



European Communities

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

WORKING DOCUMENTS

English Edition

1986-87

10 November 1986

SERIES A

DOCUMENT A 2-129/86

SECOND REPORT

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee
on the situation in Poland

Rapporteur: Mr J. GAWRONSKI

Resolution adopted at the Sitting of 11 December 1986 annexed.

Blank page not reproduced: 2

WG(VS1)1912E

PE 97.080/fin.II

At its sitting of 23 October 1984, the European Parliament referred the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Glinne on the situation in Poland following the amnesty decree (Doc. 2-742/84) pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible.

At its meeting of 26 November 1984, the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report. At its meeting of 23 January 1985, the Political Affairs Committee appointed Mr Gawronski rapporteur.

At its sitting of 11 February 1985, the European Parliament referred the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Alber and others on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people (Doc. 2-1337/84) to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Transport for an opinion.

At its sitting of 8 May 1985, the European Parliament referred the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Pordea and others on Poland (Doc. B 2-213/85) to the Political Affairs Committee.

At its sitting of 13 January 1986, the European Parliament referred the motions for a resolution tabled by Mr Pordea and others on the death of the Polish student Marcin Antonowicz (B 2-1194/85) to the Political Affairs Committee.

The Political Affairs Committee considered the report at its meetings of 25 September, 1985, 23 April 1986 and 26 June 1986.

At the last meeting, it adopted the motion for a resolution as a whole by 19 votes to 2 with 6 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr FORMIGONI, chairman; Mr GAWRONSKI, rapporteur, Mr BAILLOT (deputizing for Mr PIQUET), Mr BALFE (deputizing for Mr LOMAS), Mr BERNARD-REYMOND, Lord BETHELL, Mr BETTIZA, Mr BEYER de RYKE (deputizing for Mrs VEIL), Mr BROK (deputizing for Mr BLUMENFELD), Mr FLANAGAN, Mr GUIMON UGARTECHEA, Mr HABSBERG, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr KEPSCH, Mr MEDEIROS FERREIRA, Mrs PIERMONT, Mr PLANAS PUCHADES, Mr POETERRING, Mr PRAG, Dame Shelagh ROBERTS (deputizing for Lady ELLES), Mr SABY (deputizing for Mr CHARZAT), Mr SEEFELD, Mr SELVA (deputizing for Mr ANTONIOZZI), Mr TZOUNIS (deputizing for Mr CROUX), Mr VERDE I ALDEA (deputizing for Mr MEDINA ORTEGA), Mrs VEIHOFF (deputizing for Mr HANSCH), Mr WALTER and Mr WEDEKIND (deputizing for Mr LENZ).

The opinion of the Committee on Transport is attached.

The report was tabled on 2 July 1986.

At its sitting of 6 October 1986, further to a request submitted by the Socialist Group pursuant to Rule 56 of the Rules of Procedure, the European Parliament referred the report back to the Political Affairs Committee.

At its meeting of 28 October 1986, the Political Affairs Committee decided unanimously to resubmit the present report to Parliament without amendment.

Present: Mr FORMIGONI, chairman; Mr GAWRONSKI, rapporteur, Mr AMADEI, Mr ANTONIOZZI, Mr BALFE (deputizing for Mr Jospin), Lord BETHELL, Mr BOESMANS, Mr BOS (deputizing for Mr Flanagan), Mr CAAMANO BERNAL, Mr CAMPINOS (deputizing for Mr Martelli), Mr CHRISTIANSEN (deputizing for Mr Walter), Mr COSTE-FLORET, Mr CROUX, Mr DANKERT (deputizing for Mr Hansch), Mr DELOROZOY, Mr FELLERMAIER (deputizing for Mr Friedrich), Mr FILINIS (deputizing for Mr Ephremidis), Mrs FLORES VALENCIA, Mr GLINNE, Mr HABSBERG, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mrs LENZ, Mr LOMAS, Mr de la MALENE (deputizing for Mrs Anglade), Mr MEDINA ORTEGA, Mr NEWENS, Mr NORMANTON (deputizing for Lady Elles), Mr PENDERS, Mr PERINAT ELIO, Mrs PIERMONT, Mr PLANAS, Mr POETTERING, Mr PRAG, Mr ROMEOS (deputizing for Mr Plaskovitis), Mr SABY (deputizing for Mrs Charzat), Mr SEEFELD, Mr SELVA (deputizing for Mr Ercini) and Mr TZOUNIS (deputizing for Mr Blumenfeld).

The second report was tabled on 30 October 1986.

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will be indicated in the draft agenda for the part-session at which it will be debated.

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
A. MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION	6
B. EXPLANATORY STATEMENT	9
ANNEX I - Motion for a resolution tabled by Mr GLINNE on the situation in Poland following the amnesty decree (Doc. 2-742/84)	16
ANNEX II - Motion for a resolution tabled by Mr ALBER and others on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people (Doc. 2-1337/84)	17
ANNEX III - Motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PORDEA and others on Poland (Doc. B 2-213/85)	18
ANNEX IV - Motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PORDEA and others on the death of the Polish student Marcin Antonowicz (B 2-1199/85)	20
Opinion of the Committee on Transport	21

The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the situation in Poland

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
 - . by Mr Glinne on the situation in Poland following the amnesty decree (Doc. 2-742/84)
 - . by Mr Alber and others on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people (Doc. 2-1337/84)
 - . by Mr Pordea and others on Poland (Doc. B 2-213/85),
 - . by Mr Pordea and others on the death of the Polish student Marcin Antonowicz (Doc. B 2-1194/85),
- having regard to the resolution on the situation in Poland adopted on 16 September 1982 on the basis of the report by Mr Deschamps,¹
- having regard to the resolution on jamming stations in Europe adopted on 11 October 1985 on the basis of the report by Mr von Habsburg,²
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Transport (Doc. A 2-85/86),
- having regard to the second report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Transport (Doc. A 2-129/86),
- A. whereas martial law was in force in Poland for four years,
- B. whereas, four years after these events, and despite the lifting of the state of emergency, General Jaruzelski's government has been unable to provide solutions capable of satisfying the Polish people's demands for civil and political liberties and an improvement in economic conditions, but has in fact increased repression, for example by violating the autonomy of universities,
- C. deploring the deterioration in the conditions of imprisonment, the increased repression in prisons and the introduction of more severe sentences in criminal cases,
- D. disturbed by the continuing existence of a large number of political prisoners often held in degrading conditions and by the restrictive measures against members of the opposition - including Lech Walesa - and leading figures in academic, ecclesiastical and trade union circles,
- E. whereas the Polish Government has ignored the European Parliament's request that it pay compensation to political prisoners who have been released and whereas the latter encounter systematic discrimination at work,

¹ Doc. 1-436/82 and OJ No. C 267, 11.10.1982, p. 81

² Doc. A 2-103/85 and OJ No. C 288, 11.11.1985, p. 152

- F. whereas Poland's withdrawal from the International Labour Organization has been used by the Government as an opportunity to avoid complying with certain provisions of international law,
 - G. recognizing, that active cultural pluralism can be maintained in Poland,
 - H. having regard to the government's attempts to achieve economic reforms aimed at improving and decentralizing production decisions,
 - I. whereas, however, economic reforms are held back by bureaucratic resistance and the uncertainty surrounding the operation of what is nevertheless an extensive private sector,
 - J. whereas the Polish population live under difficult material conditions,
 - K. having regard to the imposing debt accumulated by Poland towards Western countries,
 - L. aware that, as a result, the European Community can make a constructive contribution to the economic, social and political development of the Polish situation by means of economic and diplomatic instruments,
 - M. whereas the Western countries should direct their action towards respect for human rights, the achievement of more extensive internal pluralism, an improvement in the material situation of the Polish people and a smaller measure of dependence on Moscow for Warsaw,
 - N. aware, however, that the conditions for the establishment of democracy in Poland in the near future do not exist at present and wishing to play a constructive role while remaining conscious of the limits of its own action,
 - O. having regard to the resumption of governmental contacts between Poland and various European countries in the last two years,
 - P. noting the exploratory contacts the Community has made with Poland with a view to normalizing relations,
1. Stresses the need for international efforts to help Poland return to the path of national compromise;
 2. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to draw up a joint EEC strategy on Poland in the light of the events of recent years;
 3. Considers that at the present juncture a policy of political isolation of Poland together with economic sanctions would prove ineffective and counter-productive;
 4. Considers, however, that the authoritarian views imposed on the country since the 1981 clampdown cannot be ignored and forgotten and calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners;
 5. Believes, therefore, that the extent and the nature of relations with Poland should be geared to developments in the internal situation of the country;

6. Stresses, in particular, the value of opening negotiations on economic and trade cooperation with Poland, in order to arrive at agreements which if possible should stipulate conditions for that country's increased social, economic and political liberalization;
7. Stresses the need to continue increasing humanitarian aid to the most disadvantaged sections of the Polish population;
8. Stresses the need for humanitarian aid to be distributed through private and non-governmental channels;
9. Calls in particular on the Member States to make it easier to send gift parcels to Polish citizens, by bearing the postage charges themselves;
10. Approves the special contribution allocated by the Community to the Agricultural Fund managed by the Church, and calls on the Polish Government to authorize the setting up of this fund without further delay;
11. Is closely monitoring the negotiations in progress between the countries of the Paris Club and the Warsaw Government concerning the management of Poland's foreign debt;
12. Believes that in this context the EEC governments should make the granting of new loans to Poland conditional on an agreement on the consolidation of previous debts under terms acceptable to European financial institutions and on the adoption of measures to develop the private sector in Poland;
13. Recalls that relations with Poland should not be confined to contacts with the official authorities, but should also involve genuine and continuous support for the movement of ideas which spawned the experiences of the Polish summer and which retain a dominant position in the minds of the Polish people;
14. Congratulates those statesmen and politicians who, during recent visits to Poland, have expressed the desire to meet members of the opposition and hopes that the Community governments will maintain contacts with the forces representing Polish society;
15. Calls on the Commission and the Community governments to support by all possible means the development of independent and unofficial forms of culture in Poland, through the financing of study grants and overseas publications, and gradually to include in (trade) agreements clauses concerning cultural exchanges, exchanges of information and the free movement of persons;
16. Stresses the need to give legal and material support to Polish exiles in Community countries and the institutions which most effectively represent them, such as the Brussels branch of Solidarnosc;
17. Undertakes to send a delegation of its own to Poland to initiate contacts with the Warsaw authorities, independent institutions, representatives of the Catholic church and representatives of the opposition;
18. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and the Polish Government.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

In September 1982, just a few months after the December 1981 coup d'etat, the European Parliament adopted the Deschamps resolution on the situation in Poland. This wide-ranging report also included an exhaustive account of events in Poland since the end of the war.

There is no need to repeat what has already been said, but the 1982 resolution can be regarded as the starting point for an account of developments in the last three years.

