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ACTION: NONE INFO: MASS/EC, CDPH-H, CDPN-N, COPS-S, CEAFNA-U-2, CGI/EP/SA, OGI/ET/EC, OGI/EC/EA, OGI/EC/TW, OGI/IC/PI, OGI/R/AL, CGI/R/AT, OGI/SR/EI, ODE/EE, ODE/EE/R, ODE/EEPC-2, ODE/EI/EI, CCE/EI/PS, CCE/EI/SI, ODE/CAG, COE/RAGR, ODE/RBOP, ODE/ROME, ODE/RDEF, ODE/RNMP, CCE/RNRG, ODE/RTRD, ODE/WE, OSA/PA/S, OSWR/TTC, OSWR/TTC/S, PLANFAC-E (), POLE-E (), RP, SOV/CS/E/E, SOV/CS/E/P, SOV/CS/E/T, SOV/CS/S/M, SOV/CS/Y, SOV/EAC, SOV/PA/F, SOV/SE, SOV/SE/R, SOV/SFC, SOV/SFE, FILE, SE/DRP, SE/PCH, SE/RR, CI, CI/FL, CR/E, D/FBIS-2, EFS/EG-2, IAD/IC, ICS/DHC/EU, NIC/USSR, DER, OIA/EREB, OIA/ERIB, SAG/MEB, SAG/PPB, SAG/SEB-3, STD/MTC, STD/MTH, STD/MTP, STD/MTS, ZSE/DRP, ZSE/PCH, ZSE/RR, (29/W)

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1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. INTRODUCTION: TO A GREAT EXTENT, MARTIAL LAW POL- AND IS A POLICE STATE DISGUISED AS A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP. SINCE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MARTIAL LAW ON DECEMBER 13, 1981, ULTIMATE POLITICAL AUTHORITY HAS NOMINALLY BEEN IN THE HANDS OF A GROUP OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS CALLED THE "MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION" (WRON) AND LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE PARTY, INDUSTRIAL SECTOR AND CIVIL ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN PLACED UNDER MILITARY CONTROL. THE OSTENSIBLE PURPOSE OF THIS MILITARY TAKEOVER IS TO END THE "ANARCHY" SUPPOSEDLY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PERIOD AUGUST, 1981--DEC-EMBER, 1981, AND TO PROVIDE A TEMPORARY FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND MAJOR REFORMS IN ALL AREAS OF NATIONAL LIFE. MILITARY RULE HAS PROVEN TO BE A FACADE FOR THE EXERCISE OF POWER BY GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI AND A SMALL GROUP OF CLOSE ASSOCIATES WHOSE IDENTITIES ARE THE SUBJECT OF CONSTANT CONJECTURE. THE WRON APPEARS TO DO LITTLE MORE THAN ENDORSE THE DECISIONS PRESENTED TO IT BY JARUZELSKI; THE MILITARY COMMISSARS WHO REIGN OVER MANY INSTITUTIONS SEEM TO BE MAINLY FIGUREHEADS WHO SENSIBLY REFRAIN FROM INVOLVEMENT IN MATTERS FOR WHICH THEY HAVE NO TRAINING OR EXPERIENCE. IN DEC 1981, THE MILITARY WAS THE ONLY OFFICIAL IN-STITUTION STILL ENJOYING SOME MEASURE OF POPULAR ESTEEM; SINCE THEN IT HAS BEEN USED MAINLY FOR PRESTIGE PURPOSES AND HAS DONE VERY LITTLE OF THE DIRTY WORK OF ENFORCING MARTIAL LAW AND SUPPRESSING UNREST. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS -- THE MAIN FOCUS OF WHICH IS THE IDENTIFICATION, IMMOBILIZATION AND SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS -- SEEMS TO RESIDE WITH THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS (MSW) WHICH CONTROLS BOTH THE NATIONAL POLICE FORCE, THE "CITIZENS' MILITIA" (MO), AND THE SECURITY SERVICE (SB). MOST INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE MSW AND THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS HAVE GONE FAR TOWARDS REGAINING THE AUTHORITY THEY ENJOYED PRIOR TO AUG 1981. THIS FACT IS THE BASIS OF THE ENOR-MOUS DETERIORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND SINCE DEC 1981.

3. MARTIAL LAW HAS PROVEN TO BE PRIMARILY A SECURITY OPER-ATION, BOTH IN ITS LONG-TERM AS WELL AS SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES. THE REGIME'S PROCLAIMED GOALS OF "REFORM, RENEWAL AND RECON-CILIATION" APPEAR, IN LATE 1982, TO BE MERE SLOGANS DESIGNED

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TO WEAKEN THE RESOLVE OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN OPPONENTS. THE REAL PURPOSE OF MARTIAL LAW IS STILL TO ROLL BACK THE CHANGES IN POLISH NATIONAL LIFE WHICH OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF POPULAR PRESSURE DURING THE SOLIDARNOSC PERIOD AND TO PREVENT THE RE-CURRENCE OF SUCH UNREST IN THE FUTURE BY ELIMINATING FROM POLISH SOCIETY THOSE FEATURES WHICH MADE THE SOLIDARNOSC MOVEMENT POSSIBLE.

4. THE REGIME'S DECLARED GOAL FOR MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN AN END TO POLITICAL UNREST AND ECONOMIC DECLINE AND THE CONTINUATION OF REFORM. THROUGH ITS MARTIAL LAW DECREE, THE REGIME TOOK AWAY HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH THE POLISH PEOPLE HAD WON, SLOWLY AND BITTERLY, SINCE 1945 AND MORE QUICKLY AND EXPLOSIVELY, DURING THE PERIOD AUG 1980--DEC 1981. IT COUPLED THIS WITH A PROMISE, SYMBOLIZED BY THE ARRESTS OF GIEREK AND OTHER DISCREDITED PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS, TO CORRECT THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST. THE REGIME'S PROMISES REMAIN LARGELY UNFULFILLED AT THE SAME TIME THAT SUMMARY TRIBUNALS DEAL OUT HARSH PRISON SENTENCES FOR EVEN MINOR MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS. THE PROSECUTION OF FORMER PARTY AND GOP LEADERS PROCEEDS LACKADAISICALLY. ALTHOUGH CERTAIN ADMINISTRATIVE FEATURES OF MARTIAL LAW (CURRENCE, SOME TRAVEL RESTRICTION) HAVE BEEN EASED, THE CENTRAL CORE IS UNTOUCHED. EVEN IF, AS SOME REGIME APOLOGISTS PREDICT, MARTIAL LAW IS FORMALLY ABOLISHED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, ITS BASIC REPRESSIVE FEATURES ARE LIKELY TO BE PRESERVED IN THE FORM OF EMERGENCY POWERS LEGISLATION.

5. THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME HAS SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO RESTORE JARUZELSKI'S PLEDGES TO RESTORE ITS LEADING ROLE. POLAND'S COMMUNIST PARTY REMAINS AS DIVIDED, DISORGANIZED AND INEFFECTUAL AS IT WAS PRIOR TO DEC 13. SOME PROMINENT PERSONALITIES FROM BOTH LIBERAL AND HARD-LINE WINGS HAVE BEEN REMOVED, BUT NO CENTER OR CONSENSUS HAS YET EMERGED WITHIN THE PARTY'S RANKS. THE POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN RELEGATED TO THE ROLE OF PROVIDING TOKEN RATIFICATION FOR THE POLICY INITIATIVES OF JARUZELSKI

