

## **Documents Related to Events in Poland (1980 - 1984)**

### **Item Description**

#### **NATO Documents**

##### **NATO Documents on Poland – NATO Council**

1. C-R(81)28. Council meeting on 8 July 1981. Item II on Poland. (11 August 1981) BIL
2. C-R(81)28 COR1. Corrigendum to summary record of a meeting of the Council on 8 July 1981. (27 August 1981) BIL
3. C-R(81)28 COR2. Corrigendum to summary record of a meeting of the Council on 8 July 1981. (9 September 1981) FRE
4. C-M(82)7. Council Memorandum. MBFR: Draft guidance for reference to events in Poland in initial western MBFR plenary statement. (26 January 1982) BIL
5. C-M(82)7 AS1. Council Memorandum Action Sheet. MBFR: Draft guidance for reference to events in Poland in initial western MBFR plenary statement. (27 January 1982) BIL
6. C-M(82)42. Council Memorandum. Developments in Poland in the light of the Alliance's declaration of 11 January 1982. (6 May 1982) BIL
7. C-M(82)42 AS1. Council Memorandum Action Sheet. Developments in Poland in the light of the Alliance's declaration of 11 January 1982. (17 June 1982) BIL
8. C-R(82)41. Council meeting on 28 July 1982. Item II on Poland. (19 August 1982) BIL
9. C-R(82)42. Council meeting on 13 August 1982. Item IV on Poland. (6 September 1982) BIL
10. C-R(82)46. Council meeting on 13 September 1982. Item II on Poland. (11 October 1982) BIL
11. C-R(82)50. Council meeting on 11 October 1982. Item I on Poland. (5 November 1982) BIL
12. C-R(82)50 COR1. Corrigendum to summary record of a meeting of the Council on 11 October 1982 (8 November 1982) ENG
13. C-R(82)53. Council meeting on 20 October 1982. Item II on Poland. (19 November 1982) BIL
14. C-R(83)24. Council meeting on 19 May 1983. Item I on Poland. (24 June 1983) BIL
15. C-R(83)26 PART II. Council meeting on 30 May 1983. Item II on Poland. (6 July 1983) BIL
16. C-R(83)32. Council meeting on 6 July 1983. Item III on Poland. (10 August 1983) BIL
17. C-M(84)35. Council Memorandum. Poland: present situation and current trends. (10 May 1984) BIL

18. C-R(84)32. Council meeting on 23 May 1984. Item II Study on Poland. (28 June 1984) BIL
19. C-M(84)35 AS1. Council Memorandum Action Sheet. Study on Poland. (3 July 1984) BIL
20. C-R(84)59. Council meeting on 30 November 1984. Item III on the situation in Poland (PO/84/118). (30 January 1985) BIL

### **NATO Documents on Poland – Military Authorities**

1. 3050-SHPPPOP-S45-80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Paper on the scope of NATO action in the event of Soviet or Warsaw Pact (WP) military intervention in Poland (27 October 1980) ENG
2. 0030/SHCGS/S-2/80--3530.12.02-SHINBM-S-267-80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Point Paper: Poland update, to provide SACEUR with background information for his meeting with Secretary General Dr. Luns on 2 December 1980 (1 December 1980) ENG
3. 0030-SHCGS-S-2-80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum for record by SACEUR on discussion with the Secretary General on military measures associated with Soviet intervention in Poland (2 December 1980) ENG
4. IMSM-EKD- 526-80. International Military Staff Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee enclosing discussion paper for a meeting in restricted session on 2 December 1980 (2 December 1980) ENG
5. 3050/SHPPA/80/S200. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum from Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations (DCPO) to Chief of Staff (COFS) on Poland – Military Vigilance (MV) measures (3 December 1980) ENG
6. 0030-SHCGS-S-2-80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Measures proposed by SHAPE and discussed in North Atlantic Council on 4 December 1980 (December 1980) ENG
7. MCM-EKD-84-80. Military Committee Memorandum for the Secretary General on options for NATO Military Measures which may be considered in a contingency situation. Enclosure 2 on Poland (4 December 1980) ENG
8. 0030/SHCGS/S-2/80. 091715Z Dec 80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Message from SACEUR to CINCENT, CINCENT, CINCSOUTH, CINCNORTH and CINCUKAIK on air defence reaction to Polish situation (9 December 1980) ENG
9. 1202.2/SHPPA/S18/80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum by W.Y. Smith, Chief of Staff, on Poland – precautionary measures (10 December 1980) ENG
10. 0030/SHCGS/S-2/80—0030/SHPPA/S201/80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum for the Chairman of the Military Committee on amplification of actions proposed by SACEUR as pertinent responses to Soviet intervention in Poland (11 December 1980) ENG
11. 1202.2/SHPPA/S18/80. 131345Z Dec 80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Message from SACEUR to the Secretary General

