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Collection Name BAILEY, NORMAN: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 2/11/2013

File Folder EASTERN EUROPEAN POLICY 07/19/1983-07/31/1983

FOIA

M452

Box Number 2

SHIFRINSON

39

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
153856	CABLE	STATE 202153 R 6/2/2015 M452/2	2	7/19/1983	B1
153857	MEMO	TO NORM BAILEY	1	ND	B3
153858	REPORT	[ATTACHED TO DOC. 153857]	8	7/20/1983	B1
153859	CABLE	DHABI 2462 R 6/2/2015 M452/2	4	7/20/1983	B1
153862	REPORT		3	7/21/1983	B1
153863	REPORT		3	7/21/1983	B1
153864	REPORT		2	7/22/1983	B1
153865	REPORT		1	7/22/1983	B1
153866	REPORT		1	7/22/1983	B1
153867	REPORT		1	7/26/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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153868	REPORT		2	7/26/1983	B1
153869	REPORT		1	7/26/1983	B1
153870	REPORT		2	7/26/1983	B1
153860	CABLE	STATE 209267 <i>R 6/2/2015 M452/2</i>	2	7/26/1983	B1
153861	CABLE	STATE 209267 <i>R 6/2/2015 M452/2</i>	2	7/26/1983	B1
153871	REPORT		1	7/27/1983	B1
153872	REPORT		1	7/27/1983	B1
153873	REPORT		3	7/28/1983	B1
153874	REPORT		4	7/29/1983	B1
153875	REPORT		3	7/29/1983	B1

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153876	REPORT		1	7/29/1983	B1
153877	REPORT		1	7/29/1983	B1

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153856

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TELEGRAM

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EXDIS MIL ADDEES HDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE (INF-DELEGATION)
E.O. 12356: 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PL
SUBJECT: POLAND: POLITICAL SITUATION - SITREP FOR NATO
NO. 196 (JULY 13-19)

REFERENCE: 80 STATE 318806

1. (S) MOVING TOWARD POST-MARTIAL LAW POLAND: ALTHOUGH THE REGIME IS WORKING FEVERISHLY ON A COMPLEX SET OF LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER MEASURES TO REPLACE MARTIAL LAW, THERE IS STILL SOME DOUBT AS TO WHETHER ITS ABOLITION WILL BE MADE EFFECTIVE JULY 22 OR AFTER AUGUST 31. MORE IMPORTANTLY THERE ALREADY ARE SIGNS OF PUBLIC APPREHENSION THAT THE POST-MARTIAL LAW REGIME MAY PROVE TO BE MORE REPRESSIVE THAN MARTIAL LAW ITSELF. DESPITE THE AMNESTY THAT IS EXPECTED TO BE DECREED ON JULY 22, AFFECTING PERHAPS AS MANY AS 450 POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE RESTRICTIVE NATURE OF THE NEW LEGISLATION, COULD HARDEN THE OPPOSITION TO JARUZELSKI.

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BY RW NARA DATE 6/2/15

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PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 2153 DTG: 192337Z JUL 83 PSN: 055874

2. (C) A SERIES OF DRAFT AMENDMENTS AND SPECIAL REGULATIONS SENT TO THE PARLIAMENT ON JULY 15 APPARENTLY WOULD MAINTAIN IN FORCE MANY OF THE MOST REPRESSIVE FEATURES OF MARTIAL LAW FOR UP TO TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS AFTER MARTIAL LAW IS FORMALLY ENDED. EXCEPT FOR POSSIBLE MINOR CHANGES IN WORDING, PARLIAMENT IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO APPROVE THE

GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS WHEN THE SEJM CONVENES FOR A TWO-DAY SESSION ON JULY 20. THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION AND REGULATIONS REPORTEDLY INCLUDE:

--RESTRICTIONS ON THE FORMATION OF GENUINELY INDEPENDENT UNIONS IN FACTORIES, A CONCESSION THAT WAS INCORPORATED IN THE OCTOBER 1982 TRADE UNION LAW;

