed out that this body was not designed to consider matters of economic policy and should therefore not be concerned with sanctions. The task of COCOM was to protect the strategic and technological potential of the West. France would continue its efforts in this field but would ensure that this important body retained its specific nature - one which fell outside the field of economic policy.

68. With regard to fishing, the agreement with Poland on the Kerguelen area with Poland was not being implemented. The corresponding agreement with the Soviet Union was being applied in a carefully balanced fashion and might be reviewed.

69. France could agree that measures taken by individual nations should not be compromised by others. The extent of this principle, and its implementation, should be settled by consultations. It should be recalled that while partners should not obstruct actions taken by others, or take profit from them, they could not renounce commercial commitments. France would therefore not withdraw from its own commitments in cases where the participation of another Alliance member as a supplier, was affected.

70. Finally, the French Representative said that with respect to the proposed Press guidelines circulated by the United States, he had some reservations as to both the form of this text and its substance.

71. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that as far as the situation within Poland was concerned, he had little to add to the assessments given earlier by his colleagues. The situation did indeed appear to be bleak. At the same time, he could support the Norwegian view that although the situation was serious, there were some indications that the Polish regime might occasionally respond to pressure. The dialogue should accordingly be maintained although it could not be characterised as "business as usual". Some slight satisfaction could be gained from the fact that the regime was still undertaking to lift the most restrictive aspects of Martial Law without excessive delay. In addition, approximately 1000 detainees had been released, the dialogue with the Church was continuing - thereby recognising the strength of the Church, and lastly, although the Sejm had voted strongly in favour of Martial Law, there had been signs of an opposition view point. He therefore considered that although pressure should not be relaxed, a totally pessimistic point of view should

not be adopted. He hoped that the Allies would remain united in their task of achieving the three principal objectives and would be able to convince Poland and the Soviet Union that this would be in their own interests as well.

72. He then recalled that on 23rd January, it had been said that national measures were being considered by Canada at a very high level. This process was now far advanced. The Canadian Government had reviewed the position in the light of the Declaration of 11th January and of its commitment not to undermine the sanctions effort undertaken by the United States. Consideration had been given to matters of principle as well as to national interests and had therefore covered a review of humanitarian aid as well as inclusion of the criterion of a credible Alliance response. Consultations should continue in order to allow maintenance of a reasonable consensus and maximization of the effectiveness of measures adopted.

73. The objectives should be to attempt to influence events in Poland in order to ensure mitigation of repression and to show that reconciliation would be in the interests of Poland and the Soviet Union themselves as well as to encourage the development of fundamental freedoms in Poland and in Eastern Europe in general.

74. Canada would undertake the following individual measures:

- the academic exchange programme between Canada and Poland would be suspended.
- reductions affecting diplomatic representations within Canada would remain unchanged and in addition, Polish diplomatic representatives would be subject to travel restrictions as from 15th February.
- Canada would support initiatives taken within the ILO and already supported by other member nations.
- the Human Rights situation within Poland had been discussed by the United Nations Commission for Human Rights and the result gave some cause for thought. It could be a harbinger of developments at the Madrid meeting.
- Canada would undertake high level demarches in Warsaw, in Moscow and in some NNA capitals in order to make clear the serious concern felt as to developments in Poland.
- Canada would maintain its support for the resettlement of Polish refugees.
- in the economic field, no new commercial credits would be extended to Poland, except for food purchases.
- the proposed delay in debt rescheduling talks would be supported by Canada.
- LOT flights to Canada would be limited to two per week.

75. As for the Soviet Union, it should be made clear to Moscow that Canada felt concern as to Soviet support for repression in Poland and with this in mind, the following steps would be taken:

- talks on general exchanges with the Soviet Union would be postponed.
- the scheduled meeting of the Mixed Economic Commission would be postponed for the foreseeable future. In this context, it might be noted that the measures taken after the intervention in Afghanistan were still in effect.
- political consultations between senior officials would be postponed for the foreseeable future,
- consultations at a high level would take place only if they were appropriate in the view of the Secretary of State for External Affairs. There were no such cases at present.
- Aeroflot flights to Canada would continue to be limited to two per week.

76. In general, the Canadian Representative considered that the measures which he had just outlined represented an appropriate signal of concern. Should the situation in Poland deteriorate further, Canada would consult its Allies and would review the situation in order to decide whether or not additional measures against Poland or the Soviet Union would be justified.

