

NORWEGIAN DELEGATION
TO NATO
B - 1110 BRUSSELS

Reg. PA.

Brussels, 30 November, 1982
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NATO CONFIDENTIAL

REG. P.A.
ACTION SLIP
No 16340/82

1 CONFIDENTIAL encl
Mr. Cella
Mr. Johnson
Mr. Serelrioff
Mr. Abrahamson

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Dear Glenn,

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No 19-10-01

As agreed during today's meeting of (Poland),
the Political Committee, I am sending you
enclosed the speaking notes from which I drew
during the discussion of developments in
Poland and the implications for the Alliance.

Sincerely yours,
Arnt

Arnt Rindal
Counsellor

Mr. Glenn R. Cella
Director and Deputy to
Assistant Secretary General,
Political Directorate
Room I 206
NATO HQ

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1982/11/30

cc.: Members of the Political Committee
IMS, Room T 2069, NATO HQ

SPEAKING NOTES

Subject: Poland.

In the assessment of my Authorities it is likely that martial law in Poland will be lifted or suspended in the middle of December and that most of the detainees will be set free in groups. We have no hard information concerning the possibility that Polish authorities might introduce emergency legislation with a view to maintain order in a period of transition after a lifting of martial law. Such emergency legislation could possibly be adopted by the Sejm during its mid-December meeting. Even if such emergency legislation should be adopted, it could probably not be taken for granted that the Polish government would want to make use of it. The leaders of Underground Solidarity recently indicated that they will desist from demonstrations on 13 December. This could be an indication that the leaders of Underground Solidarity are on the point of giving up their confrontational attitude towards the authorities. If this is the case, it may contribute to a more quiet and less painful return to normal civil rule in Poland.

If martial law should be lifted and the bulk of the detainees set free, this would mean that two of the three Allied criteria nominally would be fulfilled. It might also be argued that the third criteria on dialogue between the authorities on one hand and the Church and Solidarity on the other hand

also has been partially fulfilled, since the authorities and the Church have been carrying on continuing consultations, consultations which have been confirmed by the agreement that the pope is going to visit Poland next June. It should be noted that this agreement was reached just prior to the general strike planned for 10 November and represents the fulfilment of a specific demand by the Church. The agreement has to be seen as a positive contribution from the authorities towards compromise and understanding with the Church and towards reconciliation with the Polish people.

It is still not known what role the Church may have played concerning the release of Lech Walesa. It would, however, probably be safe to assume that also this question has been touched on in the dialogue between the Church and authorities, and under any circumstances the liberation of Walesa can be seen as a positive contribution by the authorities to social reconciliation in Poland.

In talking to Western representatives in Warsaw, Deputy Foreign Minister Wiejacz has been stressing that while the new trade union legislation was criticized by the West, one should not forget that this legislation was being criticized even more forcefully by Eastern countries, which felt that the even limited right to strike was a dangerous step.

In our view it would not be realistic at this stage to expect the complete fulfilment of the third criterion, because the Polish authorities have banned existing trade unions, including Solidarity, and have thereby made continuation of a dialogue with Solidarity impossible.

One should not, in the view of my Authorities, discard completely the possibility that free and independent trade unions, with a right to strike, although limited, might be permitted from 1983 onwards. A remaining problem will at the same time be to what degree an amnesty will be given in connection with a lifting of martial law to persons arrested for violations of martial law regulations.

In the view of my Authorities the most recent developments in Poland should be assessed as a positive step. If martial law is indeed lifted and if the bulk of the detainees are set free, Western public opinion would probably react in a positive way and expect adequate measures from Western governments vis-à-vis Poland. In our view it might in this context be natural to consider within the Alliance the question of economic sanctions. East European countries have continuously tried to place the responsibility for the economic problems they have created for themselves on Western sanctions. We might probably expect that the East European countries will continue on this line if the sanctions are maintained after the lifting of martial law. This might, in our view, constitute a political problem for Allied countries, both vis-à-vis our public opinions and vis-à-vis East European countries.

I agree with the view reflected in the discussion here today that the first public Allied reaction to a lifting of martial law would probably have to be in the form of statements which reserve our position on measures while giving us time for a substantive discussion within the Alliance on implications for our policies vis-à-vis Poland.