- and the Chairman of the Military Committee on availability of forces (13 December 1980) ENG
- 12.0030-SHCGS-S-2-80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum for record by US General B.W. Rogers on political guidance re ACE actions concerning Polish situation (15 December 1980) ENG
  - 13.1202.2/SHPPLC/S361/80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum to the Chairman of the Military Committee on further actions proposed by SACEUR regarding Soviet intervention in Poland (16 December 1980) ENG
  - 14.Record-MC/CS-CBX-75 (Private Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee in Chiefs of Staff session held on 8 December 1980. Part I on possible NATO precautionary and preparatory actions in relation to the situation in Poland and possible military measures in a post-invasion situation (16 December 1980) ENG
  - 15.MCM-EKD-86-80. Military Committee Memorandum for the Secretary General on options for NATO Military Measures which may be considered in a contingency situation (17 December 1980) ENG
  - 16.MCM-EKD-86-80 Corrigendum 1 (17 December 1980)
  - 17.Record-MC-CBX-48-80 (Private Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 18 December 1980. Part II on options for NATO military measures which may be considered when warning has been received of imminent soviet intervention in Poland, or the fact of intervention becomes apparent (23 December 1980) ENG
  - 18.Record - MC-CBX-43-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 3 December 1980. Item 1 on preparation of military advice on the situation in Poland (5 January 1981) ENG
  - 19.Record - MC-CBX-44-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 4 December 1980. Item 1 on preparation of military advice on the situation in Poland (5 January 1981) ENG
  - 20.Record - MC-CBX-45-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 5 December 1980. Item 1 on preliminary military advice (5 January 1981) ENG
  - 21.Record - MC-CBX-46-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 10 December 1980. Item 1 on preliminary appreciation of possible NATO precautionary and preparatory actions in relation to the situation in Eastern Europe and its further development (5 January 1981) ENG
  - 22.1202.2/SHPPLC/S376/80. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum from W.Y. Smith, SHAPE Chief of Staff, on Poland (6 January 1961) ENG
  - 23.Record - MC-CBX-47-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 16 December 1980. Items 1 and 2 on intelligence up-date by the intelligence division IMS (6 January 1981) ENG
  - 24.Record - MC-CBX-42-80 (Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 2 December 1980. Item 1 on preparation of military advice on the situation in Poland (13 January 1981) ENG
  - 25.Record - MC/CS-CBX-75(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee in Chiefs of Staff session held on 8

- December 1980. Part I on points to be raised by the Chairman of the Military Committee (6 February 1981) ENG
- 26.021225Z Mar 81. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Message from SACEUR to the Chairman of the Military Committee on the Polish situation (2 March 1981) ENG
  - 27.IMSM-UAJ-166-81. International Military Staff Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee: Intelligence Summary on Poland (6 April 1981) ENG
  - 28.IMSM-CBX- 295-81. International Military Staff Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee on presentation by SACEUR on the importance of AEW&C Support during the crisis in Poland to the 76<sup>th</sup> MC/CS meeting on 11 May 1981 (26 May 1981) ENG
  - 29.Record - MC-CBX-24-81 (Plenary Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 11 June 1981. Part I on supplementary briefing by the intelligence division IMS (22 June 1981) ENG
  - 30.MILSTAM(OPS)-EKD-134-81. Military Staff Memorandum by IMS Director on Military Committee remits on crisis management matters (23 June 1981) ENG. Annex: IMSM-EKD- -81. International Military Staff Draft Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee on limited military response options prepared for the Polish situation (June 1981) ENG
  - 31.2030-SHCGS-S-8-81. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE). Memorandum by SACEUR to the Chairman of the Military Committee on ACE responses to an intervention in Poland (30 June 1981) ENG
  - 32.CMCM-11-81. Chairman Military Committee Memorandum for the Secretary General on military appreciation on the current situation in Poland (30 June 1981) ENG
  - 33.IMSM-EKD- 357-81. International Military Staff Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee on limited military response options: relationship to matrix of options prepared for the Polish situation (30 June 1981) ENG
  - 34.CMCM-EKD-12-81. Chairman Military Committee Memorandum for SACEUR on ACE responses to an intervention in Poland (3 July 1981) ENG
  - 35.CMCM-EKD-13-81. Chairman Military Committee Memorandum for the Secretary General on Allied Command Europe responses to an intervention in Poland (3 July 1981) ENG
  - 36.MCM-EKD-41-81. Military Committee Memorandum from A.C. Davies, Director International Military Staff, to the Secretary General on ACE responses to an intervention in Poland (7 July 1981) ENG
  - 37.CMCM-16-81. Chairman Military Committee Memorandum for SACEUR on ACE responses to an intervention in Poland (9 July 1981) ENG
  - 38.Record - MC-CBX-30-81(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 6 July 1981. Part I: Options for NATO military measures (13 July 1981) ENG
  - 39.Record - MC-CBX-29-81(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 2 July 1981. Part I: ACE responses to an intervention in Poland (17 July 1981) ENG
  - 40.Record - MC-CBX-52-81(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 14 December 1981. Item 1: briefing on the current situation in and around Poland (6 January 1982) ENG

41. Record - MC-CBX-53-81(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 15 December 1981. Part 1: Intelligence update (6 January 1982) ENG
42. Record - MC-CBX-54-81(Restricted Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 17 December 1981. Part I: briefing on current intelligence by the Intelligence Division IMS (6 January 1982) ENG
43. MILSTAM(INT)-UAG-187-82. Military Staff Memorandum for the members of the Military Committee on intelligence briefing: Polish internal security organization (28 October 1982) ENG
44. Record - MC-CBX-49-82(Plenary Session). Record of a meeting of the North Atlantic Military Committee held on 28 October 1982. Part I: briefing on current intelligence by the Intelligence Division IMS (30 November 1982) ENG
45. MCM-EKD-41-81 Corrigendum (15 November 1983) ENG
46. MCM-EKD-84-80 Corrigendum (15 November 1983) ENG
47. MCM-EKD-86-80 Corrigendum (15 November 1983) ENG