AND HIS GROUP OF ADVISERS. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION REMAINS SIGNIFICANTLY BELOW THE LEVEL OF NOVEMBER 1981. THE LAST MONTH BEFORE MARTIAL LAW, PRODUCTION IN COAL MINING AND OTHER EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES HAS RISEN SOMEWHAT, BUT ONLY BECAUSE MINERS MUST WORK ON SATURDAYS. THE STEEP PRICE RISES OF FEBRUARY 1982 HAVE HELPED TO STABILIZE THE MARKET SUPPLY SITUATION SOMEWHAT; CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN SUPPLYING MANUFACTURED CONSUMER GOODS AND IN GETTING FARMERS TO SELL THEIR CROPS TO THE STATE COULD EASILY UPSET THE MARKET SITUATION AGAIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WORKER ALIENATION IS AN IMPORTANT AND GROWING ECONOMIC PROBLEM. ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL STATISTICS, THE NET INCREASE IN WORKER ABSENTEEISM IN THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF 1982, AS COMPARED WITH THE SAME PERIOD DURING THE PRECEDING YEAR, EXCEEDED THE TOTAL OF MANHOURS LOST THROUGH STRIKES IN ALL OF 1981. MARTIAL LAW HAS SO FAR BEEN A TECHNICAL SUCCESS IN SUPPRESSING OPEN RESISTANCE AND IN FRUSTRATING ATTEMPTS TO FORM AN EFFECTIVE UNDERGROUND OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. ONE MARK OF ITS SUCCESS WAS THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO LEGISLATIVELY DISSOLVE SOLIDARNOSC IN EARLY OCTOBER WITHOUT SUFFERING AN UNMANAGEABLE BACKLASH FROM THE POLISH PEOPLE. YET THIS TIGHT CONTROL ONLY SEEMS TO HAVE SHARPENED RESENTMENT TOWARD THE REGIME, AND NEW UNREST SEEMS TO FLARE UP WHEN THE REGIME'S GRIP SLACKENED. TO DATE, THE MOST THE REGIME HAS MANAGED TO ACHIEVE THROUGH ITS REPRESSIVE POLICIES IS THE PASSIVE ACCEPTANCE OF ITS DEMANDS BY THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS, BUT THIS IS ACCOMPANIED BY A DEEP AND BITTER RESENTMENT WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR LIKELY TO SUBSIDE SOON.

6. THIS REPORT IS BASED ON THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S OWN SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ON STATISTICS AND REPORTS

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PUBLISHED BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND BY POLITICAL OPPOSITION GROUPS. THE PICTURE WHICH IS PROVIDED OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN POLAND IS LESS COMPLETE AND EXACT THAN LAST YEAR'S REPORT DUE TO:

-- THE REGIME'S RESUMPTION OF THE HABITUAL SECRECY CHARACTERISTIC OF ITS BEHAVIOR PRIOR TO AUGUST 1980;
 -- THE SUPPRESSION OF INDEPENDENT GROUPS WHICH PREVIOUSLY SOUGHT TO COMPILE FULL AND ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT REGIME ABUSES.

7. (SECTION 1). RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

-(1.A.) KILLING:

- WE HAVE RECEIVED NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAVE MADE REGULAR USE OF PREMEDITATED MURDER TO DEAL WITH THEIR ENEMIES. THE AUTHORITIES THEMSELVES, HOWEVER, HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED KILLINGS OF STRIKERS AND DEMONSTRATORS IN THE COURSE OF PACIFICATION ACTIONS. ON DECEMBER 17, 1981, FOR EXAMPLE, THE REGIME ANNOUNCED THAT NINE COAL MINERS HAD BEEN SHOT TO DEATH BY SECURITY FORCES BREAKING A STRIKE IN THE WUJEK COAL MINES NEAR KATOWICE. FOLLOWING THE NATIONWIDE DISTURBANCES ON AUGUST 31, THE OFFICIAL MEDIA REPORTED THE DEATHS OF TWO DEMONSTRATORS IN A TOWN CALLED LUBIN, ONE IN WROCLAW, AND ONE IN GDANSK. UNOFFICIAL AND UNCONFIRMED REPORTS HAVE INDICATED A HIGHER NUMBER OF FATALITIES THAN THE REGIME HAS HITHERTO REPORTED. ACCORDING TO UNCONFIRMED REPORTS FROM CREDIBLE OBSERVERS, INCLUDING CHURCH SOURCES, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE SOMETIMES SOUGHT TO AVOID BLAME FOR THE DEATHS OF PEOPLE IN POLICE CUSTODY, OR DURING POLICE STREET ACTIONS, BY ARRANGING FOR THE SECRET DISPOSAL OF THE VICTIM'S REMAINS AND PROVIDING FALSE OR SKETCHY INFORMATION ABOUT THE DEMISE TO HIS RELATIONS.

8. (1.B) DISAPPEARANCE.

- THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT PERSONS ARE, CONTRARY TO LAW AND ESTABLISHED LEGAL PROCEDURES, ABDUCTED, SECRETLY ARRESTED OR HELD IN CLANDESTINE DETENTION IN POLAND. BUT THERE IS NO NEED FOR SUCH A PRACTICE SINCE THE WIDE POWERS OF SUMMARY ARREST AND INTERNMENT WHICH SECURITY ORGANS NOW ENJOY ALLOW THEM OPENLY TO DETAIN AND HOLD VIRTUALLY INCOMMUNICADO FOR INDEFINITE PERIODS ANYONE AGAINST WHOM THEY HARBOR SUSPICIONS (SEE 1.E. BELOW)

9. (1.C.) TORTURE.

- TORTURE IS PROHIBITED UNDER THE POLISH PENAL CODE. YET, IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORCIBLE CONFINEMENT OF THOUSANDS OF REAL AND SUSPECTED OPPONENTS OF THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME, THERE HAVE BEEN INCREASING REPORTS FROM CREDIBLE SOURCES THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PRISONERS HAVE SUFFERED BEATINGS AND OTHER FORMS OF DELIBERATE MISTREATMENT. SENIOR CHURCH OFFICIALS HAVE POINTED OUT THAT EVEN IN THE SMALL NUMBER OF CASES WHEN THE REGIME HAS PERMITTED OUTSIDE INSPECTION TEAMS TO VISIT CONFINEMENT FACILITIES, SUCH VISITORS ARE RARELY ABLE TO OBTAIN A FULL AND ACCURATE PICTURE OF THE MOST CRITICAL ELEMENT OF PRISON LIFE -- THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS BY THEIR WARDENS. MANY CHURCH OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT BEATINGS, OFTEN CARRIED OUT BY ZOMO RIOT POLICE BROUGHT IN FOR THIS SPECIFIC PURPOSE, ARE A ROUTINE PART OF THE REGIMEN OF AT LEAST SOME DETENTION FACILITIES. REPORTEDLY, INTERNEES WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ASSAULTED AT ZALEZE PRISON NEAR RZESZOW IN JANUARY, AT THE WIERZCHOWO CAMP IN FEBRUARY, AT ZOMO HEADQUARTERS IN KATOWICE, AND AT ILAWA PRISON IN NORTHERN POLAND AT THE END OF MARCH.
 - THERE ARE NO FIRM ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WOUNDED AND INJURED IN THE COURSE OF POLICE ACTIONS SINCE THE START OF MARTIAL LAW, BUT THE TOTAL FIGURE IS PROBABLY IN THE THOUSANDS. A PRINCIPLE REASON FOR THE LACK OF RELIABLE STATISTICS IS THAT INJURED PEOPLE OFTEN

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AVOID SEEKING TREATMENT AT PUBLIC HOSPITALS OUT OF FEAR OF AGAIN FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF THE POLICE. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF EXCESSIVE USE OF POLICE FORCE IN THE PAST YEAR TO SUPPRESS PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS OF DISSATISFACTION WITH MARTIAL LAW. COMMON POLICE PRACTICE HAS BEEN TO USE WATER CANNON AND TEAR GAS FOR INITIAL DISPERSAL OF CROWDS. THIS OFTEN IS FOLLOWED BY A CHARGE OF CLUB-WIELDING RIOT POLICE WHO SOMETIMES HAVE ADMINISTERED SEVERE BEATINGS TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE CROWD UNLUCKY ENOUGH TO BE CAUGHT. DURING LARGE-SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS ON AUG 31, POLICE APPEARED LARGELY TO REFRAIN FROM BEATINGS, WHILE VIGOROUSLY USING TEAR GAS AND OTHER MEANS. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN CASES UNDER MARTIAL LAW WHERE TWO OR THREE POLICEMEN WOULD GANG UP ON A VICTIM POMMEL HIM/HER UNTIL HE/SHE DROPS TO THE GROUND, AND THEN KICK THE VICTIM REPEATEDLY. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN RELIABLE REPORTS OF MISTREATMENT OF NEWLY APRESTED DEMONSTRATORS UPON THEIR INITIAL CONFINEMENT AT POLICE STATIONS. A WESTERN NEWS TEAM REPORTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WHILE TEMPORARILY DETAINED AT A WARSAW DISTRICT POLICE STATION IN THE COURSE OF THE MAY 3 DEMONSTRATIONS, THEY HEARD SEVERE BEATINGS BEING ADMINISTERED TO A NUMBER OF PEOPLE. A WESTERN EUROPEAN NEWS TEAM DETAINED WHILE COVERING AUG 31 DISTURBANCES, AND SUBSEQUENTLY HELD TWO DAYS IN A POLICE JAIL, REPORTED A SIMILAR EXPERIENCE. EACH MEMBER WAS HOUSED IN A SEPARATE CELL WITH OVER A DOZEN OTHER PRISONERS AWAITING INTERROGATION. ALTHOUGH NONE OF THE NEWSMEN WERE MISTREATED DURING THEIR INTERROGATIONS, THEY REPORTED THAT THEIR CELLMATES RETURNING FROM QUESTIONING BORE UNMISTAKABLE SIGNS OF PHYSICAL ABUSE.