1.1. A situation of stalemate persists in Poland as regards the government's relations with the people and the church. There is no political resolve on the part of the authorities to overcome the stalemate and open a dialogue with the opposition forces, for fear of legitimising and strengthening them. This difficult situation is accompanied by an economic crisis which has dragged on for years with no perceptible signs of any way out.

1.2. Although it does not appear to be directly threatened, the position of General Jaruzelski and the ruling party is by no means stable. The most glaring example of conflict amongst top leaders was the assassination of Father Popieluszko, a significant political provocation whose real instigators are still unknown despite the fact that the perpetrators of the crime were tried - a thing unprecedented in the countries of Eastern Europe. It is probable that the provocation stems from the conflict between the so-called realists whose main aim is to improve the socio-economic situation and thus overcome Poland's isolation from the rest of the world whilst retaining its ties to the Soviet Union, and the hardliners who favour a return to a way of exercising power that is typical of Communist regimes.

1.3. The former, who are faithful followers of the 'Jaruzelski line', are trying to take a pragmatic approach that responds to national (if not nationalistic) demands within the ideological limits of the system. The latter are disillusioned as a result of losing their privileged position and real influence and are thwarting any attempts at innovation. This is not therefore the usual conflict between factions in a single-party system that concerns tactics rather than objectives. The very fact that Jaruzelski's leadership has not succeeded in fully controlling the security apparatus, one of the mainstays of the régime, is significant.

1.4. Solidarnosc is still very much alive in people's minds and this thwarts all moves towards any sort of trade union pluralism. In recent times, in practice since the 1984 amnesty, there seems to have been a return to repression, and some hardening of the attitude of the authorities is apparent from the arrests and mistreatment of the more visible representatives of the opposition and the harassment of Lech Walesa, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The authorities are in fact afraid of an increase in tension and popular discontent and nip in the bud any public manifestation of free expression on major issues, for fear that it may become more widespread.

1.5. Polish society today is in a polarized state. On the one hand social groups such as the young prepared to oppose the authorities. On the other, there are those whose well-being and interests correspond to those of the leading class and they therefore follow its line. In the middle are the vast majority of the people who are weary and up against problems, especially economic ones, every day.

1.6. The Jaruzelski regime must improve the economic situation for the sake of internal and international policy. Internally, the economic crisis and the shortage of consumer goods were undeniably what triggered popular discontent. Externally, the weakness of the Polish economy has made the Warsaw Government dependent on both the USSR and the countries of the West to which Poland's debt has assumed vast proportions. More generally, the image of a Poland that is forced to resort to external humanitarian aid to save its own people from hunger and cold like a Fourth World country is humiliating for the Warsaw regime and jeopardizes its authority in international circles.

1.7. General Jaruzelski's government has introduced a series of reforms designed to improve the efficiency of the economic system and decentralize production decisions. Results have not however come up to expectations, probably mainly because of the narrow basis of consensus on which Jaruzelski can rely: on the one hand, traditional bureaucracy puts up a very strong resistance to measures designed to increase the official's responsibility; on the other, the low morale of the working class and their association of economic reforms with the increase in price of consumer goods make them chary of new policies. Even though more food is available on the market and long queues are no longer seen outside shops, this is because, compared with purchasing power, prices have become too high (and are continuing to increase), thereby depressing demand. Forty years after the end of the Second World War, in a country situated at the heart of Europe with a wealth of raw materials and an agricultural system that was more than self-sufficient until a few years ago, rationing still exists.

1.8. The Polish people might be prepared to accept material hardship as part-payment for the cost of reforms but only in return for concessions over civil and trade union liberties and authentic social representation. Meanwhile, the government is forced to make up for popular discontent in various ways and therefore exceeds budget estimates. Investment plans and economic management in general come up against enormous difficulties: there have had to be massive cuts in imports of intermediate goods because of the considerable drop in exports as a result of sanctions and Poland's indebtedness to the West. Despite the rescheduling of debts (negotiated with the major creditors' banks), Poland's degree of indebtedness is still very high and will remain so for a long time. And Poland's renewed membership of the International Monetary Fund will not change this very serious situation in any substantial way. Even though there has been a slow improvement in industrial production, investments and national income for some months, they are still below the level of the seventies.

1.9. The economic situation does not therefore give grounds for optimism. According to a report produced by the 'Poland 2000' Committee composed of pro-government intellectuals, the country is on the brink of a generalized national catastrophe in economic, social, ecological and human terms. The numbers of those chronically unfit for work has now increased to almost a million; the average lifespan is decreasing and infant mortality increasing; the health situation is plummeting and diseases are spreading.

1.10. In the social field, there seems to have been a gradual decline in the activities of Solidarnosc's clandestine structures. Attempts to force the authorities to give in to their demands by means of strikes and mass demonstrations have been unsuccessful. On the other hand, thanks to the

protection of the church, some forms of independent culture such as clandestine books and newspapers that authentically reflect public opinion are beginning to appear and these should be given prompt and resolute support: this phenomenon is unique in the countries of Eastern Europe. There continues to be a passive resistance movement in one or two circles such as large factories and the universities, despite the recent mass purges of professors not in step with the positions of the regime, but who represent the cream of the Polish intelligensia. It is significant that many companies are self-managed, mainly by ex-members of the Solidarnosc trade union.

1.11. Although no adequate channel has therefore been found for dialogue between the authorities and the people - apart from fronts such as PRON (National Revival Patriotic Movement) - the church is still the only institution with which the government seems willing to maintain working relations in order to arrive at a social entente in the light of supreme national interests.