### **NATO Documents on Poland – Assessment Reports**

1. AS(80)23. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report sent by the DDIS to the NATO Situation Centre SITCEN on Poland and the 8<sup>th</sup> Party Congress (10 February 1980) ENG
2. AS(80)61. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on the situations of the strikes in Poland (22 August 1980) ENG
3. AS(80)64. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from Rome on the situation of Poland at 21 August 1980 (22 August 1980) ENG
4. AS(80)66. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from Italian Ministry of Defence on Poland: domestic situation (27 August 1980) ENG
5. AS(80)67. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: domestic situation (27 August 1980) ENG
6. AS(80)68. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland (5 September 1980) ENG
7. AS(80)69. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from Rome on Poland: KOR and the Catholic Movement (12 September 1980) ENG
8. AS(80)70. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on the situation in Poland (12 September 1980) ENG
9. AS(80)72. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from DDIS on the economic effects of the strikes and the economic perspectives in Poland (17 September 1980) ENG
10. AS(80)77. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on the strikes and Solidarnosc in Poland (29 September 1980) ENG
11. AS(80)80. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: recent developments, internal and military situation (3 October 1980) ENG
12. AS(80)85. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Central Committee Meeting on 4-6 October and Kania's report (10 October 1980) ENG

13. AS(80)87. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland recent developments and East european reactions (27 October 1980) ENG
14. AS(80)92. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland situation: Solidarnosc, visit of the Polish leaders to Moscow on 30 October (7 November 1980) ENG
15. AS(80)94. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on the legal registration of Solidarnosc on 10 November (14 November 1980) ENG
16. AS(80)97. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on East european reactions to developments in Poland (28 November 1980) ENG
17. AS(80)98. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: recent developments and the relations between the Party and Solidarnosc (28 November 1980) ENG
18. AS(80)99. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: plenum meeting of the Central Committee on 1-2 December (4 December 1980) ENG
19. AS(80)101. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Moscow meeting of all 7 Warsaw Pact countries on 4-5 December (8 December 1980) ENG
20. AS(80)103. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Soviet military preparations (12 December 1980) ENG
21. AS(80)104. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Gdansk ceremonies on 16 December (15 December 1980) ENG
22. AS(80)108. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from SACEUR on Poland: state of readiness of the Soviet forces (23 December 1980) ENG
23. AS(80)109. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: situation during Christmas 1980 (30 December 1980) ENG
24. AS(81)1. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Solidarnosc activities and the aproach of Polish Church (8 January 1981) ENG
25. AS(81)5. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Solidarnosc and "working Saturdays", problems of the countryside and East media reactions (16 January 1981) ENG
26. AS(81)8. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: strikes, Walesa's meeting with the Pope and censorship (23 January 1981) ENG
27. AS(81)10. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from Italian Ministry of Defence on Poland: strikes and Solidarnosc and the media (29 January 1981) ENG
28. AS(81)12. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: strikes, censorship and soviet comments on Polish developments (30 January 1981) ENG
29. AS(81)13. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: agreements between Solidarnosc and the regime regarding working hours and reactions by Soviet countries (6 February 1981) ENG
30. AS(81)15. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Central Committee Plenum on 9 February and appointment of Minieter of Defence Jaruzelski as a Prime Minister (16 February 1981) ENG
31. AS(81)16. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: introduction of new government led by General Jaruzelski (20 February 1981) ENG

32. AS(81)18. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Brezhnev report to the Soviet Party Congress (27 February 1981) ENG
33. AS(81)22. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: situation after the meeting in Moscow between Kania, Jaruzelski, Brezhnev and the Soviet Politburo on 4 March (6 March 1981) ENG
34. AS(81)25. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: actions against dissidents, students movements, farmers unions and preparations of the Party extraordinary congress (13 March 1981) ENG
35. AS(81)28. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: preparations of the Party extraordinary congress, economic problems, Soyuz-81 exercise and Soviet media comments on Poland (20 March 1981) ENG
36. AS(81)30. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: military developments (27 March 1981) ENG
37. AS(81)31. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: the incident in Bydgoszcz (28 March 1981) ENG
38. AS(81)32. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: general strike call off, economic aspects, Soviet reaction and military developments (3 April 1981) ENG
39. AS(81)37. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: preparation for the Extraordinary Party Congress in July and the speeches by Kania in Gdansk (11 April 1981) ENG
40. AS(81)38. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Jaruzelski call for strikes ban (15 April 1981) ENG
41. AS(81)40. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: legalisation of Rural Solidarity and conference of grass-roots radicals in Torun on 15 April (24 April 1981) ENG
42. AS(81)43. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Plenum of the Central Committee held 29-30 April and Suslov's visit to Warsaw on 23-24 April (1 May 1981) ENG
43. AS(81)44. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Pre-Congress discussions and elections and preparation of Solidarnosc's first national congress on 31 August (8 May 1981) ENG
44. AS(81)51. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: street incidents, registration of Rural Solidarity, programme for economic recovery, programme for the Party Congress (21 May 1981) ENG
45. AS(81)54. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: attacks on Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland and Soviet and East European views on the situation in Poland (28 May 1981) ENG
46. AS(81)58. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: letter received from the Central Soviet Committee criticising Kania and Jaruzelski's management of the crisis (12 June 1981) ENG
47. AS(81)60. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Jaruzelski's call for a more decisive action to restore law and order at the Parliamentary Session of 12 June (18 June 1981) ENG
48. AS(81)63. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: election of provincial delegates to the Party Congress (3 July 1981) ENG