10. (1.D.) CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENT.
- INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONDITIONS OF CONFINEMENT OF MARTIAL LAW POLITICAL PRISONERS REMAINS LIMITED AND FRAGMENTARY. AS WITH THE REPORTS OF BEATINGS AND PHYSICAL ABUSE OF PRISONERS (SEE 1.C. ABOVE), THERE HAS BEEN ENOUGH TESTIMONY FROM RESPONSIBLE SOURCES TO WARRANT GRAVE CONCERN. THE CHURCH AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS CONTINUE TO MAKE STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO VISIT MARTIAL LAW PRISONERS IN VARIOUS DETENTION CENTERS, BUT THE REGIME HAS GENERALLY DONE WHAT IT COULD TO FRUSTRATE SUCH ENDEAVORS. AFTER VISITING A NUMBER OF INTERNMENT CAMPS IN EARLY JANUARY ICRC INSPECTORS REPORTED DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS (WHICH THEY COMPARED TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS WITHOUT EXCESSIVE POLICE BRUTALITY) IN ALL BUT FOUR OR FIVE SHOWCASE FACILITIES IN FORMER RESORTS. THEY REPORTEDLY OFTEN FOUND 18 TO 20 PERSONS SHARING A SINGLE ROOM WITH A COMMON TOILET. FORMER INTERNEES AND THEIR FAMILIES HAVE REPORTED THAT, IN AT LEAST SOME DETENTION FACILITIES, INTERNEES ARE KEPT IN THE SAME CELLS AS COMMON CRIMINALS. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD REPORTS THAT SOME INTERNEES HAVE BEEN SENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS. ANOTHER POSSIBLE INDICATION OF DELIBERATE MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS IS THE REPORTS OF HUNGER STRIKES AND OTHER PRISONER PROTEST ACTIONS IN DIFFERENT CONFINEMENT FACILITIES. IN AUGUST, FOR EXAMPLE, HEAVILY ARMED ZOMO WERE BROUGHT IN TO PUT DOWN ONE SUCH DISTURBANCE IN AN INTERNMENT CAMP NEAR GDANSK.

11. (1.E.) ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT.
- MARTIAL LAW REGULATIONS PERMIT THE AUTHORITIES TO DETAIN "THOSE AGAINST WHOM THERE EXISTS A WELL FOUNDED SUSPICION THAT THEY WILL CARRY OUT ACTIVITY INJURIOUS TO STATE SECURITY IF ALLOWED TO REMAIN AT LARGE." SUCH PERSONS MAY BE INTERNED "IN ISOLATION CENTERS FOR THE PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW ON THE BASIS OF A DECISION OF THE VOIVODSHIP MILITARY COMMANDANT." INTERNMENT USUALLY DOES NOT INVOLVE CHARGES AND THUS NO COURT PROCEEDINGS ARE NECESSARY.

12. DESPITE HIGHLY PUBLICIZED RELEASES OF SOME INTERNEES,

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THERE HAS BEEN NO END TO THE PRACTICE OF INTERNMENT WITHOUT CHARGE. FOLLOWING ITS JULY 21 ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RELEASE OR FURLOUGHING OF ABOUT 1,200 INTERNEES (INCLUDING ALL WOMEN INTERNEES) THE REGIME HAS CLAIMED THAT ONLY 600-700 OF THOSE INTERNED AT THE START OF MARTIAL LAW NOW REMAIN IN

CUSTODY. HOWEVER, THE REGIME HAS OBSTRUCTED EFFORTS OF THE CHURCH AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS TO INDEPENDENTLY VERIFY THE TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERNEES AND COMPILE AUTHORITATIVE LISTS OF THEIR NAMES. AMONG OTHER PLOYS, IT HAS NOT PERMITTED ICRC REPRESENTATIVES TO VISIT FACILITIES HOUSING SOME PERSONS DETAINED SINCE DEC 30, 1981. ON THE GROUND THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT PROPERLY-SPEAKING "INTERNEES", THE REGIME ITSELF HAS NEVER PRESENTED A FULL LIST OF INTERNEES. IN A JULY NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW, THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS JUSTIFIED THIS FAILURE BY THE CLAIM THAT INTERNEES THEMSELVES HAD PROTESTED SUCH A MOVE AS VIOLATION OF THEIR PRIVACY. THERE ALSO HAVE BEEN RELIABLE REPORTS OF ARRESTS OF FORMER INTERNEES SHORTLY AFTER THIS INITIAL RELEASE, AS WELL AS MASS FOLDINGS OF EX-INTERNEES AND OTHER SUSPECTED REGIME OPPONENTS JUST PRIOR TO AUG 31 AND OTHER SENSITIVE OCCASIONS.

13. IT IS MOREOVER UNFORTUNATE THAT SO MUCH OF THE CONCERN ABOUT POLISH POLITICAL PRISONERS HAS FOCUSED ON THE CATEGORY OF INTERNEES, WHICH, WHATEVER ITS TRUE SIZE, PROBABLY CONSTITUTES ONLY A MINORITY OF THOSE CURRENTLY CONFINED IN CONNECTION WITH MARTIAL LAW OR OPPOSITION TO THE REGIME. ADDITIONALLY, SOME CHURCH COMMITTEES CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH PROGRAMS FOR EX-INTERNEES SAY THAT RELEASES ANNOUNCED UNDER VARIOUS AMNESTY/PAROLE PROGRAMS HAVE EITHER NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT OR HAVE ONLY PARTIALLY BEEN IMPLEMENTED. THOUSANDS HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONVICTED OF MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS BY SUMMARY MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TRIBUNALS, AND MANY OTHERS ARE UNDER ARREST AWAITING TRIAL. OVER 5,000 PEOPLE ALONE WERE ARRESTED OR DETAINED IN THE WAKE OF THE AUG 31 DISTURBANCES, ALTHOUGH SOME WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED. SENTENCES FOR

MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS HAVE BEEN SWIFT AND SEVERE. EVEN MINOR OFFENSES, SUCH AS PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTING UNDERGROUND NEWS BULLETINS, HAVE ENTAILED SENTENCES OF THREE TO FIVE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. THERE IS AN ADDITIONAL CATEGORY OF DETAINEES WHO ARE BEING "HELD WITHOUT CHARGE AT THE PLEASURE OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR." THIS STATUS IS SIMILAR TO INTERNMENT IN THAT IT INVOLVES CONTAINMENT WITHOUT CHARGE FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD, BUT IT ENTAILS MORE RESTRICTED VISITATION ACCESS. ALL ASSESSMENTS OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CURRENT POLITICAL PRISONERS REMAIN HIGHLY TENTATIVE, GIVEN THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO SHIFT CONFINEMENTS FROM ONE CATEGORY TO ANOTHER, ITS REPEATED REVISIONS OF THE NUMBERS INVOLVED, AND ITS MANIFEST REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WITH INDEPENDENT GROUPS TRYING TO COUNT THEM. IT IS PROBABLY SAFE TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT SEVERAL THOUSAND POLES REMAIN IN SOME FORM OF INVOLUNTARY CONFINEMENT DUE TO MARTIAL LAW.

14. (I.E.) DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL.