1.12. The assassination of Father Popieluszko has not led to contacts being broken off between government and episcopacy representatives even though the bishops have reacted very firmly to the government's accusations and attacks and have had to come to the defence of some priests accused of political involvement in anti-state activities. These government attacks should not necessarily be interpreted as a change of course but rather as the necessary counterweight vis-à-vis Moscow and even its own civil servants whose morale has been severely shaken by the trial of security service officials. An attempt is being made to increase the cost of future concessions to the church and to lay down the terms of a resumption of dialogue in a more authoritarian way. In other words, the government is trying to do a blackmail deal: 'We have wiped the slate clean of our misdeeds and punished our own men, now it is up to you to do the same with priests that are politicized and connected with the opposition if you want peace and normal relations'. In return for being given public legal status (experts from both sides agreed to this plan a year ago), the church would have to become more malleable and more willing to collaborate.

1.13. There seems to be some difficulty, at least at theoretical level, in meeting some of the episcopacy's requests concerning legislation in the educational, welfare and even economic fields (the Agricultural Fund project continues to be discussed though no progress has been made towards implementing it), and the government remains impervious to requests for a revival of trade union and associative pluralism in general, and regards the Solidarnosc chapter as closed. The fact that the law provides for some forms of trade union pluralism starting this year does not change this basic impression.

1.14. The considerable prestige the church enjoys at all levels of society is the only stabilizing factor in a situation that is fluid, uncertain and ridden with tension that is in reality never appeased which Monsignor Glemp is trying to neutralize or at least to channel into a purely spiritual context whilst still firmly defending basic human and civil rights.

2.1. Following this brief analysis it would perhaps be useful to go back to the 1982 Deschamps report and have a look at the more specific requests contained in the resolution adopted by Parliament to see what action has been taken on them and whether they still remain valid in the light of developments in the last three years.

(a) Paragraph 9 of the resolution called for a fundamental reassessment of the EEC's entire economic policy towards the USSR if the situation in Poland persisted. The situation in Poland has in fact persisted and some limited trade measures were in fact adopted by the Ten vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. For instance, quotas were set for imports of certain products. Furthermore, these were measures that would be phased out as normalization proceeded in Poland.

(b) Paragraph 19 called for the release of internees and compensation for them and their dependants. Most of the people arrested have in fact been released on various occasions, although many have been rearrested. There are still some 250 political prisoners at present, although the number fluctuates when the government's attitude suddenly hardens. Nothing, however, has been done as regards compensation; instead, in accordance with a practice that is widespread in Eastern Europe, former internees and Solidarnosc supporters systematically encounter difficulties in finding jobs.

(c) Paragraph 23 hoped that the West would be ready to grant substantial economic and financial aid to Poland if a decisive change took place in which the processes of democratic renewal begun in August 1980 and interrupted in December of the following year were resumed. Paragraph 24 recommended that the political and economic authorities of the West adjust their decisions on economic and financial cooperation in the light of developments in the internal situation of Poland.

2.2. However, there has been no resumption of the processes of democratic renewal and very probably there will not be any in the years to come although, for a military regime, the Jaruzelski Government has acted with some moderation and without excessive violence and certainly better than some military dictatorships in Latin America. The European Community, for its part, has not adopted any real sanctions against Poland but has merely suspended the 15% discount on some agricultural products sold to Warsaw, and transferred the appropriations to humanitarian aid for Poland from non-governmental organizations until the end of 1984. Negotiations on the liquidation of the guaranteed debt were also suspended but this is more a reflection of the reluctance of the Ten to grant special terms to Poland than a sanction.

3.1. What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis for Western policy towards Poland? What objectives should be set in order to establish normal relations with Poland and facilitate the democratic process which is now at a standstill? It is clear that Poland is seeking to emerge from international isolation, as was shown by General Jaruzelski's controversial visit to President Mitterand. The resumption of contacts between the governments of the EEC and Warsaw as a result of visits by the British Under-Secretary Rifkind and Ministers Andreotti, Genscher, Howe, Tindemans, Moran and others may already have provided a few useful pointers. In almost all cases the Western representatives chose to meet not only representatives of the government but also of the church and the opposition. This line should be followed and emphasis placed on contacts with those who, with a deep sense of responsibility and much courage, are trying to extend civil liberties, especially freedom of association by maintaining strong pressure on the government. It must be remembered that as long as Polish society is denied its own identity and democratic bodies, the system now in force will never be stable and explosive situations will always be possible.

3.2. The existence of independent forces and opposition is not the real source of tension and possible destabilization of East-West relations. Instead, the less legitimate the authorities, the less able they will be to control explosive situations that may arise as the result of fortuitous and unforeseeable circumstances. On the other hand, the more numerous the representative institutions, the less chance there will be of uncontrollable social agitation.

3.3. When defining what the Community should do vis-à-vis Poland, it is perhaps advisable to bear some basic facts in mind:

(a) The need for a common approach by the Western countries, and in particular the countries of Europe, to relations with Poland. If one decided to go its own way, Warsaw would be able to diversify its relations with the West and that would curb the political effects of concerted action. As regards the Twelve, such action could usefully be coordinated by the Community on the basis of a pool of information on initiatives being prepared by the Member States. The periodic meetings of Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation could be used to this end.

(b) The idea that the final decision-making forum concerning Poland is not Warsaw but Moscow. This would imply that the main political initiative should be directed at the Soviet Union. Moreover, it has been established that the pressure exerted on the USSR to induce it to change its policy towards the satellite countries (e.g. economic sanctions) has not produced any appreciable effects in the past.