- 49.AS(81)64. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: preparations of the Party Congress on 14 July (9 July 1981) ENG
- 50.AS(81)66. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Party Congress on 14-20 July, election of a new First Secretary and report by the Grabski Commission (16 July 1981) ENG
- 51.AS(81)70. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Party Congress on 16 July, re-election of Kania as a First Secretary (23 July 1981) ENG
- 52.AS(81)72. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: hunger marches and new censorship law (6 August 1981) ENG
- 53.AS(81)80. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Central Committee Plenum on 11 August and internal division of opinions in Solidarnosc(13 August 1981) ENG
- 54.AS(81)74. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Crimea meeting of Soviet and Polish leaders on 14 August(21 August 1981) ENG
- 55.AS(81)82. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: First stage of Solidarity's Congress (10 September 1981) ENG
- 56.AS(81)83. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Soviet message to the Polish Central Committee on 18 September (25 September 1981) ENG
- 57.AS(81)84. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Second stage of Solidarity's Congress (2 October 1981) ENG
- 58.AS(81)87. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Solidarity approval of a new more radical union programme and re-election of Walesa (8 October 1981) ENG
- 59.AS(81)89. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Post-Solidarity Congress situation (16 October 1981) ENG
- 60.AS(81)90. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Central Committee Plenum on 16-18 October and Jaruzelski elections as the Party leader to replace Kania (23 October 1981) ENG
- 61.AS(81)91. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: preparations for winter and arrest of activist (29 October 1981) ENG
- 62.AS(81)92. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Jaruzelski's draft law on extraordinary measures to protect the citizens and the State, and involvement of the military in the running of Poland (5 November 1981) ENG
- 63.AS(81)93. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Front of National Accord (20 November 1981) ENG
- 64.AS(81)94. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Central Committee Meeting on 27-28 November (4 December 1981) ENG
- 65.AS(81)95. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Declaration of Martial Law on the night of 12/13 December (13 December 1981) ENG
- 66.AS(81)96. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from London on Poland: Initial measures to implement Martial Law (14 December 1981) ENG
- 67.AS(83)44. NATO Situation Centre. Assessment report from United Kingdom Military Representation on Poland: financial impact of Western measures (5 October 1983) ENG

## NATO Documents on Poland – International Staff

1. POLADS(80)6. Political Advisers. Report by Acting Chairman to members of the Political Committee on The Situation in Poland. (22 January 1980) BIL
2. SG/80/563. Secretary General. Letter from Mr. Luns to Admiral R.H. Falls, Chairman Military Committee, informing of approval of points 1,2 and 3 in General Roger's proposal. (8 December 1980) ENG
3. SG/80/570. Secretary General. Letter from Mr. Luns to General B.W. Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, on the decisions by the Defence Planning Committee. (9 December 1980) ENG
4. PO/30/133(Final). Private Office. Memorandum from Secretary General to Permanent Representatives, studying possible measures on the situation in Poland. (16 March 1981) BIL
5. PO/80/133(Final) Corrigendum. Private Office. (16 March 1981) BIL
6. PO/80/133(Définitif) Rectificatif 2. Private Office (31 March 1981) FRE
7. IS-28-05-1981. International Staff. Report by the International Staff on Poland and the Soviet Intentions (28 May 1981) ENG
8. BRIEF 8-07-1981. Meeting of the Council on 8 July 1981, Brief by the Chairman on the Military Committee document CMCM-11-81 on Poland. (8 July 1981) ENG
9. ED/81/138. Economic Committee. Report by the Chairman, Economic Committee to The Secretary General on the current situation of the Polish crisis. (9 December 1981) ENG
10. DC/81/480. Director of the Private Office. Memorandum by Mr. van Campen on the meeting of the Secretary General with the United States Secretary of State for Europe on the evolution of thinking about the Polish crisis in Washington. (22 December 1981) ENG
11. Council 23-12-1981. Meeting of the Council, 23 December 1981, Briefing reporting political statements and views by the nations on the situation in Poland after the establishment of martial law. (23 December 1981) ENG
12. DPA(82)3. Political Affairs Division. From Assistant Secretary General Political Affairs, Glenn Cella, to Secretary General, comments on the text about the Ministerial Declaration on Poland (11 January 1982) ENG
13. BRIEF 23-01-1982. Meeting of the Council on 23 January 1982, brief for the chairman about the follow-up to the 11 January Ministerial Meeting on Poland (23 January 1982) ENG
14. POLADS(82)11. Political Advisers. Report by Acting Chairman, Glenn Cella, to the members of the Political Committee on the compendium of measures taken or contemplated by the allies concerning Poland and the USSR. (1 February 1982) BIL
15. ISD/290. International Staff Document. Report by Acting Chairman to the members of the Political Committee, on the compendium of measures taken or contemplated by the Allies concerning Poland and the USSR. (2 February 1982) BIL
16. DPA(82)32. Political Affairs Division. Report by the Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Fredo Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on measures taken by Japan with regard to Poland and USSR. (23 February 1982) ENG

