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Canadian Delegation
To NATO



Délégation du Canada
Auprès de l'O.T.A.N.

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REG. P.A.
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Brussels,

27 September, 1988

Mr. W.R. Pearson
Acting Chairman
Political Committee
Room 1206
NATO Headquarters

P. A. Sub - Registry
File N° 19-10-01 (Poland)

Dear Bob,

As promised at today's Political Committee meeting, I am passing on the report from our Embassy in Warsaw concerning the Polish situation. I am also enclosing our comments on the paper on the Soviet nationalities issue (ISD/418). I am circulating copies of this letter and the attachments to the other members of the Political Committee.

- 19-2-01

Yours sincerely,

Paul Meyer

cc: Members of the Political Committee

Canadian Delegation
To N.A.T.O



Délégation du Canada
Auprès de l'O.T.A.N

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Report from Canadian Embassy in Warsaw

POLAND: LABORATORY FOR POLITICAL REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE.

SUMMARY: ROUND-TABLE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOVT AND OPPOSITION GROUPS WILL PROBABLY BEGIN IN MID OCT. PARTICIPATION WILL BE BROAD, INCLUDING SOLIDARITY IN SOME GUISE. WORKING GROUPS (REPORTING TO PLENARY) WILL CONSIDER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM PACKAGE, IN ADDITION TO SPECIFIC SECTORAL (EG AGRIC) OR ORGANIZATIONAL (EG TRADE UNION) ISSUES. LOCAL OPPOSITION FIGURES, HEADY ABOUT PROGRESS TO DATE, ARE ALREADY EXPRESSING OPTIMISM ABOUT PROCESS OF DIALOGUE AND ULTIMATE PACKAGE OF RESULTS, ALTHOUGH EXPECTATIONS FOR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS, SUCH AS LEGALIZATION OF SOLIDARITY, ARE SOMEWHAT LOWER. THIS CONFIDENCE, DERIVED MOSTLY FROM RECENT SUCCESS OF SOLIDARITY/COAL MINERS USE OF MUSCLE, MAY BE MISPLACED. WEAKNESS OF GOVT AND DIVS WITHIN PARTY (PUWP) MAY IN FACT MAKE GOVT NEGOTIATORS HOSTAGE TO HARD-LINERS AND PARALYZE TALKS.

2. REPORT: IN CONVERSATION LAST WEEK WITH EMB POLITICAL OFFICER, PROF BRONISLAW GEREMEK OF SOLIDARITY DESCRIBED POLAND AS QUOTE LABORATORY FOR REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE UNQUOTE. THIS MAY BE EXAGGERATION. WHILE

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OTHER SOCIALIST EXPERIMENTERS (HUNGARY AND USSR) MAY SCOFF AT POLAND'S INTERNAL BUT FAILED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH ACCEPTABLE LEVEL OF POLITICAL CONTROL IN SOCIALIST (MUTANT) ECONOMY. RECENT PROCESS OF INTERNAL DIALOGUE AND ATTEMPTS OF BOTH GOVT AND OPPOSITION TO FIND PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN ECONOMIC REFORM AND CONSUMER SATISFACTION HOLD SOME SEEDS OF PROMISE.

3 IN POLAND BOTH GOVT AND OPPOSITION HAVE COME TO ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF LIMITS OF THEIR POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND POLITICAL/ECONOMIC PLATFORM. SOLIDARITY FOR ITS PART RECOGNIZES THAT, WHATEVER RESULT OF ROUND TABLE TALKS, POLITICAL REFORM WILL NOT/NOT GO SO FAR AS FREE ELECTIONS. AS GEREMEK NOTED, THESE ARE NOT/NOT POSSIBLE IN POLAND (OR ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE) BECAUSE PARTY WOULD BE UNABLE TO RETAIN POWER. SOME FORM OF OPPOSITION REPRESENTATION, HOWEVER, COULD BE POSSIBLE IN POLISH PARLIAMENT (SEJM) THROUGH QUOTE SELF-LIMITING MONOPOLY UNQUOTE OF GOVT PARTY IN WHICH SOMETHING LIKE ONE HUNDRED SEATS OUT OF 460 MIGHT BE GRANTED TO OPPOSITION IN SEJM. POLITBURO MEMBER AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER ORZECOWSKI IS SAID TO FAVOUR SUCH A MECHANISM.