(c) Awareness of the fact that relations with Poland do not end with relations with the Warsaw Government and the need to reinforce humanitarian aid, support for exiles and relations with the underground opposition.

In Poland today there is a growing and urgent need for information in the widest sense of the term and thus for discussion and exchanges of ideas. This means that the countries of the Community must launch programmes designed to establish useful cultural relations and improve the flow of information. Efforts should perhaps be made to ensure that clauses on the mutual freedom of movement for persons and information are included in trade, technical cooperation and scientific agreements.

It is vital to launch a programme to safeguard Polish culture both inside Poland by means of material and moral support for initiatives taken by intellectuals and academics and outside Poland where there are large flourishing centres of exiled intellectuals that can work unoppressed and free of the censure imposed by the Soviets.

An attempt should be made - even though it appears very difficult - to entice the Polish Government and independent organized groups to participate in the life of the Community institutions, e.g. by inviting their representatives to the European Parliament as observers on certain occasions. One of the main rules to be followed should be to take constructive initiatives and not merely react to situations created by the Polish Government.

(d) The possibility afforded through economic cooperation of increasing Warsaw's independence of Moscow as far as possible. On the other hand, it would be inadvisable to grant full legitimacy to the Jaruzelski regime following the repression of Solidarnosc, as though nothing had changed since 13 December 1981.

Economic relations, including financial concessions for Poland, could influence progress in the field of human and civil rights. Using this approach, every move towards economic cooperation requested by the Polish Government would gradually and tacitly be linked to fulfilment of the requests made by the church and society. Without setting out to overthrow the system in force, the EEC could thus encourage the trend towards greater liberalization of the system.

On the other hand, a European policy that relied on the imposition of new sanctions and the isolation of Poland would no longer be justified for various reasons.

d(1) There is a trend in Washington to change the US approach to Poland. Withdrawal of the American veto to Warsaw's membership of the International Monetary Fund and the renewal of air links between Poland and the United States are the first signs of this.

d(2) It was Lech Walesa himself who asked the West to move from a 'punitive' to a more 'constructive' economic policy vis-à-vis Poland. Cardinal Glemp called publicly for an end to sanctions as did the Pope in two successive messages to President Reagan.

d(3) The impact of the restrictive measures and economic sanctions adopted after the December 1981 coup d'etat has been less than expected despite the fact that the Polish authorities tend to exaggerate their importance in order to wheedle more favourable terms out of negotiations with international financial bodies and to justify the economic crisis.

d(4) In the long term the isolation of Poland would not be understood at a time when the West is maintaining economic and trade relations with regimes in Eastern Europe that are much more rigid than the Polish one and with the Soviet Union.

d(5) It is therefore in the West's interest to encourage Poland to become more integrated in the world economy in order to reduce its dependence on Moscow and COMECON.

3.4. In practice, it is above all necessary for the countries of the EEC to adopt a uniform approach in international financial bodies. Warsaw's objective is the consolidation of existing debts totalling at least \$10 billion and the opening of new lines of credit totalling some \$4 billion - including \$1 billion from the Federal Republic of Germany - by the end of this year. The Community could adopt the common approach of making the granting of new loans subject to an agreement on the consolidation of previous debts on terms acceptable to the Western banks and to the adoption of economic policy measures that will encourage the development of the private sector in Poland.

3.5. Hitherto Poland has been granted exceptionally favourable terms for the liquidation and payment of interest on credit granted by the West. Obviously, given the disastrous state of the Polish economy, it is not now possible to impose very restrictive conditions. However, it is necessary to start to devise a policy that in the long term will free the West from the burden of granting vast, virtually non-repayable funds that will be squandered by the Warsaw Government. It is therefore legitimate and perhaps necessary for the European governments and international bodies to ensure that the granting of financial aid to Poland is subject to economic and political conditions acceptable to the creditor countries.

3.6. In any case, humanitarian aid along the lines stated by President Andreotti in his speech to the Political Affairs Committee in Strasbourg should be continued and strengthened. One way of providing aid that goes further than emergency aid and takes on a more structural nature is Community participation in the Agricultural Fund managed by the church, if and when the government approves the project. Strengthening of the private agricultural sector, which is very extensive but very fragmented, would in fact form the basis for a parallel economy that could compete with the public sector and thus pave the way for liberalization of the system as a whole. Nor should the possibility of aid to private citizens, a theme on which Parliament expressed its views in the Deschamps resolution, be forgotten.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 2-742/85)

tabled by Mr GLINNE

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the situation in Poland following the amnesty decree

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas on 21 July 1984 the Polish Government adopted a decree concerning amnesty,
 - B. whereas, however, several political prisoners are not covered by this decree,
 - C. whereas the decree excludes all those who have been found guilty of 'high treason' (Article 122 of the Polish Penal Code), 'violent attacks on state officials' (Article 126), sabotage (Article 127) or attempts to commit offences (Article 128),
 - D. having regard to the following two specific cases:

