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January 25, 1982

NATO SECRET

Mr. Glenn R. Cella  
Chairman, Political Committee  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
Brussels

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No <u>19-10-01 (Poland)</u>

*follow-up*

Dear Glenn:

In conjunction with the Political Committee exchange proposed by the Canadian delegation last week, my authorities have provided the enclosed contribution on the present situation in Poland and on the question of gauging movement towards meeting the three objectives outlined in the Alliance Declaration of January 11.

I am sending a copy of this letter, together with its enclosure, to the other members of the Political Committee.

Sincerely,

John H. Hawes  
Deputy Political Advisor

THIS DOCUMENT CONSISTS  
OF 5 PAGES

Enclosure:  
"Assessing Polish Government  
Actions"

cc: Members, Political Committee

NATO SECRET

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U.S. Delegation  
January 25, 1982

SUBJECT: Assessing Polish Government Actions

SITUATION IN POLAND

There are some in the West who see the recent modifications in martial law in Poland as a sign that the Warsaw regime is moving away from repression. Jaruzelski's January 25 speech, which we believe may include an announcement of further cosmetic changes in martial law regulations, could add to this impression.

In reality, despite such minor modifications, most notably in the area of communications and transportation, martial law restrictions continue in force, and in many areas police repression has actually worsened.

Lech Walesa remains a prisoner isolated from his compatriots in Solidarity. There are more than 5,000 political prisoners in Poland. Many have been held for more than a month without charges. There are reports that while the government may release some -- the least "dangerous" and well-known -- the others will remain in custody or perhaps be exiled. Conditions in some detention centers apparently are becoming harsher.

Military courts are in full operation, sentencing strikers to prison terms of up to seven years for organizing or participating in strike actions. We have no official figures, but Solidarity sources report that more than 400 such sentences had been meted out as of one week ago.

There are no indications that the government is seriously interested in meaningful negotiations with the Church and Solidarity. The regime refuses to permit Walesa to meet with his presidium and senior advisors. Government statements that it has had talks with Solidarity representatives are a self-serving distortion of reality. Real negotiations obviously are impossible when one side is in a prison cell. The regime continues to give lip service to the idea that there is a place in Poland for an independent and self-governing trade union. But there is growing reason to doubt that Solidarity will be permitted to continue to exist. Both Polish and Soviet sources are now indicating that this ten million member organization may de facto become illegal.

Despite GOP\*claims that discussions are taking place with the Church, Church officials tell us that the only discussions currently under way concern the status of political

prisoners. Archbishop Glem's meeting with Jaruzelski was a disappointment. Jaruzelski gave no sign of a willingness to move forward toward opening a meaningful dialogue on Poland's future.

Strict censorship of the Polish media continues. In addition, a purge of journalists and editorial staffs of all publications is under way. Those found to have any sympathy with Solidarity are being fired. Political control over Polish universities is being stiffened. Compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism has been reintroduced and the reforms of the pre-December 13 period, which granted the universities considerable autonomy, have been abolished. A full scale purge of university faculty reportedly may be undertaken in the near future.

Political "purification" is not limited to intellectuals and the media. Common workers who refuse to sign pledges denouncing Solidarity are being fired. Both the Pope and the Primate have called such actions immoral and unethical.

Government restrictions on communications by Western correspondents with their headquarters has eased but their travel is still strictly limited. Severe restrictions continue to be imposed on the travel of Western diplomatic and consular personnel. Polish security organs are working systematically to cut off Embassy contacts with ordinary Poles.

In short, Poland today appears to be returning to the dark days of the early 1950's. Meanwhile the economic situation continues to worsen. The food situation in the country could become critical in coming months.

Jaruzelski has succeeded in establishing order. But under the surface the situation becomes volatile. There are even some important and informed Poles who believe that the situation could soon deteriorate into violence. On one side, there are regime hardliners who would like to provoke violence in order to justify an even tougher crackdown. On the other, some of the more radical elements in Solidarity, who apparently have gone underground, may themselves move toward violence in an effort to bring down the martial law regime.

#### REAL VERSUS ILLUSORY IMPROVEMENT

This then is the situation as it is today. It may of course change. It is important for us to be alert to real change for the better, but to be wary of the illusion of progress. As Secretary Haig said January 11:

- The release of prisoners and detainees means their freedom; it does not mean promises of good intention, or moving them to better facilities;
- Lifting martial law means the genuine cessation of repressive conditions, not an administrative act which gives a new name to the same conditions;
- Initiating reconciliation means a restoration of fundamental rights and a resumption of the process of reform and liberalization;
- Beginning of negotiations means a genuine give and take among parties whose rights are protected.

We agree with those who express concern that GOP moves toward purely cosmetic restoration of human rights may be seized on by those in the West who want to return to "business as usual" in dealing with the Polish Government.

First and foremost, we must avoid being taken in by government claims of progress at a time when the situation is not only not improving, but the regime is clamping down, and moving the country back toward the early 1950's.

It will not be easy to determine when real progress has been made. We must take progress toward the reinstatement of internationally recognized human rights as defined in the Helsinki Final Act as our primary criterion for defining positive movement in Poland.

There is a great likelihood that the situation will not be clear cut; that some but not all prisoners will be released, or that negotiations will be begun without any intention on the part of the government to conduct them in good faith. We would be inclined to respond to partial fulfillment of our conditions with partial lifting of measures. We might start by permitting resumption of limited air service, for example. However, a removal of all measures would be dependent on full compliance with the three conditions outlined in the NATO declaration.

We must avoid the temptation to rely on statements by Polish Church and Solidarity officials that progress is being made to guide our actions vis-a-vis Poland. Both the Church and Solidarity are under tremendous pressure, and we cannot be sure they are always free actors.

At the same time it is very important that we continue to emphasize our readiness to help Poland out of its disastrous economic situation as soon as such progress occurs.

The economic situation in Poland is continuing to deteriorate; stability has not been achieved, and Jaruzelski appears to be under attack from hardline sources. By holding the line and focusing public attention on the internal Polish situation, while at the same time holding out the carrot of major Western economic assistance, we will maximize our chances of having a major impact on the course of internal Polish politics.

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