17. POLADS(82)19. Political Advisers. Report by Acting Chairman, Glenn Cella, to members of the Political Committee, on reactions by the USSR, East European countries and China to the NATO declaration of 11 January on events in Poland. (25 February 1982) BIL
18. ISD/290(Final). International Staff Document. Report by Acting Chairman to the members of the Political Committee, on the compendium of measures taken or contemplated by the Allies concerning Poland and the USSR. (1 March 1982) BIL
19. AC/119-R(82)32. Political Committee. Item III on comments on Polish visas by the nations. (23 April 1982) BIL
20. ISD/300(Revised). International Staff Document. Report by Acting Chairman to members of the Political Committee, on the developments in Poland in the light of the Alliance's declaration of 11 January 1982 (30 April 1982) BIL
21. BRIEF 28-07-1982. Meeting of the Council on Wednesday, 28 July 1982, brief for the Chairman on the Polish announcement of a further relaxation of martial law. (28 July 1982) ENG
22. BRIEF 13-09-1982. Meeting of the Council on Monday, 13 September 1982, Brief for the Chairman on the Solidarity movement and the overall situation in Poland. (13 September 1982) ENG
23. AC/119-R(82)96. Political Committee. Item III on comments, assessments and suggestions by the nations on the Polish question. (29 September 1982) BIL
24. AC/119-R(82)102. Political Committee. Meeting held at the NATO Headquarters on Thursday, 7 October 1982, meeting at the request of the United States. (8 October 1982) BIL
25. DPA/82/192. Political Affairs Division. Report by Acting Assistant Secretary General Political Affairs, Glenn Cella, to Acting Secretary General, on the public treatment of events in Poland. (11 October 1982) ENG
26. AC/119-R(82)103. Political Committee. Item I on the substance of the bilateral démarches and talks with Warsaw by the nations. (12 October 1982) BIL
27. BRIEF 13-10-1982. Meeting of the Council on Wednesday 13 October 1982, Brief for the Chairman on political subjects. (13 October 1982) ENG
28. BRIEF 20-10-1982. Meeting of the Council on Wednesday 20 October 1982, revised brief for the Chairman on the policy aspects and implications of the latest developments in Poland. (20 October 1982) ENG
29. POLADS(82)50. Political Advisers. Report by Acting Chairman to the members of the Political Committee on the situation in Poland. (3 December 1982) BIL
30. DPA(82)273. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary General Political Affairs, F. Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on the relaxation of martial law. (13 December 1982) ENG
31. AC/119-R(82)131. Political Committee. Item II on discussion about document AC/119-R(82)129, Item III. (28 December 1982) BIL
32. DPA(83)170. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, F. Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on the Papal visit to Poland. (24 June 1983) ENG
33. DPA(83)197. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from the Chair of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, to the Secretary General, on meeting of the Political Committee, Tuesday 2 August 1983, on Poland. (2 August 1983) FRE

34. DPA(83)215. Political Affairs. Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, F. Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on the situation in Poland before Martial Law. (5 September 1983) FRE
35. RSQS(83)27. Political Affairs, Special Question Section. From Mr. Johnson, Head RSQS to Director and Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, on the proposal by the UK Representative to prepare a study of the present situation in Poland and likely future trends. (30 November 1983) ENG
36. DPA(83)339. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from Mr. Cella, Chairman to the members of the Political Committee, draft outline for the proposed study on Poland. (9 December 1983) BIL
37. BRIEF 20-12-1983. Meeting of the Political Committee 20 December 1983, brief for the Chairman on the study of the current situation in Poland and future trends. (20 December 1983) ENG
38. AC/127-D/786. Economic Committee. Report on the stationing costs for the Soviet Forces in Poland: Note by the German Delegation. (12 March 1984) ENG
39. DPA(84)227. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary General of Political Affairs, F. Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on exchange of views on the amnesty decreed on the 21 July. (5 September 1984) ENG
40. DPA(84)322. Political Affairs Division. Memorandum from Assistant Secretary General of Political Affairs, F. Dannenbring, to Secretary General, on exchange of views on the implications of the kidnap and murder of Father Popieluszko. (6 November 1984) ENG
41. PO/84/118. Private Office. Memorandum from Secretary General Lord Carrington to Permanent Representatives, on note by the Chairman of the Political Committee on the situation in Poland. (29 November 1984) BIL
42. PO/84/122. Private Office. Memo from Secretary General Lord Carrington to Permanent Representatives, on the situation in Poland. (7 December 1984) BIL

### **NATO Documents on Poland – Private Records**

1. PR(80)52. Private Record. Summary record of a private meeting of the Council on 19 September 1980, on Soviet Military Activity around Poland. (23 September 1980) ENG
2. PR(80)53. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 22 September 1980, Item I on military activities in the Polish area. (30 September 1980) BIL
3. PR(80)59. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 22 October 1980, Item II on the situation in Poland and Eastern Europe. (28 October 1980) ENG
4. PR(80)69. Private Record. Summary record of a private meeting of the Council on 2 December 1980, on the situation in Poland. (5 December 1980) ENG