- THE DEMAND FOR LEGAL REFORM WAS WIDESPREAD AND INTENSE FROM AUGUST 1980 TO DECEMBER 1981. IN RESPONSE TO POPULAR PRESSURE FOR RECOGNIZABLE STANDARDS OF LEGALITY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE, THE NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS CALLED FOR "STRENGTHENING JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AS THE FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEE OF LEGALITY." SINCE IMPLEMENTATION OF MARTIAL LAW, HOWEVER, THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM HAS INCREASINGLY BECOME AN INSTRUMENT OF REGIME REPRESSION. THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED PRINCIPALLY BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUMMARY TRIBUNALS WHICH HAVE DISPENSED SWIFT AND SEVERE PENALTIES (NOT SUBJECT TO APPEAL) FOR BREACHES OF MARTIAL LAW.

15. IN THE EARLY DAYS OF MARTIAL LAW AT LEAST, THERE APPEARS

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TO HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE BY ATTORNEYS, JUDGES, AND EVEN PROSECUTORS, TO REGIME PRESSURES TO REDUCE THEIR INDEPENDENCE. IN EARLY JANUARY, CIVILIAN COURTS IN WARSAW ACQUITTED SIX WORKERS AND SUSPENDED THE SENTENCE OF A SEVENTH WHO WERE ACCUSED OF ORGANIZING STRIKES AT THE WARSAW STEEL MILL AND ZERAN AUTO PLANT. THE JUDGES ACCEPTED DEFENSE ARGUMENTS THAT THE PROTEST STRIKES WERE A SPONTANEOUS REACTION BY WORKERS TO THE PROCLAMATION OF MARTIAL LAW. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS INDICATIONS OF REGIME DISPLEASURE AT WHAT IT REGARDS AS OVERSCRUPULOUS CONCERN FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. IN LODZ, THE AUTHORITIES INTERNED ATTORNEYS DEFENDING THE ORGANIZERS OF STRIKES IN TEXTILE FACTORIES. IN KATOWICE AND BYTOM, JUDGES WERE FINED FOR REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN SUMMARY TRIBUNALS. DESPITE REGIME PRESSURES, SENTENCES FOR MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS HAVE OFTEN BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN WHAT THE PROSECUTION DEMANDED. IN MANY SUCH CASES, HOWEVER, STIFFER SENTENCES HAVE BEEN DECREED WHEN THE DECISIONS WERE REFERRED TO HIGHER AUTHORITY FOR REVIEW. THE CASE OF MATHEMATICIAN RYSZARD HERCZYNSKI IS A CASE IN POINT. THREE TIMES ARRESTED, HE HAS BEEN ACQUITTED BY APPEALS COURTS THREE TIMES. THE REGIME HAS NOW OBTAINED A FOURTH CONVICTION.

16. (1.F.) INVASION OF THE HOME.

- WARRANTLESS SEARCHES OF HOMES AND OFFICES, CONFISCATION OF PERSONAL DOCUMENTS AND PROPERTY, MONITORING OF TELEPHONES AND OTHER FORMS OF "BUGGING" -- ALL WERE STANDARD POLICE AND SECURITY SERVICE PRACTICE BEFORE MARTIAL LAW, ALTHOUGH PRIOR APPROVAL FROM THE APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES WAS THEORETICALLY REQUIRED BEFORE SUCH ACTIONS COULD BE TAKEN. THE PREAMBLE OF THE MARTIAL LAW DECREE, HOWEVER, ANNOUNCED "THE SUSPENSION OF RESTRICTION OF BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS DEFINED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, IN PARTICULAR: PERSONAL LIBERTY AND INVIOABILITY OF HOMES." WHATEVER LEGAL GROUNDS POLISH CITIZENS PREVIOUSLY HAD FOR CONTESTING GOVERNMENT INVASION OF THEIR PRIVACY WERE THEREFORE ABOLISHED. GIVEN THE ONGOING CAMPAIGN TO FERRET OUT AND CRUSH REAL AND PUTATIVE POLITICAL OPPONENTS, IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT THE SCALE OF SUCH POLICE ACTIONS SINCE DECEMBER HAS BEEN MASSIVE.

17. (SECTION 2.) RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS INCLUDING:

- (2.A.) FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS.

- THE MARTIAL LAW DECREE EXPLICITLY PROHIBITS "ALL FORMS OF PUBLICATION, PRINTING AND COPYING OF MATERIALS, AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE PROPER ORGANS OF AUTHORITY." THIS HAS DEALT A SHARP SETBACK TO POLAND'S PRE-MARTIAL LAW PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING INFORMATION PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. POLISH INFORMATION MEDIA FROM AUGUST 1980 TO DECEMBER 1981 PROVIDED RELATIVELY OPEN, FRANK AND LIVELY TREATMENT OF ISSUES, INCLUDING EXPLICIT CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT ACTIONS. ALMOST NO MAJOR EVENT WENT UNREPORTED, INCLUDING MANY WHICH WERE HIGHLY UNFLATTERING TO THE AUTHORITIES. MARTIAL LAW HAS MEANT TIGHT MILITARY/GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA, AND THE POLISH PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION HAVE RESUMED PRACTICES OFTEN RECALLING THE 1950'S. NEWS IS MENTIONED RATHER THAN REPORTED; PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OBSCURE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTIONS. RITUAL PHRASES, EXHORTATIONS AND POLEMICS PREDOMINATE. THE PLURALISM OF VIEWPOINTS, REGARD FOR FACTUAL ACCURACY AND CANDOR WHICH PREVIOUSLY CHARACTERIZED POLISH MEDIA HAVE LARGELY GIVEN WAY TO AN EFFORT TO PORTRAY A SOCIETY RETURN TO PEACE, ORDER AND HARMONY. A RELATIVELY OPEN DEBATE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES IS THE MAIN EXCEPTION TO THIS GLUT OF STUTTIFYING PROPAGANDA. VIRULENT TIRADES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND GROWING TRIBUTES TO THE SOVIET UNION ARE THE CHIEF ELEMENTS OF COVERAGE OF FOREIGN EVENTS.

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18. THE LIVELY, INFORMATIVE AND COMMERCIALY SUCCESSFUL SOLIDARNOSC WEEKLY NEWSPAPER HAS BEEN SHUT DOWN AS HAVE OTHER JOURNALS CONNECTED WITH SOLIDARNOSC.

RESPECTED CHURCH PERIODICALS, THE WEEKLY TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY AND THE MONTHLY WIEZ, HAVE HAD THEIR FIGHTS WITH THE CENSORS-- WINNING SOME AND LOSING SOME. THE MOST INFORMATIVE AND INTERESTING DOMESTICALLY PRODUCED SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT MARTIAL LAW POLAND HAVE BEEN CLANDESTINELY PRINTED FLYERS AND NEWS BULLETINS, THOUSANDS OF WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN ALMOST EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY SINCE DEC 1981. THE REGIME HAS MOUNTED A CONCERTED EFFORT TO STAMP OUT THESE UNDERGROUND PRESSES, AND HAS ROUTINELY IMPOSED JAIL SENTENCES OF THREE TO FIVE YEARS ON PERSONS CONVICTED OF PRODUCING OR DISTRIBUTING SUCH PUBLICATIONS.

19. MANY OF POLAND'S SIGNIFICANT MATHEMATICIANS (JANUSZ ONYSZKIEWICZ, RYSZARD HERCZYNSKI), HISTORIANS (BRONISLAW GEFEMEK, KAROL MODZELEWSKI), ECONOMISTS (GREGORZ PALKA) AND MEMBERS OF MOST OF THE LIBERAL PROFESSIONS ARE DETAINED. SOME OF THESE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, SOME HAVE BEEN INTERNED; OTHERS ARE AWAITING TRPAL. TAKEN COLLECTIVELY THEY REPRESENT, ALONG WITH UNION LEADERS LECH WALESA, ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA, JACEK MERKEL, JAN RULEWSKI, THE BEST BRAINS SOLIDARNOSC COULD TAP). ALSO UNDER ARREST AND NOW AWAITING TRIAL ARE THE TOP LEADERS OF KOR (WORKERS SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEE) INCLUDING JACEK KURON, JAN JOZEF LIPSKI, AND ADAM MICHNIK. WITH THE EXCEPTION F THE THREE LATTER MEN AND HERCZYNSKI (SEE NOTE ABOVE) NONE OF THESE DETAINEES HAS BEEN INTERNED FOR ANY ACTIONS HE MAY HAVE TAKEN. RATHER, ALL HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF THE "SUSPICION OF BECOMING A DANGER TO THE STATE." THEIR FATE, LIKE THAT OF THE THOUSANDS OF OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS IN POLAND, IS OF CONCER, SINCE THEY HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE DUE PROCESS OF LAW PREVAILING IN POLAND AT THE TIME THEY BECAME FAMOUS. THE REGIME CONTINUES TO TELL ITS READERS AND CITIZENS THAT THESE POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE A MENACE TO THE SECURITY OF THESTATE.

20. MARTIAL LAW HAS ALSO EVISCERATED THE POLISH MEDIA BY REMOVING MANY OF ITS LEADING FIGURES. A SYSTEM OF IDEOLOGICAL "VERIFICATION" LARGELY SILENCED THOSE WHO REMAINED AT THEIR JOBS AND WHO NOW PRODUCE A UNIFORM MEDIA LINE CONFIRMING TO THE MILITARY DICTATES. ACCORDING TO A KEY OFFICIAL OF THE DISSOLVED JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION, AND TO WESTERN PRESS REPORTS, MORE THAN 1,200 PRINT AND MEDIA JOURNALISTS HAVE LOST THEIR POSITIONS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL PURGE. IN LATE MARCH, THE AUTHORITIES GAVE THEIR BLESSING TO THE CREATION OF A NEW AND MORE MALLEABLE ORGANIZATION, THE ASSOCIATION OF JOURNALISTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. THIS DEVELOPMENT CULMINATED A LONG CAMPAIGN OF CRITICISM DIRECTED BY THE AUTHORITIES AT AN INCREASINGLY INDEPENDENT PRESS CORPS. IT ALSO DEMONSTRATED THE REGIME'S DETERMINATION TO ERADICATE ALL VESTIGES OF PUBLIC AUTONOMY AND REINFORMCE OFFICIAL DDMINANCE OVER PUBLIC LIFE. THE HEAD OF THE NEW ASSOCIATION ADMITTED TO WESTERN REPORTERS THAT AT LEAST 700 JOURNALISTS LOST THEIR JOBS BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION TO MARTAIL LAW ANDSTHAT 21 PUBLICATIONS/ WERE LCOSED PERMANENTLY.

21. THE AVAILABILITY OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS CONTINUES TO DECLINE. THIS IS BOTH A RESULT OF THE ONGOING POLITICAL CRACKDOWN AND THE LACK OF HARD CURRENCY. EVEN THE VERY LIMITED COPIES OF NEWSWEEK AND THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE ONCE AVAILABLE AT NEWSSTANDS ARE NO MORE TO BE FOUND, A PROCCES ALREADY WELL UNDER WAY BEFORE THE MARTIAL LAW. ASIDE FROM THE USIA PUBLICATION AMERYKA, NO OTHER AMERICAN PRODUCED BOOKS AND PERIODICALS ARE BEING SOLD. LIBRARIES, INCLUDING UNIVERSTITY LIBRARIES, HAVE FOR ALL

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INTENTS AND PURPOSES NO HARD-CURRENCY BUDGETS FOR THE PURCHASE OF NEW WESTERN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS. WESTERN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS ALREADY IN LIBRARY COLLECTIONS ARE STILL, WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, AVAILABLE TO USERS. HARD CURRENCY EXPENDITURE OUTSIDE OF POLAND IS SO CONTROLLED AND LIMITED THAT IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR AN INDIVIDUAL TO PURCHASE A SUBSCRIPTION TO A WESTERN PERIODICAL.

22. POLISH UNIVERSITY LIFE AND ACADEMIC INQUIRY HAVE A LONGSTANDING REPUTATION FOR INDEPENDENCE. IN THE MONTH PRECEDING MARTIAL LAW, MANY UNIVERSITIES WERE AT LEAST PARTIALLY PARALYZED BY STUDENT STRIKES WHICH REFLECTED IMPATIENCE WITH INTENTIONAL GOVERNMENT DELAYS IN ADOPTING A HIGHER EDUCATION BILL EMBODYING LONG AWAITED ACADEMIC REFORMS. POLISH UNIVERSITIES WERE CLOSED DEC 13 UPON THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW, AND MOST DID NOT REOPEN UNTIL FEBRUARY.

23. PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW, THERE WAS INCREASING REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTONOMY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION. SINCE THEN THE MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAS RESUMED CENTRAL DIRECTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY. THE EFFECTS OF RENEWED CENTRALIZATION, HOWEVER, ARE STILL VITIATED BY THE ABSENCE OF CLEAR, CONSISTENT POLICIES AND BY HAPHAZARD IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS. DESPITE THE CONTINUING LACK OF A CLEAR REGIME EDUCATIONAL POLICY, SEVERE RESTRICTIONS HAVE BEEN IMPOSED TO KEEP CAMPUSES UNDER TIGHT CONTROL. IN MOST UNIVERSITIES STUDENTS AND FACULTY MAY ONLY VISIT THE CAMPUS FOR CLASSES OR TO USE THE LIBRARY. THE THREAT OF EXPULSION FOLLOWED BY IMMEDIATE INDUCTION INTO THE MILITARY IS USED TO STIFLE STUDENT POLITICAL PROTESTS. MILITARY COMMISSARS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO OVERSEE THE OPERATION OF UNIVERSITIES. IN DEC 1981, ALL UNIVERSITY RECTORS HAD BEEN FREELY ELECTED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR UNIVERSITIES RATHER THAN IMPOSED FROM ABOVE. AS OF SEPT 1982, ONLY TWO ELECTED RECTORS WERE STILL IN PLACE. THE REST, WERE REMOVED BY REF. 3 043743 94 S3:433. ALTHOUGH A POLITICAL "VERIFICATION" PROCES HAS TAKEN PLACE ON CAMPUSES, ONLY A FEW UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTORS HAVE SO FAR BEEN FIRED. THE REGIME ELIMINATED MOST OF THE

CURRICULUM REFORMS IT AGREED TO IN FEBRUARY 1981. STUDENTS ARE AGAIN REQUIRED TO TAKE COURSES IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE, MARXISM-LENINISM, AND "MILITARY SCIENCE." IN MID-SEPTEMBER 1982, A DIRECTIVE FROM THE MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION (DATED MAY 1982) INSTRUCTED UNIVERSITIES TO RAISE REQUIRED CLASS HOURS AND REDUCE ELECTIVE COURSES.

24. (2.B.) FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION. - THE MARTIAL LAW DECREE EXPRESSLY BANNED "ALL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AND DEMONSTRATIONS WITHOUT PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORITIES, EXCEPT FOR RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS IN CHURCHES AND OTHER PLACES EXCLUSIVELY FOR THAT PURPOSE." SINCE DECEMBER, THERE HAVE BEEN COSMETIC "RELAXATIONS" OF THIS BAN TO PERMIT OFFICIALLY CONTROLLED CIVIC ACTION GROUPS TO MEET WITHOUT PRIOR AUTHORIZATION. THE REGIME HAS ALSO ALLOWED THE CHURCH TO CONDUCT RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS ON CERTAIN HOLIDAYS, AS WELL AS THE TRADITIONAL AUGUST PILGRIMAGE TO THE JASNA GORA MONASTERY BY OVER A HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE FROM ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS REPEATEDLY EMPLOYED MASSIVE AMOUNTS OF POLICE FORCE TO SUPPRESS STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHER OPEN MANIFESTATIONS OF POPULAR UNREST. ELITE INTERNAL SECURITY TROOPS AND ZOMO RIOT POLICE HAVE ROUTINELY USED TANKS, ARMORED CARS, WATER CANNON, TEAR GAS, CLUBS, AND, IN AT LEAST TWO DOCUMENTED INSTANCES, SMALL ARMS, TO CRUSH WHAT HAVE ALMOST ALWAYS BEEN NON-VIOLENT PROTEST ACTIONS. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, MANY MEMBERS OF ZOMO UNITS ARE CONVICTS PERFORMING "PATRIOTIC SERVICE"

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IN EXCHANGE FOR REDUCED SENTENCES. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED REPORTS OF CROWD VIOLENCE AGAINST POLICE DURING SOME DISTURBANCES, SUCH VIOLENCE HAS OCCURRED AFTER THE AUTHORITIES FORCIBLY SUPPRESSED ATTEMPTS TO HOLD PEACEFUL PROTEST ACTIONS. SYMPTOMATIC OF THE REGIME'S TREATMENT OF ITS CITIZENS WERE ZOMO ATTACKS WITH CLUBS, TEAR GAS AND WATER CANNON AGAINST CROWDS OF ELDERLY WOMEN WHO FAILED TO DISPERSE, PRAYING AND SINGING IN WARSAW'S VICTORY SQUARE NEXT TO A FLORAL CROSS CONSTRUCTED IN MEMORY OF THE LATE CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI.