77. As for the draft guidelines circulated by the United States Delegation, he regarded this text as a useful basis for a possible statement but had some reservations as to the fourth paragraph, which seemed to him couched in too categorical language.

78. Finally, the Canadian Representative was able to support those of his colleagues who had called attention to the importance of informing certain NNA nations of the efforts being undertaken. The help of these nations would be essential if the measures taken were to be effective. This was a consideration which affected notably Australia, New Zealand and Japan. He would hope that the necessary contacts would be maintained.

79. The GREEK REPRESENTATIVE, after thanking the Chairman for his words of welcome at the start of the meeting, said that the position of his Government remained that outlined by his Minister on 11th January.

80. The ICELANDIC REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Authorities considered this meeting today of great importance in the process of consultation, the importance of which had already been referred to in Paragraph 15 of the Ministerial Declaration of 11th January. He welcomed this further opportunity to review together with senior officials from capitals the situation in Poland. He wished to express the great concern of his Government over the worsening situation in Poland and the fact that no progress on the three main points outlined in Paragraph 5 of the Ministerial Declaration had been made.

81. Turning to specific measures Iceland intended to take with regard to Poland he wished to point out that the possibilities for action as outlined in document ISD/290 had been taken in accordance with Iceland's own situation and laws. As far as diplomatic measures were concerned, he stated that in addition to a demarche made in Reykjavik the Icelandic Ambassador to Moscow would make a demarche in the near future. On the question of exchanges, particularly on the scientific side, he added that a Soviet enquiry for three factory fishing vessels in the seas off Iceland which would result in the Soviets entering the 200 mile limit had been refused by his Authorities. Finally, in addition to the medical and

food aid already being supplied, the Icelandic Parliament had authorised a considerable grant for humanitarian purposes.

82. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE stated that he wished immediately to hand over to Ambassador Kimberg to talk on the situation in Poland in general and the measures envisaged by the Danish Government.

83. AMBASSADOR KIMBERG stated that in general he could share the assessments of previous speakers with regard to the situation in Poland. He agreed the Polish Military Authorities had given no indication that they were willing to accommodate the three demands outlined in paragraph 5 of the Ministerial Declaration of 11th January. He also agreed that General Jaruzelski in his speech on 26th January had given no promises that the situation would change significantly, although he had indicated that the gradual lifting of Martial Law would be conditional on internal future developments. As this statement seemed to indicate that only adjustments of a minor nature were envisaged, the Danish Government remained pessimistic about the possibilities of an early improvement in the situation in Poland.

84. Denmark fully recognised the necessity of maintaining pressure on both the Soviet Union and Poland and, to this end, strongly supported Alliance consultations to determine individual or parallel measures to meet the common objective. In this context, he wished to stress the importance his Authorities attached to the on-going process of consultation within the Alliance.

85. As far as possible measures were concerned, he stated that he had found the compendium circulated under reference ISD/290 most useful. The measures envisaged by Denmark were adequately reflected in the pages devoted to Denmark and the countries of the European Community. However, he did have one or two additional comments to make.

86. In the framework of the European Community, he informed the Council that the previous day the Danish Representative speaking in Geneva at the UN Human Rights Commission had been interrupted during his intervention and the meeting suspended by the Bulgarian Chairman. The implications of such an action would be further discussed during the forthcoming Council meeting on CSCE consultations. He felt sure that no one would disagree with him when he said this represented a bad omen for the resumption of the Madrid Conference on the 9th February. On the question of economic measures within the European Community, he stated he had nothing further to add to those measures listed in the Compendium and previously outlined in the Belgian Representative's statement on cooperation among the Ten.

87. While he felt that the Compendium by and large reflected those political and economic measures envisaged by Denmark, he had the following additional comments to make:

- (a) relations between Denmark and the Polish Military Authorities had been downgraded. Precise measures would be spelt out in bilateral contacts with the Soviet Union and the Polish Authorities.
- (b) On the question of humanitarian aid, the Danish Government had channelled some nine million kroner through the Red Cross and other private organizations.

88. His final comments concerned the draft guidelines to the Press circulated by the United States. He wished to express severe doubts about the content of paragraph 4. He felt this should be limited to a reaffirmation of the

political signal given in the Ministerial Declaration of 11th January. He did not believe enumerating measures proposed by the Allies constituted a coherent approach as words without deeds would call into question the credibility of the Alliance. Indeed, some measures were outwith the responsibility of Governments and Ministers and he therefore felt that individual measures should be left up to Governments and should not be seen as an Alliance announcement. Finally, he did not consider it advisable to issue long statements after meetings but felt that a statement if issued should be kept short and factual.

89. The BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE stated that the sections reserved for Belgium and the European Community in document ISD/290 accurately reflected the Belgian position. He wished once again to express his appreciation to the International Staff for including such a large section on the European Community. As far as measures envisaged by Belgium were concerned, he wished to add the following two points:

- (a) both Sabena and LOT flights between Belgium and Poland had been suspended.
- (b) the Soviet request to open a consulate at Antwerp had been put in abeyance.

90. He then went on to make the following comments on the guidelines for the NATO Press spokesman as circulated by the United States. He felt that paragraph 3 largely repeated paragraph 2 and was therefore superfluous. He approved of the reference to paragraph 5 of the Ministerial Declaration, that so long as the Polish leadership did not live up to its declared intention to re-establish civil liberties and the process of reform, Poland could not expect to enjoy constructive political and economic relations with the West. However, he felt that this could be expressed more positively as General Jaruzelski himself had clearly stated that there was no question for the time being of releasing the Solidarity leaders being held under arrest. He felt that to refer simply to "indications" in the face of such definite statements from the Polish leadership did not adequately reflect the seriousness of Western concern over developments in Poland.

91. Finally, he felt that paragraph 4 could be redrafted to stress that the process of consultation amongst the Allies would be an on-going process both here in NATO and in other fora. The Soviet Union and Poland should be left in no doubt that the Western nations would avail themselves of every opportunity to discuss additional measures and their implementation. He agreed that it was perhaps unnecessary to repeat once more the various types of measures envisaged by the Allies. Rather, he felt the greatest emphasis should be laid on the fact that the process of consultation would be pursued.

92. The CHAIRMAN agreed that the language in the text could perhaps be stronger but pointed out that if no reference was made to concrete measures then the Press would draw the conclusion that nothing had been decided. This of course was not the case as the Compendium served to illustrate. He therefore would be in favour of listing measures in the statement to the Press.

93. The LUXEMBOURG REPRESENTATIVE stated that he had listened with interest to previous speakers and had noted a high degree of unanimity in Governments' positions and intentions with regard to Poland. While he had also found the Compendium a most useful document, he nevertheless had been somewhat disappointed to find that no mention had been made of Luxembourg. He therefore wished to take this opportunity to repeat those measures his Government intended to take as outlined at the meeting on 23rd January. These included the following:

- (a) Under diplomatic, political and security measures, Luxembourg would be represented at Ministerial level at the Madrid Conference and would join its Allies in bringing to the attention of World public opinion and international organizations the violation of human rights and acts of violence in Poland.
- (b) In terms of exchanges and agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland, Luxembourg would maintain those restrictions imposed in January 1981 in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- (c) As to the Polish refugees at present in Austria, Luxembourg was ready to welcome up to 75 of these refugees.
- (d) Luxembourg would also join in any multilateral measures especially those envisaged by the European Community.

He added that he would submit to the International Staff a detailed list of measures envisaged by the Luxembourg Government for inclusion in the Compendium.

94. The CHAIRMAN replied that Canada was also not included in the Compendium as this had been drawn up on the basis of declarations made within the Political Committee.

95. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE stated that had he known in advance of the intention to publish such a Compendium, he would have raised an objection. In any event France did not wish to be included in such a document. Discussions taking place within the Council should be kept distinct from those in other fora particularly since the distribution of any documents would not be the same.

96. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that as France was represented within the Political Committee he found it difficult to believe that any delegation would object to such a document, as this represented the minutes of the meeting. He recalled that this document had been drafted upon the suggestion of one delegation to avoid any misunderstanding and stated that he found nothing unusual in this procedure. Indeed, as many delegations had already stated, such a document could prove very useful.

97. The TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE stated that lest he be accused of remaining silent, he simply wished to state that he had nothing further to add to the measures envisaged by Turkey as listed in the document ISD/290.

98. The PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVE stated that his Government's position on the follow-up to the meetings on 11th and 23rd January remained as stated on the latter occasion. He added that he had found document ISD/290 most useful and moreover that it correctly reflected his Authorities intentions concerning possible measures against the Soviet Union and Poland.