5. PR(80)70. Private Record. Summary record of a private meeting of the Council on 2 December 1980, on implications for Alliance defence of the situation in Poland. (5 December 1980) ENG
6. PR(80)71. Private Record. Summary record of a private meeting of the Council on 4 December 1980, on the situation in Poland. (5 December 1980) BIL
7. PR(80)72. Private Record. Summary record of private meeting of the Council on 8 December 1980, on implications for Alliance defence of the situation in Poland. (17 December 1980) ENG
8. PR(80)73 PART I. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Defence Planning committee on 9 and 10 December 1980, Item III on the situation in Poland. (8 January 1981) BIL
9. PR(80)73 PART II. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Defence Planning Committee on 9 and 10 December 1980, on precautionary measures in the defence field in relation to the situation in Poland. (8 January 1981) ENG
10. Private Record. Mémorandum sur la réunion ministérielle très restreinte du 11 décembre 1980. (11 December 1980) FRE
11. PR(80)74. Private Record. Private Manual. Summary record of private session of the Council on 15, 16, 18 and 22 December 1980, on possible action by Allied governments in the event of a Soviet intervention in Poland. (13 January 1980) ENG
12. PR(81)11. Private Record. Summary record of a private meeting of the Council on 18 February 1981, an intelligence assessment and contingency planning on Poland. (2 March 1981) BIL
13. PR(81)26. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 3 April 1981, Item I on the situation in Poland. (7 April 1980) ENG
14. PR(81)58. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 22 September 1981, Item I on developments in Poland. (25 September 1981) ENG
15. PR(81)63. Private Record. Procès-Verbal d'une Réunion restreinte du Conseil tenue le 9 octobre, objet I congres de solidarité. (20 Octobre 1981) FRE
16. PR(81)78. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 14 December 1981, on the declaration of martial law. (22 December 1981) BIL
17. PR(81)80. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted Meeting of the Council on 16 December 1981, on the situation in Poland. (7 January 1982) BIL
18. PR(81)82. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council held on 23 December 1981, Item II on the situation in Poland. (8 January 1982) BIL
19. PR(81)84. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 30 December 1981, on the situation in Poland. (18 January 1982) BIL
20. PR(81)85. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 31 December 1981, Item I on a visit to Bonne of the Polish Deputy Prime Minister. (18 January 1982) BIL
21. PR(82)2. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 11 January 1982, Item II on developments in Poland. (19 January 1982) BIL

22. PR(82)5. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council held on 23 January 1982, follow-up to the 11 January Ministerial Meeting on Poland. (4 February 1982) BIL
23. PR(82)9. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 3 February 1982, on the situation in Poland. (11 February 1982) ENG
24. PR(82)12. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 10 February 1982, Item II on a follow up to Allied action in Poland. (25 February 1982) BIL
25. PR(82)16. Private Record. Summary record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 24 February 1982, on Allied measures against Poland and the Soviet Union. (15 March 1982) BIL
26. PR(82)44. Private Record. Summary Record of a restricted meeting of the Council on 22 July 1982, Item I on Poland. (28 July 1982) ENG

### **Reactions and Analysis in the Allies**

#### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Belgium**

1. BE-10-04-1981. P08 No1984. Belgian Delegation. Letter from the Belgian Ambassador, M. van Ussel to the Secretary General, enclosing letter from New Zealand Embassy in Belgium, dated 8 April 1981, on the measures taken by New Zealand in case of an aggressive intervention in Poland. (10 April 1981) FRE + ENG
2. BE-1-10-1980. P08 No7053. Belgian Delegation. Letter from the Belgian Ambassador to the head of the Political Committee, meeting between the Belgian Ambassador and M. Dobrosielski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the situation in Poland. (1 October 1980) FRE
3. BE-14-10-1980. P08.93 No9116. Belgian Delegation. Letter from the Belgian Ambassador to the head of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on analysis of the political situation in Poland. (14 October 1980) FRE

#### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Canada**

1. CA-14-08-1980. Canadian Delegation. Report on the internal situation in Poland. (14 August 1980) ENG
2. CA-28-08-1980. Canadian Delegation. Report on the USSR and events in Poland. (28 August 1980) ENG
3. CA-11-09-1980. Canadian Delegation. Letter from Counsellor Mr. Smith to the Director and Deputy to Assistant Secretary General Political Directorate, attaching reports concerning the situation in Poland. (11 September 1980) ENG

4. CA-10-04-1981. Canadian Delegation. Letter from the Canadian Ambassador, J.G.H. Halstead, to the Deputy Secretary General, R. Pettrignani, on the economic measures related to a possible grain embargo. (10 April 1981) ENG
5. CA-30-04-1981. Canadian Delegation. Letter from the Canadian Ambassador, J.G.H. Halstead, to the Secretary General, on the result of soundings with key third world countries on the subject of Poland performed by the Australian Ambassador. (30 April 1981) ENG
6. CA-14-09-1981. Canadian Delegation. Report on Polish Crisis: What is Solidarnosc Becoming? (14 September 1981) ENG
7. CA-23-12-1981. Canadian Delegation. Letter from the Canadian Ambassador, J.G.H. Halstead, to the Secretary General, on proposals for measurements that might be taken in respect of the situation in Poland. (23 December 1981) ENG
8. CA-19-01-1982. Canadian Delegation. Letter from the Canadian Ambassador, J.G.H. Halstead, to the Secretary General, on views of the Canadian authorities on the way the Polish crisis should be handled. (19 January 1982) ENG
9. CA-12-10-1982. Canadian Delegation. Letter from Counsellor Mr. Chapin to Acting Chairman Political Committee, Glenn Cella, attaching discussion paper titled: 'Poland: The Realm of the Possible'. (12 October 1982) ENG
10. CA-14-02-1983. Canadian Delegation. Letter from Counsellor Mr. Chapin to Acting Chairman Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on discussion paper titled: 'Poland – Where does NATO go from here?'. (14 February 1983) ENG

#### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Denmark**

1. DE-25-11-1980. 105.E.87. Danish Delegation. Report on developments in Poland. (25 November 1980) ENG
2. DE-2-12-1980. 105.E.87. Danish Delegation. Report on developments in Poland (2 December 1980) ENG
3. DE-8-04-1981. 105.E.87. Danish Delegation. Paper for the Director and Deputy to Assistant Secretary General Political Directorate, Glenn Cella, on the possible threshold for intervention in Poland. (8 April 1981) ENG

#### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: France**

1. FR-24-04-1981. No 102. French Delegation. Letter for the Secretary General, circulating message from Spanish MoFA on possible measures in case of a Soviet intervention in Poland. (24 April 1981) FRE