25. THE MARTIAL LAW DECREE SUSPENDED THE OPERATIONS OF ALL TRADE UNIONS, BOTH THE OFFICIAL "BRANCH" UNIONS AND THE CLUSTER OF UNIONS COMPRISING SOLIDARNOSC. STIFF PRISON SENTENCES WERE MANDATED FOR PERSONS WHO PERSISTED IN TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW, PARTICULARLY FOR THOSE ORGANIZING AND PARTICIPATING IN STRIKES. ADDITIONALLY, WORKERS IN "MILITARIZED" ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO MILITARY DISCIPLINE. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE NORMALLY EMPLOYED A LESS DRASTIC -- BUT NEVERTHELESS HIGHLY EFFECTIVE -- METHOD OF STIFLING WORKER PROTESTS AND ELIMINATING SOLIDARNOSC ACTIVISTS AND SYMPATHIZERS FROM THE SHOP FLOOR. THIS IS THE SO-CALLED "WOLF TICKET" WHICH INVOLVES DISMISSAL FROM PRESENT EMPLOYMENT AND EFFECTIVE DENIAL OF FUTURE EMPLOYMENT IN ANY STATE-CONTROLLED SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY. SOMEONE DENIED WORK IN THIS MANNER MUST THEREFORE BECOME DEPENDENT ON THEREON BY WORKERS OF INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING UNIONS.

ITS MANIFEST PURPOSE WAS TO DEGALIZE SOLIDARNOSC AND PREVENT A SIMILAR MOVEMENT FROM EVERY EMERGING AGAIN. THE BILL NARROWLY RESTRICTS TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES TO MATTERS OF WAGES, WORKING CONDITIONS AND LIVING CONDITIONS. THE LEGISLATION BARS UNIONS FROM ATTEMPTING TO CHALLENGE GOVERNMENT POLICIES. IT OUTLINES PROCEDURES FOR COMPULSORY GOVERNMENT ARBITRATION OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT DISPUTES WHICH VERY SEVERELY LIMIT THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. THE BILL INITIALLY RESTRICTS UNIONS TO THE ENTERPRISE LEVEL (E.G. ONE UNION PER FACTORY) AND PROHIBITS THEM FROM HAVING THE KIND OF REGIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH ENABLED SOLIDARNOSC TO BECOME SO EFFECTIVE.

27. (2.C.) FREEDOM OF RELIGION

- DESPITE MARTIAL LAW, THERE IS STILL MORE FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN POLAND THAN IN ANY OTHER SOVIET BLOC COUNTRY. THERE IS, HOWEVER, REGIME PRESSURE ON THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO ENDORSE OFFICIAL POLICIES AND TO DISCOURAGE ITS MEMBERS FROM PARTICIPATION IN OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES. OFFICIAL PRESS COMMENTARIES HAVE ACCUSED SOME CLERGYMEN OF ENCOURAGING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNREST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NATIONAL PARTY NEWSPAPER TRYBUNA LUDU ATTACKED "PROVOCATIVE AND POLITICALLY INCITING ESTURES BY SOME REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CLERGY." IN MARCH, ONE PRIEST WAS ARRESTED AND SUBSEQUENTLY RECEIVED A THREE-AND-HALF YEAR PRISON SENTENCE IN KOSZALIN PROVINCE FOR ALLEGEDLY "PUBLICLY INSULTING AND DERIDING--THE RULING AUTHORITIES AND...SPREADING FALSE INFORMATION." IN OCTOBER, ANOTHER PRIEST WAS CONVICTED AND IMPRISONED FOR ALLEGEDLY CONCEALING THE MURDER WEAPON IN CONNECTION WITH THE SLAYING OF A POLICEMAN ON A WARSAW TRAM IN FEBRUARY. BISHOP TOKARCZUK HAS RECENTLY BEEN ASSAILED BY THE OFFICIAL PRESS FOR HIS CRITICISM OF OFFICIAL POLICIES IN A RECENT SERMON. IN HIS OCTOBER 9 SEJM ADDRESS P.M. JARUZELSKI DENOUNCED "POLITICAL CLERICALISM" AND "INSTIGATING VOICES FROM THE DARKEST PAGES OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION" AND WARNED THAT "THERE IS NO FUTURE FOR FANATISM IN POLAND."

28. POLAND'S SMALL PROTESTANT SECTS AND RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES CONTINUE TO OPERATE WITHOUT MAJOR GOVERNMENT OBSTRUCTIONS. THE SMALL JEWISH MINORITY MAINTAINS ITS TRADITIONS, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME POLISH

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OFFICIALS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO INCITE ANTI-SEMITIC ACTION AS PART OF THEIR CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT POLITICAL OPPONENTS. ANTI-SEMITIC SLURS HAVE OCCASIONALLY APPEARED IN PRESS ARTICLES ATTACKING PROMINENT FIGURES IN SOLIDARNOSC AND THE COMMITTEE FOR WORKERS' DEFENSE (KOR/KSS). THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY ISSUE OF THE LEADING SZCZECIN NEWSPAPER CARRIED AN ARTICLE WHICH ASSERTED THAT JEWS HAVE BEEN A SOURCE OF TROUBLE IN POLAND SINCE 1947 AND THAT JEWS OPERATING THROUGH KSS/KOR WERE TRYING TO TAKE OVER THE COUNTRY. THE JEWISH ANCESTRY OF KOR LEADERS ADAM MICHNIK AND KARL MODZELEWSKI WAS MENTIONED IN A DENIGRATING WAY. THE DECEMBER 17 AND 18, 1981, ISSUES OF TRYBUNA LUDU ACCUSED JACEK KURON AND BRONISLAW GEREMEK OF PRIOR INVOLVEMENT WITH "ZIONIST SABOTAGE CENTERS." THE ARMY NEWSPAPER ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON FEBRUARY 23, 1982, LINKED KOR WITH "ZIONIST MILIEUS SEEKING TO ANTAGONIZE POLISH SOCIETY."

29. (D.D.) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION AND REPATRIATION.

- THE MARTIAL LAW DECREE IMPOSED SEVERE RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL WITHIN POLAND. TRAVEL TO ANOTHER CITY FOR PERIODS LONGER THAN 48 HOURS REQUIRED ADVANCE APPROVAL BY THE AUTHORITIES AS WELL AS IMMEDIATE REGISTRATION WITH THE POLICE IN THE PLACE OF STAY. BY SPRING, HOWEVER, MOST OF THESE RESTRICTIONS HAD BEEN LIFTED AND POLES ENJOYED VIRTUALLY THE SAME DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT DOMESTICALLY WHICH HAD EXISTED PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW. MARTIAL LAW HAS BROUGHT LITTLE CHANGE IN POLISH POLICY WITH RESPECT TO LEGALLY AUTHORIZED EMIGRATION. IN GENERAL, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DISCOURAGES EMIGRATION, AND THE BASIS ON WHICH EMIGRATION PASSPORTS ARE ISSUED REMAINS UNCLEAR. ALTHOUGH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES OFFICIALLY CONTINUE TO ESPOUSE THE PRINCIPLE OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, A LARGE NUMBER OF UNRESOLVED REUNIFICATION CASES PERSIST BETWEEN THE U.S. AND POLAND. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS NORMALLY ENFORCED ITS EMIGRATION POLICIES SIMPLY BY DENYING PASSPORTS VALID FOR EMIGRATION, AND BY REQUIRING THOSE WHO DO RECEIVE THEM TO DIVEST THEMSELVES OF PROPERTY IN POLAND AND TO REPAY THE STATE FOR THE COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

30. A MORE DISTURBING ASPECT OF POLISH "EMIGRATION" POLICY SURFACED AFTER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MARTIAL LAW. IN EARLY MARCH, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED THAT MARTIAL LAW INTERNEES COULD APPLY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY PERMANENTLY ALONG WITH THEIR FAMILIES. ALTHOUGH ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THE SEVERAL THOUSAND INTERNEES AND EX-INTERNEES HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN OBTAINING EMIGRATION PASSPORTS, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE REGIME IS PRESSURING MANY PRESENT AND FORMER DETAINEES TO SEEK EXILE. ALTHOUGH A GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN REPORTEDLY TOLD FOREIGN JOURNALISTS THAT SUCH PEOPLE WOULD BE FREE TO RETURN TO POLAND WHENEVER THEY WISH, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE REGIME WOULD LIKE TO FORCE TROUBLESOME DETAINEES INTO EXILE IN THE WEST.