--LIMITING THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO CHANGE JOBS; TOUGHENED PROVISIONS OF AN EXISTING LAW AGAINST THE SO-CALLED "PARASITES," SEVERELY CURBING THE ROLE OF THE WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT GROUPS IN FACTORIES;

--RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM FOR INTELLECTUALS AND STUDENTS (E.G., RIGHT TO DISMISS UNIVERSITY RECTORS ELECTED BY STUDENTS);

--CHANGES IN THE PENAL CODE TO MAKE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, PARTICIPATION IN ANY ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION (E.G., SOLIDARITY AND OTHER BANNED STUDENT AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS) A CRIME PUNISHABLE BY UP TO THREE YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT.

3. (S) THE PARLIAMENT IS ALSO LIKELY TO GIVE FINAL APPROVAL TO A SERIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, INCLUDING ONE WHICH ALLOWS THE GOVERNMENT TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY WITHOUT THE CONSTITUTIONAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLICATIONS OF MARTIAL LAW. ALTHOUGH A MORE DETAILED

EVALUATION OF THE PENDING MEASURES WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER THE TEXTS ARE PUBLISHED, IT APPEARS THE REGIME INTENDS TO USE ABOLITION OF MARTIAL LAW AS A PROCESS FOR RESCINDING MOST OF THE GAINS SOCIETY WON BETWEEN AUGUST 1980 AND DECEMBER 1981. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE IMPENDING CHANGES LEAVE UNDOUBTED CONCESSIONS THE REGIME EXTENDED TO THE CHURCH, IRONICALLY SOME OF THEM UNDER PRESSURE FROM SOLIDARITY. AND IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO OFFSET THE EXPECTED PUBLIC DISAPPOINTMENT, JARUZELSKI IS SAID TO BE READY TO DECLARE AN AMNESTY FOR A LARGER NUMBER OF PERSONS CLASSIFIED AS POLITICAL PRISONERS. HOWEVER, THE AMNESTY IS NOT EXPECTED TO APPLY TO THE FOUR PROMINENT DISSIDENT KOR LEADERS, FOUR MEMBERS OF THE BANNED CONFEDERATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND, AND POSSIBLY THE SEVEN TOP SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS.

4. (C) THE UNDERGROUND SOLIDARITY LEADERS HAVE ALREADY DENOUNCED THE REGIME'S MANEUVER AS A RUSE DESIGNED TO MAKE MANY OF THE MORE ODIUS FEATURES OF MARTIAL LAW PERMANENT WITHOUT THE NAME. WALESIA, WHO THUS FAR HAS AVOIDED PUNISHMENT FOR TAKING AN UNAUTHORIZED VACATION, STRUCK MILITANT NOTE WHEN HE RETURNED TO A HERO'S WELCOME FROM SOME 5,000

SHIPYARD WORKERS ON JULY 18. HE SAID HE WOULD PREFER MARTIAL LAW TO THE SET OF PROPOSED REGULATIONS AND HINTED THAT HE HAS BEEN USING HIS VACATION TIME TO DEVELOP NEW STRATEGIES. SHULTZ

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
153857	MEMO TO NORM BAILEY	1	ND	B3

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153858	REPORT [ATTACHED TO DOC. 153857]	8	7/20/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153859

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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ABU DHABI 2462

EXDIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, XF, IS, LE, SY, TC, US

SUBJECT: ZAYID/KHADDAM MEETING AND SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP

REF: A) AUB DHABI 2425 (NOTAL) B) DAMSCUS 5469 (NOTAL)
C) STATE 200164; D) STATE 197069 E) STATE 194352

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. BEGIN SUMMARY: OUR PRESENTATION TO SHAIKH SUROOR OF DEPARTMENT'S POINTS ON SECRETARY'S RECENT TRIP AND KHADDAM SPEECH NOT SURPRISINGLY FOUND SUROOR FOCUSING ON ZAYID/KHADDAM MEETING JUST CONCLUDED. CONCERNING THIS MEETING, SUROOR SAYS KHADDAM MAINTAINED THAT: (A) SARG SUPPORTS STRONG, INDEPENDENT LEBANON AND WANTS TO GET COMPLETELY OUT OF ITS NORTHERN AND EASTERN PORTION, SINCE CONTINUING MOBILIXATION WEAKENS SYRIAN INDUSTRIAL BASE; (B) SYRIA, NEVERTHELESS, IS IN NO HURRAY TO LEAVE LEBANON SINCE IT HAS "ASSURED" SOVIET SUPPORT, AND ISRAELIS TAKING INCREASING CASUALTIES BY DINT OF THEIR OWN POLICY OF NON-WITHDRAWAL; (C) SYRIA'S OBJECTIONS TO LEBANESE/ISRAELI AGREEMENT ARE BASED BOTH UPON MANNER IN WHICH AGREEMENT REACHED AND UPON ITS SUBSTANCE; (D) SARG WANTS ARAFAT OUT, BUT IS ALSO OPPOSED TO SAID MUSA'S ASSUMING PLO LEADERSHIP; AND (E) SYRIA STILL STANDS BY FEZ PLAN. SUROOR SAID KHADDAM HAD PRESSED FOR ADDITIONAL UAE

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DTG: 201250Z JUL 83 PSN: 058077

FINANCIAL SUPPORT, BUT INDICATED ZAYID SIDE-STEPPED REQUEST. WE THINK UAE WANTS, IF IT CAN, TO HOLD BACK IN ABSENCE ANY CLEARER INDICATION OF WHAT SYRIA'S REAL POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS ARE AND WHAT SYRIA MIGHT BE WILLING TO DO TO ALLEVIATE DANGEROUS STALEMATE IT HAS CREATED AND IS EXPLOITING. END SUMMARY.

EXDIS

3. JULY 19, AMBASSADOR AND NEWLY-ARRIVED DCM RANSOM CALLED UPON PRESIDENTIAL CHAMBERLAIN SHAIKH SUROOR TO BRIEF ON SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP (REFS D AND E) AND TO LEAVE NON-PAPER REBUTTING SYRIAN DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER ABDUL HALIM KHADDAM'S RECENT INCORRECT AND MISLEADING ASSERTIONS ABOUT LEBANESE/ISRAELI AGREEMENT (REF C). SINCE OUR CALL WAS MADE LESS THAN 48 HOURS FOLLOWING KHADDAM'S MEETING WITH UAE PRESIDENT SHAIKH ZAYID HERE IN AL AIN (REF A), SUROOR'S FOCUS WAS PRIMARILY ON THAT MEETING AT WHICH, IN ADDITION TO ZAYID, HE WAS ONLY PERSON IN ATTENDANCE ON UAE SIDE.

EXDIS

4. IN DESCRIBING SECRETARY'S TRIP, AMBASSADOR TOOK PAINS TO EXPLAIN THAT, WHEREAS SECRETARY'S MEETINGS IN DAMASCUS HELD DISAPPOINTMENTS WITH RESPECT TO SARG NON-ACCEPTANCE OF LEBANESE/ISRAELI AGREEMENT AND FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR HABIB, THERE WERE NEVERTHELESS HELPFUL SIGNS TO BE SEEN IN THE AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A CONTINUING US/SYRIAN DIALOGUE ENGAGING ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES, AND MOST PARTICULARLY IN THE CLEAR INDICATION RECEIVED THAT SYRIA TOO SUPPORTED A STRONG, INDEPENDENT LEBANON FREE FROM FOREIGN FORCES.

EXDIS

5. SUROOR QUICKLY INTERJECTED THAT THIS LAST POINT WAS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR IN KHADDAM'S JULY 17 PRESENTATION TO SHAIKH ZAYID. ACCORDING TO SUROOR, KHADDAM WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT SYRIA DESIRES TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM ALL AREAS OCCUPIED IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN LEBANON SINCE "CONTINUING MOBILIZATION IS WEAKENING THE SYRIAN INDUSTRIAL

BASE". SUROOR AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR THAT CRUX OF CURRENT STATEMATE WAS LACK OF KNOWLEDGE BY SARG'S VARIOUS INTER-LOCUTORS AS TO HOW SYRIA MIGHT BE WILLING TO MOVE TOWARD THIS AVOWED OBJECTIVE, AND WHAT ITS PRICE WOULD BE FOR SO DOING.

