

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

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WARSAW PACT: SOVIET-POLISH RELATIONS

The following information was extracted from DDIS message DTG 121153Z Jan 88. It has been transmitted to MNCs by the originator and to capitals (MFAs and MODs) under reference SITCEN 1302.

LAST WEEK THE NEW MEMBER OF THE POLISH POLITBUREAU, VICE-MARSHAL OF THE SEJM, M. RAKOWSKI VISITED THE SOVIET UNION. HE WAS INVITED BY THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET.
ON 8. JANUARY RAKOWSKI WAS RECEIVED BY A. GROMYKO, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET. ACCORDING TO TASS GROMYKO SAID THAT AFTER POLAND'S LIBERATION FROM FASCISM IN 1945 THE SOVIET UNION HAD DEMANDED THAT THE NEW STATE OF POLAND SHOULD BE FRIENDLY TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN THIS CONTEXT STALIN WAS CREDITED WITH THE HONOUR OF POLAND'S INCORPORATION IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AS HE HAD "FOUGHT AS A LION FOR POLAND REMAINING A SOCIALIST COUNTRY FRIENDLY TO THE SOVIET UNION AND NOT AN APPENDAGE TO THE WESTERN BLOC". ACCORDING TO GROMYKO POLAND'S GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION ON THE MAP THUS MAKES IT "PREDESTINED TO HAVE ONLY GOODNEIGHBOURLY AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION". FUTHERMORE, THE SOCIALIST POLAND IS THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THE "HOLY OF THE HOLIEST" OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. THUS THE SOCIALIST ROAD IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ROAD FOR POLAND, ACCORDING TO GROMYKO.
ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE GROMYKO FURTHER EXPRESSED AWARENESS OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF PRESENT-DAY POLAND AND KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN SUPPORTED FORCES OPPOSING ITS SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, GROMYKO STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION BELIEVES THAT "THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL FIND THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY AND THE WAYS OF CHECKING OUTSIDE INFLUENCE HOSTILE TO SOCIALISM". THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO INTENSION OF IMPOSING ON POLAND ANY RECIPES OF ACTIONS, BUT WILL ALWAYS BE PREPARED TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN REALATIONS, ABOVE ALL IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. GROMYKO CONCLUDED UNDERLINING THAT THE REALATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND ARE GOOD AND THAT "THE SOVIET-POLISH FRIENDSHIP IS SEALED WITH BLOOD OF OUR SOLDIERS, SPLIT IN THE JOINT STRUGGLE IN THE

This document consists of two pages.

N A T O R E S T R I C T E D

PA

YEARS OF THE PAST WAR''.

ACCORDING TO TASS THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN GROMYKO AND RAKOWSKI PASSED IN THE WARM AND FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE CHARACTERISTIC OF REALATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND.

ASSESSMENT:

GROMYKO'S STRONG UNDERLINING OF POLAND'S POSITION AS A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, OF SOCIALISM AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY OF DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE CALL TO THE POLISH PEOPLE TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND REBUFF THE WESTERN INFLUENCED OPPOSITION OCCUR AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVIET-POLISH REALATIONS HAVE BEEN IMPROVING.

HOWEVER, MOSCOW HAS TRADITIONALLY USED THE ELEMENTS, WICH GROMYKO NOW HAS UNDERLINED TO RAKOWSKI, WHEN IT HAS FOUND IT NECESSARY TO CALL FOR ALERTNESS AND VIGILANCE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. - THEREFORE GROMYKO'S STATEMENTS COULD INDICATE A BREAK WITH THE HITHERTO POSITIVE SOVIET ASSESSMENT OF THE POLISH SITUATION, PERHAPS PARTLY CAUSED BY THE UNSUCCESSFUL REFERENDUM HELD ON 29. NOVEMBER 1987.

HOWEVER, IT IS NOT VERY LIKELY THAT THE SOVIET ASSESSMENT OF THE POLISH DEVELOPMENT HAS SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED. WITH HIS STRONG

UNDERLINING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND CONDITIONS FOR THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF POLAND GROMYKO MIGHT HAVE WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SOVIET UNION SUPPORTS THE POLISH REFORM POLICY, BUT EXPECTS THAT THE REFORM POLICY WILL NOT DEVELOP IN A WAY WHERE IT CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS OR INDULGENCE.

IT IS ASSESSED THAT ALREADY NOW - IN THE BEGINNING OF 1988 - THE SOVIET UNION WANTS TO UNDERLINE THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS OF POLAND'S ROOM FOR POLITICAL MANOEUVRE AS 1988 PROBABLE ALSO SEEN FROM MOSCOW IS EXPECTED TO BE CRITICAL FOR POLAND BECAUSE OF PRICE RISES, THE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM AND FURTHER POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION.