



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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MS

John Tolan

European Council: Poland

As you know, we received yesterday the Presidency's suggestions on the agenda for the European Council on 3/4 December. Poland is on the list of political cooperation subjects.

Both the European Council and the NATO Ministerial meeting on 9/10 December fall before the anniversary of martial law on 13 December, when, according to the Polish Ambassador, martial law itself will be lifted and the detainees released, except for those to be charged with specific offences; both actions to be subject to there being 'calm' in Poland. Given the Solidarity Underground's decision to call off the protest actions planned for 13 December, and also the moderate line now being taken by the Church and by Walesa, it looks as if this condition may well be fulfilled.

Against this background, and in the light of the probable need to refer to Poland in statements and communiques after the European Council, the NATO Ministerial Meeting and the Foreign Affairs Council on 13/14 December, we have been considering the line that the Prime Minister might take in Copenhagen and on which Mr Pym could thereafter build in Brussels. Discussion so far in NATO appears to be tending towards a consensus for a cautiously positive response if the Polish moves are actually announced on 13 December, followed thereafter by a pause during which the practical effects of the new measures would be assessed, together with the reactions of the Polish people. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary believes that this is the right approach. In formal terms, at least, the expected Polish moves would go a considerable way towards satisfying the three criteria set out in the 11 January Declaration. But everything depends on how far the situation in Poland actually improves as a result.

/ I enclose a note of the elements which Mr Pym suggests might be worked into public statements following the European Council and other meetings later in the month.

/Mr Pym



Mr Pym would be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister agrees. If so, her briefing will reflect this for the European Council and he will take a similar line - subject to any new developments - in his own later discussions in NATO and with the Ten.

Mr Pym's view is that our overriding aim in all this must be to maintain Alliance unity. He recognises that to judge the genuineness of any Polish moves on 13 December will not be easy. However, if the moves forecast for 13 December are implemented, and if they lead to tangible improvements in the situation in Poland, he believes the West should respond by sending a positive but controlled signal both to keep Jaruzelski on his present course and to avoid Poland turning still further towards the Soviet Union.

Yes

R B Bone

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Poland: Public Statements

The following are the elements which might be reflected in any public statements on Poland by the European Council or by NATO Ministers.

EC partners/NATO Ministers

- A. Wish to stress their desire to maintain and develop links with the Polish people;
- B. Recall the communique of 4 January 1982 or the NATO Declaration of 11 January; (Any reference to the three criteria to be inserted in a retrospective context);
- C. Note that the release of Lech Walesa and the Polish Government's expressed intention to lift martial law on 13 December are positive developments, but note also that Solidarity has been dissolved contrary to the Polish Government's expressed intention to pursue a policy of reconciliation;
- D. Will continue to follow the situation closely, particularly on how the Polish Government intends to implement its promise of lifting martial law;
- E. Draw to the attention of the Polish authorities the fact that in this regard their actions will be assessed by their effects;
- F. Reiterate the expectations of the International Community that the Polish authorities will fulfil their promise to return to path of renewal and reform;
- G. Hope that the situation will develop in such a way as to make it possible for the Ten/NATO to resume and develop the kind of relationship which they would wish to have with Poland and the Polish people.