31. POLAND DOES NOT PREVENT THE RETURN OF ITS CITIZENS WHO ARE TEMPORARILY ABROAD, AND INDEED ENCOURAGES THEM TO RETAIN THEIR POLISH CITIZENSHIP EVEN AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN ABROAD FOR SEVERAL YEARS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS A LONG-STANDING PRACTICE OF PREVENTING OR DELAYING THE TRAVEL OF PEOPLE WITH IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING ABROAD WITHOUT OFFICIAL AUTHORIZATION.

- ALL POLISH PASSPORTS WERE INVALIDATED UPON THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW, AND WERE REVALIDATED ONLY IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES. IN MARCH, HOWEVER, PASSPORT RESTRICTIONS WERE RELAXED IN THE CASES OF ELDERLY AND DISABLED PERSONS AND THE "NON-PRODUCTIVE." A FURTHER EASING OF PASSPORT RESTRICTIONS OCCURRED IN JULY, AND WAS OSTENSIBLY INTENDED TO FACILITATE TRAVEL BY (1) THOSE VISING RELATIVES ABROAD; (2) THOSE INVOLVED IN INSTITUTIONAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND INTER-CITY EXCHANGES; AND (3) THOSE

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TRAVELING ABROAD FOR TRAINING AND EDUCATION. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WILL PERMIT CITIZENS TO TRAVEL ABROAD TO VISIT RELATIVES, PROVIDED THEY PROVIDE A WRITTEN GUARANTEE OF SUPPORT NOTARIZED BY A POLISH CONSULAR OFFICE ABROAD. THIS POLICY IS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE THE PERMANENT DEPARTURE FROM THE COUNTRY OF PERSONS WHO ARE A BURDEN ON THE ECONOMY. DESPITE THESE MEASURES, POLISH CITIZENS STILL ENCOUNTER EXTREME DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING PASSPORTS FOR TEMPORARY TRAVEL ABROAD. THE NUMBER OF POLES APPLYING FOR VISITS IN SEPTEMBER 1982, FOR EXAMPLE, DID NOT REACH THE LEVELS RECORDED IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN DECEMBER 1981. DURING NOVEMBER 1981, A DAILY AVERAGE OF 145 VISITOR VISA CASES WERE RECEIVED; DURING SEPTEMBER 1982, AN AVERAGE OF 35 PERSONS APPLIED FOR VISITORS' VISAS EACH DAY.

32. (2.E.) FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

SINCE ITS FOUNDING, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC HAS SOUGHT TO FOSTER AN ILLUSION OF MASS SUPPORT FOR ITS POLICIES BY MEANS OF OFFICIALLY-CONTROLLED ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PURPORTEDLY REPRESENT DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF POLISH SOCIETY. SOME LEADERS OF THESE FRONT ORGANIZATIONS HAVE COME FROM THE RANKS OF THE PARTY NOMENKLATURA. OTHERS ARE COOPTED NON-PARTY MEMBERS WHO HAVE TRADED THE REGIME'S OFFER OF PRESTIGE AND PERQUISITES FOR A PERMANENT DENIAL OF A CLAIM TO REAL POWER. FROM AUGUST 1980 TO DECEMBER 1981, HOWEVER, LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS EMERGED WHOSE LEADERS OWED THEIR POSITIONS TO THE SUPPORT

OF THE MEMBERSHIP RATHER THAN THE AUTHORITIES -- E.G., THE ASSOCIATION OF POLISH JOURNALISTS, THE INDEPENDENT STUDENTS' UNION, AND THE SOLIDARNOSC TRADE UNION MOVEMENT EMBRACING BOTH FACTORY WORKERS AND FARMERS. ACTING THROUGH THESE ORGANIZATIONS, CONSTITUENT GROUPS WERE ABLE TO LIMIT THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO MANIPULATE THEM AND, AT THE SAME TIME, TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE AUTHORITIES. THE REGIME IMPOSED MARTIAL LAW TO ROLL BACK THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH POPULAR PRESSURE AND TO DISMANTLE THESE NEW ELEMENTS OF POLISH NATIONAL LIFE WHICH CONSTITUTED SUCH A CLEAR THREAT TO THEIR POWER AND PRIVILEGES. THE OUTLAWING OF SOLIDARNOSC AND OTHER POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR MOST POLES TO IDENTIFY THEIR INTERESTS WITH THE EXISTING SYSTEM. THIS POSES A LONG-TERM THREAT TO THE REGIME'S HOLD ON POWER. A LACK OF WORKER MOTIVATION HAS IMPAIRED PRODUCTIVITY. THE LOWERED LIVING STANDARDS BOUND TO RESULT FROM THIS WILL LIKELY BE A SOURCE OF CONTINUING DISCONTENT. THE OFFICIAL SECURITY APPARATUS INTIMIDATES PEOPLE INTO SULLEN ACQUIESCENCE WHICH BUILDS A SMOULDERING HATRED THAT COULD FLARE INTO OPEN UNREST SHOULD THE REGIME'S GRIP EVER SLIP.

33. TO COUNTER THE GROWING ALIENATION OF ITS CITIZENRY, THE REGIME HAS ATTEMPTED TO REVITALIZE SEVERAL LONG-DISCREDITED FRONT GROUPS, INCLUDING THE PEASANTS' PARTY, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN, THE UNION OF POLISH SOCIALIST YOUTH, AND THE OFFICIAL VETERANS' ORGANIZATION. IT HAS ALSO FOSTERED INSTITUTIONS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR COORDINATING THE VARIED EFFORTS OF THESE REVITALIZED ORGANIZATIONS TOWARD THE OVERREACHING GOAL OF NATIONAL RENEWAL AND RECONCILIATION. IN DECEMBER "CITIZEN COMMITTEES FOR NATIONAL SALVATION" (OKON'S) BEGAN TO SET UP TO PROVIDE SUCH A FRAMEWORK AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. IN JULY, THE REGIME UNVEILED THE "PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL RENEWAL" (PRON.) WHICH IS MEANT TO PROVIDE SUCH A FRAMEWORK AT THE REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

34. ALTHOUGH PROM AND OKON GATHERINGS RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE PRESS ATTENTION, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT ANY OF THESE

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BODIES HAVE EVERY ACCOMPLISHED ANY SUBSTANTIVE TASK. THEIR REAL FUNCTION SEEMS TO BE TO PROVIDE AN APPROPRIATE FORUM AND SUITABLE APPLAUSE FOR POLICY STATEMENTS, AND TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION OF A GROUNDSWELL OF SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THE REGIME HAS SOMETIMES COMPARED THESE BODIES TO THE "FRONT OF NATIONAL UNITY," BY WHICH THE COMMUNISTS ELIMINATED RIVALS FOR POWER IN THE LATE 1940'S. THE VAST MAJORITY OF POLES EVIDENTLY REGARD THE PRON AND OKON'S WITH DERISION OR INDIFFERENCE.

35. PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW, THE SEJM (POLISH PARLIAMENT) BEGAN TO SHOW SIGNS OF FUNCTIONING AS AN INDEPENDENT AND REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATIVE BODY. SINCE MARTIAL LAW, HOWEVER, IT HAS SETTLED BACK INTO ITS ORDAINED ROLE OF PROVIDING CEREMONIAL ENDORSEMENT TO POLICIES DETERMINED BY HIGHER AUTHORITY. SYMBOLIC OF THIS CAPITULATION WAS THE SEJM'S ENDORSEMENT IN LATE JANUARY, WITH ONLY A HANDFUL OF DEPUTIES ABSTAINING OR VOTING AGAINST, OF JARUZELSKI'S IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. THE SEJM'S MOST IMPORTANT ACTION SINCE MARTIAL LAW WAS PASSING ON OCTOBER 8 THE REGIME-AUTHORED TRADE UNION LEGISLATION BANNING SOLIDARNOSC AND EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. THE SEJM DEPUTIES WERE NOW SHOWN THE ACTUAL TEXT OF THE BILL UNTIL THREE DAYS BEFORE THE MEASURE CAME UP FOR A VOTE. TEN DEPUTIES VOTED AGAINST THE BILL, AND NINE OTHERS ABSTAINED.

36. (SECTION 3) GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE AND RECORD REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DOES WHAT IT CAN TO OBSTRUCT THE INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN POLAND AND THEIR DISCUSSION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. IT HAS VIGOROUSLY OBJECTED TO DISCUSSIONS OF SUCH VIOLATIONS AT CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCES AS A BREACH OF THE FINAL ACT'S PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE. AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1981, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WIEJACZ AND OTHER POLISH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES OPPOSED DISCUSSION OF POLAND'S HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. A POLISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPRESENTATIVE SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED IN A U.S. EMBASSY WARSAW OFFICER TO DENOUNCE THE SECTION ON POLAND IN THE "TWELFTH SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT TO THE COMMISSION OF THE CSCE ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT" AS INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, SPECIFICALLY THE SOVIET UNION.

- THERE IS CONSIDERABLE QUESTION WHETHER THE ACT DELEGALIZING SOLIDARNOSC DOES NOT VIOLATE POLAND'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE ILO CONVENTION. THE GOVERNMENT HAS INSISTED IT IS IN FULL COMPLIANCE, BUT ADDED THAT ANY DIVERGENCES WILL BE ONLY TEMPORARY.

37. GROUPS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED LIMITED VISITS TO INTERNMENT CENTERS. DESPITE REPEATED REQUESTS, ICRC REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT PERSONS DETAINED AFTER DECEMBER 30, 1981, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT, PROPERLY SPEAKING, "INTERNEES." NOR HAVE THEY BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT ARRESTEES OR PERSONS CONVICTED OF MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS.

38. (SECTION 4.) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

- POLAND'S 1979 GNP PER CAPITA IN 1979 DOLLARS WAS \$3,830. DURING THE PAST YEAR THE POLISH ECONOMY CONTINUED TO PERFORM POORLY IN ALMOST ALL SECTORS. WHILE FOOD SUPPLIES REMAIN ABOVE SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, SUCH STAPLES AS FLOUR, MEAT, BUTTER AND SUGAR ARE ALL RATIONED. THE SHOE RATION IS ONE PAIR PER YEAR. THE RETAIL PRICE REFORMS WERE INSTITUTED IN FEBRUARY 1982, AND PRICES OF MOST FOODSTUFFS AND OTHER

CONSUMABLES HAVE INCREASED BY 300 TO 400 PERCENT. THE

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STEEP RISES IN PRICES HAVE SHORTENED LINES FOR CONSUMABLES, BUT HAVE NOT YET STIMULATED PRODUCTION SUFFICIENTLY TO MEET PENT-UP DEMAND. COMPENSATION GEARED TO INCOME LEVEL AND FAMILY SIZE HAS SOFTENED THE BLOW OF THE PRICE RISES FOR SOME PERSONS. INCREASES IN DISABILITY AND RETIREMENT PENSIONS HAVE PROVIDED ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE LOWEST INCOME GROUPS.

39. THE HOUSING SHORTAGE REMAINS A MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEM. THE AVERAGE WAIT FOR AN APARTMENT IS AROUND FIFTEEN YEARS. THE PRIORITY ACCORDED PERSONS WITH HARD CURRENCY AGGRAVATES INEQUITIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM. IN ADDITION TO HOUSING, MANY NECESSITIES ARE MORE EASILY OBTAINED BY THOSE WITH HARD CURRENCY, WHILE THE MASS OF PEOPLE MUST DO WITHOUT, OR WAIT FOR YEARS TO BUY WITH POLISH CURRENCY. HEALTH CARE IS FREE, BUT MEDICINE MUST BE PURCHASED AT STATE-RUN PHARMACIES, WHICH FREQUENTLY LACK DRUGS, MANY OF WHICH MUST BE IMPORTED FROM THE WEST. MOST DOMESTICALLY PRODUCED MEDICINES ARE ALSO IN SHORT SUPPLY. HOSPITAL FACILITIES ARE LIMITED AND OVERCROWDED. THE MEDICAL PROFESSION, HOWEVER, IS STAFFED BY WELL-TRAINED PHYSICIANS. THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE IN 1980 WAS 21.1 DEATHS PER 1000 BIRTHS. LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH IN 1980 WAS 71.6 YEARS. THE POPULATION GROWTH RATE IN 1980 WAS ONE PERCENT.

40. POLAND IS IN ITS FOURTH YEAR OF A PRECIPITATE DROP IN NATIONAL INCOME. POLAND SUFFERED A TWO PERCENT DECLINE IN 1979, FOUR PERCENT IN 1980, AND 13 PERCENT IN 1981. OFFICIAL FORECASTS PROJECT A SIX TO SEVEN PERCENT DECLINE IN NATIONAL INCOME FOR 1982, BUT UNOFFICIAL SOURCES SUGGEST THIS FIGURE MAY BE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THIS UNPRECEDENTED POST-WAR DECLINING RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, A MAJOR DEBATE IS CONTINUING ABOUT THE ALLOCATION OF SCARCE RESOURCES BETWEEN LONG-TERM INVESTMENT PROJECTS AND URGENT CONSUMER NEEDS.

- PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP IS WIDESPREAD IN POLAND, PARTICULARLY IN AGRICULTURE, WHERE IN 1979 75 PERCENT OF THE LAND WAS IN PRIVATE HANDS ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL STATISTICS. DURING THE PAST SPRING, THE POLISH PARLIAMENT PASSED A FARM BILL WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, PERMITTED INCREASED IN THE SIZE OF HOLDINGS AND CODIFIED RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE.

41. NOMINAL SALARY INCREASES OVER THE PAST YEAR, TOGETHER WITH COMPENSATION FOR PRICE HIKES, HAVE AVERAGED 40 PERCENT. THE REGIME HAS WITHDRAWN MANY OF THE CONCESSIONS IT MADE TO WORKERS BETWEEN AUG 1980 AND DEC 1981, MOST NOTABLY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND TO FORM UNIONS INDEPENDENT OF OFFICIAL CONTROL. THE SIX-DAY WORK WEEK, ABOLISHED IN 1980, HAS BEEN RESTORED IN THE MINING INDUSTRY AND OTHER MILITARIZED ENTERPRISES.

42. BASIC AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN POLAND IS UNIVERSAL AND FREE, BUT OF WIDELY VARYING QUALITY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THERE IS FOR EXAMPLE A MARKED DIFFERENCE IN THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION PROVIDED IN URBAN AND RURAL SCHOOLS. THE ADULT LITERACY RATE WAS 98 PERCENT IN 1976. THE PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE IN 1979 WAS 99 PERCENT. ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATION IS ON THE BASIS OF COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION, BUT INSTANCES OF POLITICAL FAVORITISM ARE STILL COMMON. THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY IS GENERALLY INFERIOR TO THAT OF MEN, BUT THERE ARE WIDE VARIATIONS DEPENDING ON THE TYPE OF WORK INVOLVED. RECENT GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION IMPROVING THE SALARIES AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF HEALTH SERVICE WAS MAINLY AN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE ABYSMAL STANDARDS OF MEDICAL CARE. BUT IT MAY ALSO HAVE PROVIDED A SLIGHT BOOST TO THE OVERALL PROFESSIONAL SITUATION OF WOMEN, WHO FILL A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF THE JOBS IN THIS SECTOR. WILGIS

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