EXDIS

6. AS TYPICAL OF UNCERTAINTIES OF SYRIAN POSITION, SUROOR NOTED KHADDAM, IMMEDIATELY UPON ADVISING OF HIS COUNTRY'S DESIRE TO WITHDRAW, NEVERTHELESS TOLD SHAIKH ZAYID THAT, FOR NOW, SYRIAN ARMY WOULD BE IN NO HURRY TO LEAVE LEBANON. SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CLAIMED "ASSURED" SOVIET SUPPORT THROUGH MOSCOW'S COMMITMENT OF "FIFTEEN THOUSAND" ADVISORS, AND SAID DAMASCUS HAPPY HAVE ISRAEL STAY AWHILE LONGER, BECAUSE SARG'S CURRENT STANCE FORCES ISRAEL TO TAKE INCREASING CASUALTIES SINCE LATTER CAN NOT BACK AWAY FROM ITS OWN POLICY OF NO WITHDRAWAL BEFORE SYRIA. ACCORDING TO SUROOR, SAYID'S REACTION TO THIS WAS TO QUESTION WHETHER SUCH A CONFRONTATIONAL STANCE ALSO INCLUDED SARG-PREPARATIONS TO GO TO WAR IF ISRAELIS GOT FED-UP WITH SITUATION. KHADDAM GAVE NO DIRECT RESPONSE, SUROOR SAID, HE SIMPLY ACKNOWLEDGED ISRAEL'S MILITARY STRENGTH WHILE RE-EMPHASIZING FACT OF SOVIET COMMITMENT. BT

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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ABU DHABI 2462

EXDIS
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, XF, IS, LE, SY, TC, US

7. SUROOR SAID KHADDAM OBJECTED LONG AND LOUD TO LEBANESE/
ISRAELI AGREEMENT. SYRIAN OBJECTIONS CENTER BOTH ON
MANNER IN WHICH THIS AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, AS WELL AS
UPON ITS SUBSTANCE. KHADDAM CLAIMED SARG GREATLY RESENTED
U. S. FAIT ACCOMPLI INHERENT IN MAY 17 DOCUMENTS, AND SUROOR
HIMSELF CRITICIZED WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS U. S. TACTIC OF USING
SAUDIS TO WIN OVER SYRIANS, RATHER THAN WORKING DIRECTLY WITH
THEM SIMULTANEOUSLY AS ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE WERE
NEGOTIATING. DCM POINTED OUT THAT SYRIANS HAD IN FACT
BEEN KEPT UP-TO-SPEED THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS DURING
LEBANESE/ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THEY HAD BECOME
RECALICITRANT CONCERNING THEIR OWN WITHDRAWAL ONLY
AFTER RPT AFTER LARGE NEW INFUSION OF SOVIET ARMS AND
ADVISORS HAD BEEN ABSORBED.

8. DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE SYRIAN OBJECTIONS TO
LEBANESE/ISRAELI AGREEMENT, WHICH WERE ALSO SUBJECT OF
ASSAD MESSAGE KHADDAM DELIVERED TO ZAYID, WERE COVERED
BY FORTUITOUS RECEIPT OF REF C IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO
MEETING SUROOR. AMBASSADOR LEFT NON-PAPER WITH OUR
VARIOUS REBUTTALS AND OFFERED TO DISCUSS THEM FURTHER
ONCE SUROOR HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY OUR ARGUMENTS

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PSN: 058080

IN MORE DETAIL. AMBASSADOR DID TAKE OPPORUNTIY, HOWEVERN TO STRESS ILLOGIC OF SYRIAN CRITICISM THAT LEBANESE HAD BEEN FORCED TO MAKE MORE EXCESSIVE CONCESSIONS NOW THAN SYRIA HAD HAD TO MAKE IN NEGOTIATIONS ENDING 1973 FIGHTING. SUROOR VOLUNTEERED SUCH CRITICISM DID NOT WASH, SINCE PARTS OF SYRIA REMAIN UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, SUROOR ASKED WHETHER ASSAD HAD RAISED GOLAN QUESTION DURING SECRETARY'S TALKS IN DAMASCUS. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT U. S. POSITION OF NON-ACCEPTANCE OF GOLAN ANNEXATION WAS ON THE RECORD, BUT SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE OF WHETHER OR NOT SUBJECT WAS TREATED AT THAT TIME.

9. SUROOR EXPLAINED HIS QUESTION ON GOLAN IN CONTEXT OF ZAYID'S SEARCH FOR WHAT SYRIA'S REAL OBJECTIVES ARE. GOLAN DID NOT RPT NOT COME UP AT KHADDAM'S MEETING WITH ZAYID, SUROOR STRESSED, BUT HE SAID ON BASIS OF INFORMATION AT HAND, UAE HAS INADEQUATE FEEL FOR SYRIAN INTENTIONS. KHADDAM WAS CLEARLY AFTER "BENEFITS FROM US" (READ: MORE MONEY), SUROOR SAID, BUT INDICATED ZAYID SIDESTEPED REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

10. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONS AS TO KHADDAM'S VIEWS ON SYRIAN/PLO RELATIONS, SUROOR SAID MESSAGE WAS: SYRIANS WANT ARAFAT OUT FOR GOOD, BUT NEITHER DO THEY WANT SAID MUSA; THEY STILL STAND BY FEZ PLAN. ASKED WHAT ZAYID'S RESPONSE TO THIS EQUIVOCAL SIGNAL WAS, SUROOR SAID UAE PRESIDENT THREW UP HIS HANDS AND TOLD KHADDAM, "IN THAT CASE, WHY DON'T YOU TAKE ALL THESE PALESTINIANS BACK INTO SYRIA AND SOLVE THE PROBLEM YOURSELVES?".

11. COMMENT AND ACTION REQUESTED: IN ADDITION TO OUR OWXZ EFFORTUUTO FIND OUT, WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN ANY INDICATIONS EMBASSY DAMASCUS OR OTHER ADDRESSEES MAY RECEIVE CONCERNING SYRIAN EXPECTATIONS OF ADDITIONAL UAE FINANCIAL SUPPORT STEMMING FROM KHADDAM'S VISIT HERE. IF,

AS SUROOR INDICATED, HOWEVER, ZAYID HAS FOR NOW WITHSTOOD SYRIAN ARM-TWISTING, UAE PRESIDENT WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE DONE JUST ABOUT THE SORT OF THING WE WOULD HAVE WANTED HIM TO DO UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. SHOULD DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY AMPLIFYING GUIDELINES FOR US ON THIS SCORE, WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE THEM. ALTHOUGH WE REALIZE SENSITIVITY OF SUBJECT, WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS DEPARTMENT FEELS WE MIGHT APPROPRIATELY MAKE TO SUROOR AT THIS JUNCTURE CONCERNING GOLAN. IN THE MEANTIME, WE SHALL ENCOURAGE UAE LEADERSHIP TO CONINTUE TO SEARCH OUT CLEARER INDICATIONS OF WHAT SYRIA REALLY WANTS, ALONG WITH ANY SIGNALS AS TO HOW AND WHEN DAMASCUS MIBHT BE MOVED TO ALLEVIATE STALEMATE IT HAS CREATED (AND IS EXPLOITING), AND TO MANIFEST WHAT IT SAYS IS ITS SUPPORT FOR A STRONG, INDEPENDENT LEBANON. END COMMENT. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. LUMSDEN
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153862	REPORT	3	7/21/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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153863	REPORT	3	7/21/1983	B1

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153864	REPORT	2	7/22/1983	B1