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Germany**

1. GE-22-08-1980. German Delegation. Reports to the Director of the Political Directorate and Acting Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Glenn Cella, on the Soviet Reaction to the situation in Poland. (22 August 1980) ENG
2. GE-26-08-1980. German Delegation. Speaking Notes on the Soviet Reaction to the events in Poland. (26 August 1980) ENG
3. GE-28-08-1980. German Delegation. Report to the Director of the Political Directorate and Chairman of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, with excerpts from a report by the German Embassy in Moscow on the evaluation of the Soviet Reaction to the events in Poland. (28 August 1980) ENG
4. GE-9-09-1980. German Delegation. Speaking Notes concerning agreements on new Trade Unions in Poland. (9 September 1980) ENG
5. GE-9-10-1980. German Delegation. Report to Director of the Political Directorate and Chairman of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on the alleged closure of parts of the Soviet-Polish Frontier. (9 October 1980) ENG
6. GE-14-10-1980. German Delegation. Speaking Notes to the Chairman of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on the German evaluation of the situation in Poland and the Soviet reaction. (14 October 1980) ENG
7. GE-16-12-1980. German Delegation. Report on Western objectives in the Polish crisis. (16 December 1980) ENG
8. GE-13-02-1981. I-322.POL. German Delegation. Speaking Notes to the Chairman of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on the situation in Poland. (13 February 1981) ENG
9. GE-30-04-1981. German Delegation. Reports to the Secretary General, on the situation in Poland, analysis from German Embassy in Warsaw (30 April 1981) ENG. Annex: Suslov's visit to Warsaw (30 April 1981) ENG
10. GE-662-82. - 662/82 VS-V. German Delegation. Letter to the Secretary General, on the results of demarches in connection with the crisis in Poland. (18 February 1982) ENG
11. GE-4813-82. No. 4813/82. German Delegation. Speaking Notes to the Director and Chairman of the Political Committee, Glenn Cella, on continued Alliance consultations on Poland. (1 December 1982) ENG
12. GE-23-05-1984. German Delegation. Speaking Notes to the Secretary General, on the Study on Poland. (23 May 1984) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Greece**

1. No. 2141/38/2842. Greek Delegation. Letter by Georges Savvaides, Counsellor of the Greek Embassy to Glenn R. Cella, Chairman of the Political Committee, enclosing report by the Eastern-European Working Group of the Political Committee, of the European Communities (Athens 11-12 July 1983), entitled "The Situation in Poland after the Pope's visit" (18 July 1983) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Italy**

1. Political situation in and around Poland. Speaking notes of the Italian Representative in the Council meeting of 8 July 1981 (8 July 1981) ENG
2. 5206. Italian Delegation. The Amnesty in Poland: Italian views (Speaking notes) (31 July 1984) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Netherlands**

1. 1063. Netherlands Delegation. Article on the opposition in Poland since 1976 (10 February 1981) ENG
2. 3056. Netherlands Delegation. Report on the situation in Poland and the reactions of other Eastern European countries (14 April 1981) ENG
3. 6886. Netherlands Delegation. Letter from A.J. Quanjer to G.R. Cella, Deputy ASG Political Affairs, enclosing the Netherlands' point of view regarding a reaction to the Polish amnesty (8 August 1981) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: Norway**

1. 9119/82/Ari/1e. Norwegian Delegation. Letter from Counsellor Arnt Rindal to Glenn R. Cella, Deputy ASG Political Affairs, enclosing speaking notes for the discussion of developments in Poland and the implications for the Alliance (30 November 1982) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: United Kingdom**

1. UK-17-02-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Report by Mr. Kenneth Scott to the Secretary General Dr. Luns, on contingency planning for Poland. (17 February 1981) ENG
2. UK-18-02-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter by Mr. Clive Rose to Secretary General Dr. Luns, on record of a meeting with the Australian and New Zealand Ambassadors on contingency planning in relation to Poland. (18 February 1981) ENG
3. UK-10-03-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter by Mr. Fell to Mr. Cella, Director Political Directorate, enclosing an UK Assessment on Poland entitled "A broader view". (10 March 1981) ENG
4. UK-17-03-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter from Mr. Clive Rose to Secretary General Dr. Luns, on the meeting with the Australian and New Zealand Ambassadors. (17 March 1981) ENG
5. UK-14-04-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter from Mr. Clive Rose to Secretary General Luns, on further consultation with the Australian and New Zealand Ambassadors. (15 April 1981) ENG

6. UK-6-08-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter from Mr. Alston to Mr. Lankes, Assistant Secretary General Political Affairs, concerning the circulation of a paper on the situation in Poland and the reactions of other Eastern European countries. (6 August 1981) ENG
7. UK-9-09-1981. United Kingdom Delegation. Report from Mr. Fell to Mr. Cella, Director Political Directorate, on assessment of developments in Poland. (9 September 1981) ENG
8. UK-11-01-1982. United Kingdom Delegation. Recommendations on appropriate national possibilities for actions regarding the Polish situation. (11 January 1982) ENG
9. UK-21-09-1982. United Kingdom Delegation. Speaking note on developments in Poland relevant to future policy of the Allies. (21 September 1982) ENG
10. UK-8-10-1982. United Kingdom Delegation. Speaking note by Mr. Alston to Mr. Cella, Director Political Directorate, on moves by the Polish regime to lift or modify martial law regulations. (8 October 1982) ENG
11. UK-20-10-1982. United Kingdom Delegation. Meeting of the North Atlantic Council on 20 October 1982, the main objectives concerning the Polish situation seen by the United Kingdom. (20 October 1982) ENG
12. UK-25-11-1982. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter from Mr. Alston to Mr. Cella, Director Political Directorate, assessment of the relaxation of martial law in Poland. (25 November 1982) ENG
13. UK-16-08-1984. United Kingdom Delegation. Letter from Mr. Wheeler to Mr. Cella, Chairman of the Political Committee, on a possible paper to be produced by the International Staff on the Polish Amnesty. (16 August 1984) ENG