Bogdan Lis and Piotr Mierzejewski, who were arrested a few days before the amnesty and charged with 'high treason' for having contact with the World Trade Union Movement and the International Labour Organization,
 - E. whereas on 23 July the Provisional Coordinating Committee of Solidarność appealed to all friends of Solidarność in Poland and abroad for solidarity,
1. Instructs the appropriate committee to draw up a report on the actual situation in Poland since 21 July 1984, when the Polish Government adopted the decree concerning the amnesty.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 2-1337/84)

tabled by Mr ALBER, Mr BATTERSBY and Mr GAWRONSKI

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people

The European Parliament,

- A. aware of the continuing decline in the material well-being of the Polish people;
- B. applauding the generosity of Community citizens in the aid given to the Polish people;
- C. acknowledging the particular meaning and value of small packed gifts mailed to individuals and families by Community citizens;
- 1. Assures the Polish people of its desire to contribute to improvements in their general well-being.
- 2. Congratulates Community citizens and charitable organizations for their endeavours in favour of the Polish people.
- 3. Encourages Community citizens who are able to make the required sacrifices to continue aid to the Polish people.
- 4. Calls on the Governments of Member States to provide free postage for small packed gifts for individuals and families in Poland.
- 5. Requests its President to transmit this resolution to Commission and Council.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-213/85)

tabled by Mr PORDEA, Mr STIRBOIS, Mr COLLINOT, Mr CHABOCHE, Mr ANTONY, Mr DIMITRIADIS, Mr d'ORMESSON, Mr BUTTAFUOCO and Mr ROMUALDI

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on Poland

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas the Communist system of government, one of arbitrary power, imposed on Poland by the Soviet Union for the last four decades, entails acts of duress and violence, which have worsened over the last few years, owing to the even stauncher resistance put the by the Polish people; whereas this tyrannical form of domination, which deprives the Polish nation of its sovereign attributes and elementary rights, prevents it from evolving in a normal manner, while at the same time threatening world peace,
- B. whereas, after it was established in the 10th century (and its people converted to Christianity at the same time), Poland was subjected to a process of feudal dismemberment in the 12th and 13th centuries, to be reunified at the end of the 14th century by the Jagellonian dynasty which conquered the Teutonic Knights; whereas eastward expansion of the country thus consolidated took place gradually from then on, as a reaction to interference by the Germanic peoples in the Western territories, in parallel with prolonged Polish action against the Ottoman Empire, culminating in Sobieski's victory at the siege of Vienna (1683),
- C. whereas, at the end of a 'golden century' of economic and cultural progress, Poland had to withstand pressure from the great powers bordering on it, being finally partitioned between Prussia, Austria and Russia in 1772, 1793 and - following the crushing of the national insurrection led by Kosciuszko - 1795; whereas, nevertheless, the Poles carried out important economic and political reforms, including the promulgation of Europe's first liberal Constitution (1791),
- D. whereas the Congress of Vienna abolished the Duchy of Warsaw set up by Napoleon, while ratifying, in broad outline, the partition of Poland, and consequently its political subjection, and, throughout the 19th century, the Polish people rebelled on several occasions in an attempt to throw off the triple foreign yoke, a feature of which was the use of brutal methods to suppress their national feeling,
- E. whereas, notwithstanding the vicissitudes they had been through, the Poles were able to hold onto their national awareness, which, during the First World War, enabled them to set up legions of free fighters which distinguished themselves on various allied fronts, and to create political organizations entitled to demand the right to self-determination; whereas by these means and after a victorious military campaign against the Soviets (1919-1920), who had made territorial claims on them, the Polish people succeeded in re-establishing their national and political unity in the form of an independent, democratic republic with a surface area of 388,600 square km, whose frontiers were recognized - by the Treaty of Riga (1921) - by the USSR, with which Poland signed a non-aggression pact in 1932,

- F. whereas, following the agreement reached between them in 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union jointly invaded Poland and partitioned it between them, carrying out deportations and mass extermination on its territory; whereas the massacres carried out by the Soviets in Poland include that of Katyn at which 4,500 Polish officers were sacrificed,
- G. whereas, in order to set it up in opposition to the legitimate Polish Government in exile, which had been established in London under these circumstances, the Soviets set up in Lublin in 1943 a Communist-run Polish committee, which they then installed as the effective government of Poland; whereas the task of this body was to set up a despotic system based on dishonesty, persecution and executions; whereas this illegal government was nevertheless recognized by the Western powers, which also accepted the Polish frontiers arbitrarily drawn by the USSR, frontiers which, despite a transfer of territory at the expense of Germany, caused the country to lose 75,000 square km of its surface area,
- H. whereas the Polish people have almost uninterruptedly defied the misfortunes that have befallen them, from the heroic struggle against the invader in 1939, by way of the Warsaw Uprising (1944) which came after the second invasion by the Soviet armies, and the civil war between 'whites' and 'reds' (1945-1947), the Poznan workers' riots (1956), the student riots of 1968, then the workers' strikes and mutinies in Gdynia and Szczecin (1970) and the Radom riots (1976), to the workers' rising in Gdansk (1980) and the founding of the free Solidarnosc trade union (which currently has some nine million members); whereas, in spite of reprisals by the Communist government, the patriotic Movement for National Rebirth set up in 1982 is - with the help of the Polish Catholic Church - carrying on both undercover and overt revolutionary activity against the oppressor,
1. Condemns the military occupation of Poland by the Soviet Union and the enslavement by the latter of its thirty-six million inhabitants, at the same time condemning the totalitarian regime sustained there by force, against the will of the people and in violation of the provisions of existing international treaties and agreements;
 2. Expresses its disapproval of the Soviet policy of attacking the existence of the Polish nation, as well as the banning of its free trade union, and pays tribute to the sacrifices the Polish nation has made to defend its national identity, its traditions and its Christian faith;
 3. Proclaims that Poland is a part of Europe and of its civilization, by virtue of its genuinely European spiritual values and cultural heritage, and declares its solidarity with Poland's fight for the right of self-determination and respect for the individual;
 4. Deplores the worsening in relations between the Polish people and the authorities kept in power in their country, and makes an urgent appeal to the powers and public opinion in the free world to give their support to Polish dissidents and exiles, as well as to their expatriate fellow-nationals (approximately fifteen million people), by backing the cause they defend, which is that of freedom in Poland,
 5. Instructs its President to forward this motion for a resolution to the Council and the Commission and to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-1194/85)
tabled by Mr PORDEA, Mr ROMUALDI, Mr ALMIRANTE, Mr BUTTAFUOCO, Mr ANTONY,
Mrs LEHIDEUX, Mr PETRONIO, Mr TRIPODI, Mr de CAMARET and Mr DIMITRIADIS
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the death of the Polish student Marcin Antonowicz