99. He went on to state that his Authorities had given thorough consideration to the question of limiting the number of Soviet personnel in Portugal and to the possibility of imposing restrictions on their movement. Recently, permission for a high level Soviet delegation to visit his country on the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party had been denied. The Soviet Union had reacted by summoning the Portuguese Ambassador to Moscow and presenting him with a formal protest which the Ambassador duly rejected.

100. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE, taking up the problem of public presentation, said that the remarks made on individual measures taken showed that clearly, the Allies were not in total agreement and the measures were not of a unanimous nature. The question might therefore be asked: did the Allies wish to show up their differences or their similarities? The answer would, surely, depend on the view taken of the objectives. His own opinion was that it would be best to underline the factors tending towards unity. However, this had already been done successfully on 11th January and he would hope at present, that divergencies of view would not be highlighted. There was a need to find a level of agreement on the problems which had been discussed earlier in the meeting.

101. The draft circulated by his United States colleague could in no way be regarded as a declaration. It represented only a set of guidelines but there was a further consideration: to issue guidelines in such detail after each meeting on the subject meant in effect making a declaration. He did not think that it was appropriate for the Council in Permanent Session to devote so much attention to the media.

102. As for the text itself, he thought that paragraph 4, which set out a list of measures, was inappropriate and might well be replaced by another draft. He circulated to his colleagues a proposed text for this purpose.

103. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE called attention to the need for continuity of approach and unity. Any guidelines should be well in line with those approved after the last meeting and after the Ministerial meeting in January. Care should be taken not to give any impression that compromise and consensus in fact concealed disagreement within the Council.

104. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE suggested that there should be no enumeration of measures in the guidelines.

105. The CHAIRMAN, however, pointed out that a failure to list measures would lead to a critical reaction by the media and by public opinion, which would accuse the Allies of being "all talk and no action". He would emphasize that an enumeration of measures did not imply any commitment for any country.

106. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE agreed with this point of view. He recalled that all the members had already taken a number of measures and the effect had been considerable. However, this had not been well conveyed to the public.

107. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that in any event, the impression should not be given that all the member nations had taken, or would take, any measures listed.

108. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE suggested that no mention should be made of the curtailment of existing credit lines or of exceptions to technology transfer requirements to Poland. To mention these aspects might give rise to false hopes.

109. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE pointed out that a number of measures had in fact already been taken by some nations in the fields mentioned by his German colleague.

110. The CHAIRMAN added that the interruption of lines of credit to Poland and the Soviet Union had in fact been one of the most effective measures, in practice.

111. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE said that it should be made clear that any reference to possible strengthened action should be conditional on what happened in Poland.

112. After a brief discussion devoted to the precise wording to be used in the guidelines, the UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE then suggested that it should be recognised that many of the considerations covered during the meeting still needed to be quickly translated into precise and concrete decisions. The media would be looking for evidence of follow-up action in capitals, particularly over the next ten days. There appeared to be no cause for optimism in present events in Poland: on the contrary, actions taken by the Polish Authorities suggested not only that the situation was getting worse, but also that the Authorities did not expect much change for the better.

113. The "Ten" were considering certain economic measures but their process of consultation was a rather lengthy one. Nevertheless, the outcome would be of great importance and would serve as an indicator of the type of action which the "Ten" intended to take. He would hope that the result would be in line with the terms of the Declaration of 11th January.

114. He had heard with interest the remarks made by the United Kingdom Representative on action in the maritime field, some of which could be subject to similar action undertaken by other Allies. He understood that in fact, a number of member nations were considering such action and he hoped that the United Kingdom would be encouraged in its action.

115. With respect to Soviet discrimination over shipping rights, he had listened with interest to the statement made by the French Representative and he hoped that France would take stronger action in order to obtain real reciprocity.

116. There had been a number of references to the need for unity and, to this sentiment, the United States could of course subscribe. However, seeking unity at the level of the lowest common denominator was likely to end to a position far weaker than that demonstrated by bold and specific actions, even if they were not undertaken by all member nations.

117. Finally, and with respect to the interest shown by the Press, the United States Representative said that sometimes, it was useful to respond to this Press interest. In a democratic society, the people had a right to know what was happening and to receive leadership from their Governments.

118. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the guidelines allowed any individual nation to take bold and energetic action.