### **Reactions /Analysis in the Allies: United States**

1. USNATO-ECON-OUT-80-115. United States Delegation. From Mr. Harry Blaney, US Counselor for Economic Affairs, to Mr. Philip Joseph, Acting Director Economic Directorate, on the Polish internal situation. (19 August 1980) ENG
2. USNATO-POL-OUT-NS-80-118. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. John Hawes, US Deputy Political Advisor, to Mr. Glenn Cella, Chairman of the Political Committee, on the updating of the Polish study. (27 August 1980) ENG
3. USNATO-POL-OUT-NS-80-145. United States Delegation. Speaking Notes from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to Secretary General Dr. Luns, assessing the situation in Poland. (23 October 1980) ENG
4. USNATO-AMB-OUT-NS-80-174. United States Delegation. Statement by US President Carter on a possible Soviet intervention in Poland, passed on by Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to Secretary General Dr. Luns. (7 December 1980) ENG
5. US-26-01-1981. United States Delegation. Letter from the Mr. Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, for Secretary General Dr. Luns, passed on through Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, on assessment of the situation in Poland. (26 January 1981) ENG

6. US3-03-1981. United States Delegation. Report from the US Delegation titled: 'A Solidarnosc Adviser looks hopefully at the future'. (3 March 1981) ENG
7. US-7-04-1981. United States Delegation. Report from the US Delegation, on the Polish situation: Solidarity, Party, Government and the Church. (7 April 1981) ENG
8. USNATO-AMB-OUT-NS-81-59. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to Secretary General Dr. Luns, report on the Japanese response on Polish contingency measures. (13 May 1981) ENG
9. US-15-06-1981. United States Delegation. Report on the Polish situation in the wake of the 11<sup>th</sup> party plenum. (15 June 1981) ENG
10. US-22-09-1981. United States Delegation. Report on Eastern Europe after Poland. (22 September 1981) ENG
11. USNATO-AMB-OUT-NS-81-145. United States Delegation. Speaking Notes from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to Secretary General Dr. Luns, demarche to the Soviet Union on Poland. (22 September 1981) ENG
12. US-21-12-1981. United States Delegation. Reports from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to the Secretary General Dr. Luns, on the situation in Poland including the resolution by the European trade Union Confederation ETUC (21 December 1981) ENG
13. USNATO-AMB-OUT-NS-81. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, for Secretary General Dr. Luns, passed on through Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, on US views on recent developments in Poland. (22 December 1981) ENG
14. USNATO-POL-OUT-NS-82-05. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. John Hawes, US Deputy Political Advisor, to Mr. Glenn Cella, Acting Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, on the possible accepting of Solidarity detainees. (8 January 1982) ENG
15. US-9-01-1982. United States Delegation. Letter from the Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, for Secretary General Dr. Luns, passed on through Mr. Stephen Ledogar, Acting permanent Representative, concerning the draft declaration on Poland. (9 January 1982) ENG
16. USNATO-AMB-OUT-NS-82-10. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to the Secretary General Dr. Luns, discussing the correspondence by Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, on the Allied Declaration and the situation in Poland. (21 January 1982) ENG
17. USNATO-POL-NS-82-13. United States Delegation. Report from Mr. John Hawes, US Deputy Political Advisor, to Mr. Glenn Cella, Chairman of the Political Committee, on Assessing Polish Government Action. (25 January 1982) ENG
18. US-8-02-1982. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to Secretary General Luns, on a letter by the US Secretary of State to the nations on possible assistance for Poland. (8 February 1982) ENG
19. US-14-09-1982. United States Delegation. Report on future prospects of Soviet Policy toward Poland. (14 September 1982) ENG
20. US-6-10-1982. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Stephen Ledogar, US Acting Permanent Representative to Mr. Anker Svart, Danish Permanent Representative, on ambassadorial meetings with Polish Governmental officials. (6 October 1982) ENG

21. US-3-12-1982. United States Delegation. From Mr. Tapley Bennett, US Ambassador, to the Secretary General Dr. Luns, on the meeting by the Polish parliament on December 13. (3 December 1982) ENG
22. US-8-12-1982. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Norman Frisbie, US Deputy Political Advisor, to Mr. Glenn Cella, Chairman of the Political committee, comments on the draft paper: "The situation in Poland". (8 December 1982) ENG
23. US-13-01-1983. United States Delegation. Letter from Mr. Norman Frisbie, US Deputy Political Advisor to Mr. Glenn Cella, Chairman of the Political Committee, on suggested themes for demarches. (13 January 1983) ENG
24. USNATO-POL-OUT-NS-83-93. United States Delegation. Talking points used by US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mark Palmer at the North Atlantic Council, on a US review of the situation in Poland. (19 May 1983) ENG
25. US-20-01-1984. United States Delegation. Report on the lifting of certain sanctions against Poland. (20 January 1984) ENG
26. USNATO-POL-NS-84-134. United States Delegation. Statement by the US President on the release of 652 political prisoners and on further steps to be taken. (2 August 1984) ENG