The European Parliament,

- A. having learned with distress of the recent tragic death of the young Marcin Antonowicz, 19, chemistry student at the University of Gdansk; having been stopped in the street by Polish police, he was taken into a prison van by them and, after apparently being subjected to violence, was later discovered lying in the road; having been hospitalized as an emergency case with a fractured skull and other serious injuries, he died without recovering consciousness after lying in a coma for several days, in the presence of an official from the Polish Ministry of the Interior,
- B. noting that according to the Polish authorities it was an accident, and that the student, allegedly in a state of inebriation (which his companions dispute), is supposed to have attacked a policeman and jumped out of the moving vehicle; having been informed, however, that the young man's family has made an official complaint and that Mr Lech Walesa, in a statement to the Western press, has talked of crime in connection with this case,
- C. noting that the Antonowicz case recalls that of the secondary school student Przemky who was beaten to death in a police station in Warsaw last year, as well as that of Father Popieluszko, the Solidarity chaplain, who was tortured and murdered by Polish police in October 1984,
1. Once again protests vigorously against these disgusting acts and hopes that appropriate steps will be taken to enable light to be thrown on the Antonowicz case and that those responsible for his death will receive the punishment due to them,
2. Suggests that the European Community draw the attention of the Polish Government to this serious affair and to the ones which preceded it, reminding it of the international agreements guaranteeing respect for the individual to which that government is itself a signatory;
3. Requests the Council of Ministers in office to take this opportunity to denigrate the particularly evil and disgraceful practices to which the Eastern European dictatorships resort against the background of the injustices, extortion and abuses institutionalized by the Soviet-type system of government;
4. Instructs its President to forward this motion for a resolution to the Polish authorities, the Council and the Commission of the European Communities and the foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORT

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORT

Letter from the chairman to Mr FORMIGONI, chairman of the Political Affairs Committee

Luxembourg, 28 May 1985

Subject : Motion for a resolution, tabled by Mr ALBER, Mr BATTERSBY and Mr GAWRONSKI, on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people (Doc. 2-1337/84)

Dear Mr Formigoni,

At its meeting of 25 April 1985 the Committee on Transport, which has been asked for its opinion, considered this motion for a resolution and especially paragraph 4, which falls within its terms of reference.

This paragraph calls on the governments of Member States 'to provide free postage for small packed gifts for individuals and families in Poland'.

The Committee on Transport would first point out that similar experiments have taken place in certain Member States, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany, where parcels to Poland could be posted free of charge during the Christmas period.

While endorsing the request in paragraph 4 of the motion for a resolution, the Committee on Transport believes that such action should be limited in time and space.

In making these restrictions we are anxious to avoid abuse or action in isolation which might disrupt postal services in one or more Member States.

Apart from this reservation, the Committee on Transport has no objections to the suggestion contained in the motion for a resolution.

Please regard this letter as the opinion of the Committee on Transport, as adopted at its meeting of 23 and 24 May 1985.

Yours sincerely,

Georgios ANASTASSOPOULOS

28 May 1985

The following took part in the vote: Mr Anastassopoulos, Chairman; Mr Buttafuoco, vice-chairman; Mr Braun-Moser, Mr Cornelissen (deputizing for Mr K.-H. Hoffmann), Mr Cryer, Mr Ebel, Mr Newton Dunn, Mr Topmann, Mr Visser and Mr van der Waal.

Thursday, 11 December 1986

(b) **Doc. A2-191/86**

RESOLUTION

on the Council's modifications to Parliament's amendments to Section IV — Court of Justice and Section V — Court of Auditors of the draft general budget of the European Communities for the financial year 1987

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the amendments by Parliament at the first reading on 13 November 1986 and to its resolutions of the same date ⁽¹⁾,
- having regard to the Council's decisions of 27 November 1986 on the draft budget as amended by Parliament at the first reading (Doc. C2-150/86),
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Budgets (Doc. A2-191/86),

A. whereas the amendments tabled by Parliament to its own budget were not modified by the Council,

B. regretting, however, the fact that the Council rejected the amendments relating to the other institutions without considering them in detail or stating the reasons for its decision,

1. Emphasizes yet again that the aim of this small increase in appropriations adopted was to enable the Community institutions to discharge as effectively as possible the duties assigned to them by the Treaties and by the Single European Act;

2. Cannot therefore accept the position adopted by the Council and, repeating its previous decisions, decides to reinstate all the amendments which it adopted at the first reading of the draft budget in respect of both the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors.

⁽¹⁾ See the minutes of 13 November 1986.