4 POLISH POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ALSO ACCEPTS THAT ATTEMPTS TO IMPLEMENT ECONOMIC REFORM DEPEND ON POLITICAL CHANGES. THE BEGINNINGS OF THESE ARE EVIDENT: INTERIOR MIN KISZCZAK IS NEGOTIATING DIRECTLY WITH WALESZA AND OTHER OPPOSITION FIGURES. PREPARATION FOR ROUND-TABLE IN OCT ARE PROCEEDING, DESPITE RESIGNATION OF GOVT AND DEEP SPLITS, AT WORKING

LEVEL, WITHIN PARTY OVER NATURE OF ECONOMIC REFORM AND MAINTENANCE OF POLITICAL AND SECURITY STATUS QUO.

5 IN CONVERSATION WITH PROF ANDRZEJ STELMACHOWSKI, (LAWYER AND ADVISER TO CHURCH, AND MEDIATOR FOR PREPARATORY TALKS) WE LEARNED THAT PROPOSED ROUND-TABLE TALKS, AT FULL STRENGTH, ARE EXPECTED TO INCLUDE UP TO 100 PARTICIPANTS. ROUND-TABLE WILL HOWEVER BE BROKEN DOWN IN FIVE WORKING GROUPS BASED IN WSAW TO CONSIDER EACH OF FOLLOWING: POLITICAL REFORM; ECONOMIC REFORM; SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS; TRADE UNIONS; AND AGRICULTURE. A WORKING GROUP MAY ALSO BE SET UP TO DEAL WITH JUDICIAL REFORM. THERE IS EXPECTED TO BE WORKING GROUP TO DEAL SOLELY WITH PROBLEMS OF HEAVY INDUSTRY/COAL MINING IN SILESIA DISTRICT; IT WILL MEET IN KATOWICE. A WORKING GROUP TO CONSIDER ISSUES AFFECTING POLISH YOUTH WAS CONSIDERED, BUT IT WAS DECIDED THAT YOUTH ISSUES WOULD BE DEALT WITH UNDER SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING GROUP. (YOUTH OF COURSE HAVE TAKEN ON PRIORITY GIVEN THEIR ACTIVE AND SOMEWHAT RADICAL ROLE DURING RECENT STIKE ACTIVITY). STELMACHOWSKI ADVISED US THIS INFO WAS QUOTE /NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNQUOTE, SEEMINGLY IN CONFORMITY WITH AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVT AND OPPOSITION TO KEEP CONTENTS OF PRELIMINARY TALKS QUIET AT PRESENT . GEREMEK, WHILE CONFIRMING THIS INFO THOUGHT WORKING GROUP ON JUSTICE ISSUES WOULD ALSO BE PART OF PACKAGE.

6 STELMACHOWSKI BELIEVED THAT PLENARY SESSIONS OF ROUND-TABLE, STARTING IN MID-OCT, WOULD ONLY LAST TWO TO THREE WEEKS, BUT THAT WORKING GROUPS

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COULD CONTINUE FOR LONGER PERIOD, (GEREMEK WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT EARLY CONCLUSION OF WORKING GROUP ACTIVITY). POSSIBLE OUTGROWTH OF ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS, ACCORDING TO STELMACHOWSKI WAS COUNCIL OF NATL RECONCILIATION. GEREMEK SEEMED MORE CAUTIOUS ABOUT NATURE OF NEXT ADMIN, NOTING THAT WHERE GOVT HAD RECENTLY ASKED OPPOSITION ABOUT INCLUDING ONE OF ITS MEMBERS IN NEXT CABINET, OPPOSITION DECLINED OFFER AS PREMATURE. FIRST PRIORITY FOR SOLIDARITY IS TO ASSESS POLICY OUTCOME OF WORKING GROUPS ON POLITICAL REFORM.

STELMACHOWSKI THOUGHT THAT COMPROMISE WAS WITHIN REACH AS REGARDS LEGALIZATION OF OUTLAWED SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION, AND CLAIMED THAT GOVT WAS ALREADY RESIGNED TO FACT. GOVT WAS HOWEVER INTENT ON RETAINING EXISTING LEGAL UNIONS AND COULD BE EXPECTED TO OUTLINE CERTAIN CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH SOLIDARITY MUST OPERATE. HE SAID WALESA WAS WILLING TO REACH COMPROMISE WITH GOVT, BUT CONCEDED THAT WALESA HAD HIS OWN HARD-LINERS TO CONTEND WITH, WHO MIGHT NOT/NOT BE SO INCLINED TO ACCOMMODATE GOVT. WALESA ALSO HAD TO DEAL WITH QUOTE PERSONAL FEELINGS UNQUOTE OF THOSE SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS WHO HAD IN EARLIER DAYS BEEN HARASED OR INTERNED FOR THEIR AFFILIATION WITH SOLIDARITY. A MIRROR IMAGE OF THIS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY GEREMEK'S COMMENT THAT SOLIDARITY LEGALIZATION WAS PERSONAL PROBLEM FOR JARUZELSKI; IT WOULD CONSTITUTE PERSONAL DEFEAT. NONETHELESS, SOLIDARITY EXPECTED SOME PROGRESS IN FORM OF LEGALIZATION, PEREAPS STEP-BY-STEP OVER TIME, BEGINNING AT FACTORY LEVEL.

8. STELMACHOWSKI DID NOT/NOT ANTICIPATE MAJOR CHANGES IN GOVT PERSONALITIES OR POLICIES FOLLOWING ITS RESIGNATION EARLIER THIS WEEK, BUT CLAIMED THAT STRONG QUOTE KATOWICE LOBBY UNQUOTE (ORTHODOX IN OUTLOOK AND PRO-HEAVY INDUSTRY), EVIDENT IN CURRENT GOVT, WAS CLOSELY WEDDED TO STATUS QUO. HE HOPED THAT THIS CLIQUE WOULD BE SOMEWHAT DILUTED IN NEW ADMIN. WHILE SOLIDARITY FOR ITS PART, HAS FOCUSSED ON HARD-LINERS IN MILITARY/POLICE STRUCTURE, INFORMED JOURNALIST HAS ALSO NOTED POTENTIALLY MORE IMPORTANT RESISTANCE AMONG PARTY WORKERS IN COAL-MINING DISTRICTS-AS IN KATOWICE.

9. STELMACHOWSKI AND GEREMEK BOTH BELIEVED THAT PROFOUND CHANGES TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN POLAND WERE NECESSARY AND THAT GOVT HAD NOW REALIZED THAT ESSENTIAL ECONOMIC REFORMS COULD NOT/NOT BE INTRODUCED IN CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMY WITHOUT POLITICAL CHANGES.

10. STELMACHOWSKI HOPED NEXT ADMIN WOULD BE SOME KIND OF QUOTE TRANSITION GOVT UNQUOTE, WHICH WOULD PAVE WAY FOR MORE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

11. STELMACHOWSKI CONTINUED TO DESCRIBE CHURCH'S ROLE AS THAT OF QUOTE CATALYST UNQUOTE, RATHER THAN MAIN ACTOR AT PRESENT TIME. HE HIMSELF HAD ENDED UP IN PRESENT MEDIATION ROLE DUE TO CONTACTS ON BOTH SIDES OF TABLE, BOTH RECOGNIZING THAT DISCUSSIONS WERE NECESSARY BUT BOTH OF THEM HAVING TO STAND BY PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS WHICH HAD MADE SUCH TALKS UNLIKELY. NEXT TASK IN PREPARING FOR ROUND-TABLE WAS TO FINALIZE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS. NEXT THREE WEEKS WOULD BE USEFUL IN MAKING FINAL ARRANGEMENTS, AND FOR BOTH GOVT AND OPPOSITION TO QUOTE PSYCHOLOGICALLY

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PREPARE THEMSELVES UNQUOTE FOR COMING DISCUSSIONS.

11. POSITIONING AND RHETORIC ASIDE, POLISH LEADERSHIP AND OPPOSITION
LEADERSHIP ARE TALKING. NEITHER CAN BE ENTIRELY COMFORTABLE ABOUT
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT ALTHOUGH SOLIDARITY'S STAR CONTINUES SLOWLY TO RISE.