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153865	REPORT	1	7/22/1983	B1

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153867	REPORT	1	7/26/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153868	REPORT	2	7/26/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153869	REPORT	1	7/26/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153870	REPORT	2	7/26/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
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EXDIS MIL ADDEES HDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE (INF DELEGATION)
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, PL
SUBJECT: POLAND: POLITICAL SITUATION - SITREP FOR NATO
NO. , 97 (JULY 20/, 6)

REFERE4CE: 80 "TATE 318806

1. (C) THE END OF MARTIAL LAW: NEITHER THE FORMAL ABOLITION OF MARTIAL LAW NOR THE SPECIAL TEMPORARY POWERS THE REGIME HAS ACQUIRED WILL NECESSARILY BRING SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN POLAND. THE EXCEPTION WILL BE PERSONS RELEASED FROM PRISON UNDER THE GOVERNMENT'S LIMITED AMNESTY PROGRAM AND THEIR RELATIVES, AND THOSE POLES ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SOMEWHAT RELAXED PASSPORT REGULATIONS TO TRAVEL TO THE WEST. ALTHOUGH THE REGIME HAS CLOSED MOST LOOPHOLES AND STRENGTHENED ITS INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL OVER SOCIETY, ONLY EVENTS IN THE COMING MONTHS WILL TELL HOW RIGOROUSLY THEY

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BY RW NARA DATE 6/2/15

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WILL BE ENFORCED.

2. (C) A MEANINGFUL ASSESSMENT OF THE LIKELY POST-MARTIAL LAW SITUATION WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL ALL THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS AND OTHER LEGISLATIVE CHANGES ALREADY ENACTED ARE AVAILABLE FOR SCRUTINY, AND WE HAVE A CHANCE TO SEE HOW THEY ARE IMPLEMENTED. SOME MARTIAL LAW

RESTRICTIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN INCORPORATED IN THE PENAL AND LABOR CODES, SOME OF THEM PRIOR TO THE SUSPENSION OF MARTIAL LAW LAST DECEMBER. MOREOVER, NEW AMENDMENTS MAY PROVIDE JARUZELSKI WITH ADDITIONAL POWERS. THESE AMENDMENTS WERE TO BE INCORPORATED AS PART OF THE OMNIBUS BILL PASSED ON JULY 21, BUT WERE DROPPED UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE EPISCOPATE. THE PARLIAMENT IS EXPECTED TO TAKE UP THESE ITEMS AGAIN AT ITS NEXT PLENARY SESSION, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS THIS WEEK.

3. (S) WHEN ALL THE LEGISLATION AND OTHER REGULATIONS ARE IN PLACE, THE SYSTEM OF RULE AFTER MARTIAL LAW HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BE ALMOST AS REPRESSIVE AS BEFORE THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW AND EVEN BEFORE THE RISE OF SOLIDARITY. IN SOME RESPECTS--FOR EXAMPLE, FREEDOM OF WORKERS TO CHANGE JOBS--THE SYSTEM MAY BE HARSHER THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1956. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE JARUZELSKI GOVERNMENT HAS DRAWN CERTAIN LESSONS FROM THE MAJOR CRISES OF 1956, 1970, AND 1980, AND HAS TAKEN STEPS TO EQUIP ITSELF AGAINST FUTURE CONTINGENCIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE SEVERAL POSITIVE FEATURES TO BE NOTED--THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THEM IS THE INCREASED ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN POLISH LIFE. ANOTHER IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT GUARANTEEING THE PERMANENCE OF PRIVATE LANDHOLDINGS (THOUGH IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THIS MOVE WILL ALLAY THE SUSPICION OF PRIVATE FARMERS ABOUT THE

GOVERNMENT'S SINCERITY).

4. (S) PERHAPS AN EVEN MORE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION OF POST MARTIAL LAW POLAND IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH JARUZELSKI INTENDS TO USE THE POWERS AVAILABLE TO THE REGIME. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE SPECIAL POWERS HE ACQUIRED WERE INTENDED TO PACIFY HARDLINE CRITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD. INDEED, POLAND'S HISTORY SINCE WORLD WAR II IS REplete WITH EXAMPLES OF THE AUTHORITIES LOOKING THE OTHER WAY WHEN REGULATIONS WERE VIOLATED AND THE JARUZELSKI REGIME IS UNLIKELY TO BE AN EXCEPTION. EVEN UNDER MARTIAL LAW, LIFE IN POLAND WAS LESS OPPRESSIVE IN MANY RESPECTS THAN IN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT. THIS IS LIKELY TO REMAIN THE CASE EVEN MORE SO AFTER THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW. HOW JARUZELSKI WILL USE HIS NEW POWERS WILL DEPEND

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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 209267

EXDIS MIL ADDEES HDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE (INF DELEGATION)
ON HOW THE PUBLIC AND THE OPPOSITION REACT AND ON PRESSURE
FROM THE SOVIETS. EARLY INDICATIONS ARE THAT BOTH THE
PUBLIC AT LARGE AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION
(INCLUDING THE UNDERGROUND) HAVE ADOPTED A WAIT-AND-SEE
ATTITUDE. HOWEVER, NEITHER WALES NOR THE UNDERGROUND
SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE LIKELY TO ABANDON THEIR EFFORTS FOR
AN INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION, THE CENTRAL FEATURE OF THE
AUGUST 1980 LABOR ACCORDS. A KEY TEST WILL LIKELY COME
DURING THE MAJOR SOLIDARITY ANNIVERSARIES IN THE SECOND HALF
OF AUGUST.

5. (C) MEANWHILE, AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF PRISONERS HAVE
ALREADY BEEN RELEASED FROM AT LEAST NINE PENAL INSTITUTIONS
BUT THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO COULD BENEFIT FROM THE
SELECTIVE AMNESTY PROGRAM REMAINS IN DOUBT, WITH ESTIMATES
RANGING FROM 650 TO MAXIMUM OF ABOUT 1000. THE PICTURE
IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE APPARENT RELEASE OF SEVERAL

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CATEGORIES OF "COMMON CRIMINALS," TOGETHER WITH SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS. AT LEAST SOME OF THE PERSONS THAT WILL BE RELEASED AS "COMMON CRIMINALS" MAY PROVE TO BE PRO-SOLIDARITY PEOPLE WHOM THE AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO CONSIDER AS POLITICAL PRISONERS (EVEN THOUGH IN SOME INSTANCES THESE "COMMON CRIMINALS" STAGED HUNGER STRIKES TO GAIN POLITICAL PRISONER STATUS). ANOTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR IS THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNDERGROUND HAVE BEEN OFFERED AMNESTY IF THEY GIVE THEMSELVES UP, PLEDGE NOT TO OPPOSE THE REGIME, AND GIVE A FULL ACCOUNT OF THEIR ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW. UNDERGROUND ACTIVISTS WHO SURRENDER COULD RAISE FURTHER THE NUMBER OF PERSONS BENEFITTING FROM THE AMNESTY PROGRAM. THERE IS NO INDICATION, HOWEVER, THAT THE KEY UNDERGROUND LEADERS WILL GIVE THEMSELVES UP, THOUGH THEY (AS WELL AS APPARENTLY WALESA) INDICATED THEIR UNDERSTANDING IF LOWER LEVEL ACTIVISTS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE AMNESTY PROGRAM. AS IT IS, THE AMNESTY DECREE APPEARS SPECIFICALLY TO EXCLUDE SOME KEY MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION, INCLUDING SEVEN NATIONAL LEADERS AND FIVE ADVISORS OF SOLIDARITY CHARGED WITH PLOTTING TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM. SHULTZ
BT

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153871	REPORT	1	7/27/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]**
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153872	REPORT	1	7/27/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153873	REPORT	3	7/28/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153874	REPORT	4	7/29/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153875	REPORT	3	7/29/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153876	REPORT	1	7/29/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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153877	REPORT	1	7/29/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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