3. **Situation in Poland**

— **Doc. A2-129/86**

RESOLUTION

on the situation in Poland

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
 - by Mr Glinne on the situation in Poland following the amnesty decree (Doc. 2-742/84),
 - by Mr Alber and others on mailing charges for small packed gifts from Community citizens to Polish people (Doc. 2-1337/84),
 - by Mr Pordea and others on Poland (Doc. B2-213/85),
 - by Mr Pordea and others on the death of the Polish student Marcin Antonowicz (Doc. B2-1194/85),
 - by Mr Israel on the situation in Poland (Doc. 1-591/81),

Thursday, 11 December 1986

- having regard to its resolution of 16 September 1982 on the situation in Poland ⁽¹⁾,
 - having regard to its resolution of 11 October 1985 on jamming stations in Europe ⁽²⁾,
 - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Transport (Doc. A2-85/86),
 - having regard to the second report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Transport (Doc. A2-129/86),
- A. whereas four years after the lifting of the state of emergency in Poland, a trend can be detected in recent developments towards an attempt to find an acceptable response to the Polish people's demands for civil and political liberties and an improvement in the country's economic situation,
- B. welcoming the release of 225 political prisoners and hoping that this will further the process of reconciliation and dialogue between government and opposition in Poland,
- C. whereas, therefore, this act is a first essential step towards the establishment of a pluralistic society, which cannot be achieved without granting official recognition to the non-violent opposition,
- D. deploring, however, the threats made by the authorities against the released prisoners and those fighting for civil liberties, calling on them to refrain from their political activities,
- E. deploring the maintenance of restrictive measures against leading figures in trade union, academic and ecclesiastical circles,
- F. whereas it is essential that the Polish Government should not withdraw from the ILO (International Labour Organization) but resume its dialogue with that organization with a view to guaranteeing full application of ILO Conventions 87 and 98 and to respecting trade union pluralism, as upheld by the Polish trade union law of 1982, which provides for the possibility of setting up independent, self-administered trade unions in accordance with the demands of Polish workers,
- G. recognizing that active cultural pluralism can be maintained in Poland,
- H. having regard to the government's attempts to achieve economic reforms aimed at improving and decentralizing production decisions,
- I. having regard, however, to the delays in the application of tangible reform measures, which are partly a result of the serious and difficult economic situation of the country,
- J. having regard to the resolutions adopted by the Solidarnosc Conference calling for a radical reform of institutions and administration systems,
- K. whereas the Polish population live under difficult material conditions,
- L. having regard to the imposing debt accumulated by Poland towards Western countries,
- M. aware that, as a result, the European Community can make a constructive contribution to the economic, social and political development of the Polish situation by means of economic and diplomatic instruments,
- N. whereas the Western countries should direct their action towards respect for human rights, the achievement of more extensive internal pluralism, an improvement in the material situation of the Polish people and a smaller measure of dependence on Moscow for Warsaw,
- O. having regard to the resumption of governmental contacts between Poland and various European countries in the last two years,

(1) OJ No C 267, 11. 10. 1982, p. 81.

(2) OJ No C 288, 11. 11. 1985, p. 152.

Thursday, 11 December 1986

- P. noting the exploratory contacts the Community has made with Poland with a view to normalizing relations,
1. Hopes that Poland will pursue the search for a national compromise involving all political and social forces and will be aided in this task by international solidarity;
 2. Regards the release of the political prisoners as an important step towards the reaching of such a compromise;
 3. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to draw up a joint EEC Strategy on Poland in the light of the events of recent years;
 4. Considers that at the present juncture a policy of political isolation of Poland together with economic sanctions would prove ineffective and counter-productive;
 5. Calls on the Polish authorities to ensure that, in future, no citizen is prosecuted for political activities;
 6. Believes, therefore, that the extent and the nature of relations with Poland should be geared to developments in the internal situation of the country and compliance by Poland with the Helsinki Agreements;
 7. Stresses the positive aspect of the recent contacts between the European Community and Poland designed to open negotiations on normalizing relations between them and establishing economic and trade cooperation agreements on the basis of their respective mutual interests;
 8. Considers it necessary to maintain bilateral relations between Poland and the EEC;
 9. Stresses the need to continue increasing humanitarian aid to the Polish population, also by means of non-governmental organizations;
 10. Stresses the need for humanitarian aid to be distributed through non-governmental channels;
 11. Calls on the Member States and the Polish Government to make it easier to send gift parcels to Polish citizens; to this end, the Member States should bear the postal charges themselves while Poland would waive import duties;
 12. Deplores the fact that the government's attitude has prevented the setting up of the Agricultural Fund for private farmers, which is supported by the Church and for which the Community had allocated funds, and calls on the government to create the necessary conditions for a resumption of a dialogue with the Church on this subject; urges also that the funds set aside by the Community should remain at the disposal of the Catholic Church to enable it to implement its projects for private farmers;
 13. Is closely monitoring the negotiations in progress between the countries of the Paris Club and the Warsaw Government concerning the management of Poland's foreign debt;
 14. Hopes that an agreement will be reached in that connection on the consolidation of Poland's earlier debts which is satisfactory to all parties concerned and which will make it possible for new loans to be granted;
 15. Recalls that relations with Poland should not be confined to contacts with the official authorities;
 16. Congratulates those statesmen and politicians who, during recent visits to Poland, have expressed the desire to meet members of the opposition and hopes that the Community governments will maintain contacts with the forces representing Polish society;
 17. Stresses the need to give legal and material support to Polish exiles in Community countries and the institutions which most effectively represent them, such as the Brussels branch of Solidarnosc;

Thursday, 11 December 1986

18. Undertakes to send a delegation of its own to Poland to initiate contacts with the Warsaw authorities and representatives of the most important social forces, of organizations representatives of the various sectors of Polish society, of the Catholic Church and of the opposition;
 19. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation and the Polish Government.
-