

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

Reg. PA

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/ AUG 001/PMG ROME /221200Z/AUG 80.
SUBJECT: POLAND. SITUATION AT 21 AUG 80.

GIEREK'S SPEECH ON POLISH TELEVISION DIDN'T ADD MUCH TO WHAT BABIUCH SAID ON AUGUST 15. GIEREK SUBSTANTIALLY CONFIRMED THE PRECISE LIMITS THE GOVERNMENT POSES IN ITS DIALOGUE WITH THE STRIKING WORKERS, THAT IS: THE REFUSAL TO ANY EXCEEDING INTO POLITICAL MATTERS AND TO THE MANOEUVRE TO INCLUDE THE BASICAL REQUEST OF TRADE UNION FREEDOM RAISING THE PROBLEM OF THE SO CALLED "WORKERS SELF-GOVERNMENT". A TONE HARDENING HAS BEEN PERCEIVED AGAINST THE SOCIALIST OPPOSITION (IRRESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS AND ANARCHIST GROUPS) ALSO BY THE RUTHLESS RECALL TO THE FACT THAT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IS INDISSOLUBLY BOUND TO THE REASON OF STATE, THAT IS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND WITH THE NEW ORDER IN EUROPE CREATED AFTER WORLD WAR II AND THAT "THERE ARE LIMITS WHICH NO ONE CAN EXCEED".

EVEN THE RENEWED ADMONISHMENT TO KEEP UP INTERNAL ORDER IN PEACE CAN ONLY GIVE RISE TO A GRIMMING ECHO IN A COUNTRY WHERE ANCIENT REMEMBRANCES OF "RESTORED ORDER IN POLAND" BY RUSSIAN GENERALS ARE STILL VIVID.

THE REASONS FOR THIS HARDENING ARE VARIOUS. THE SPREADING OF THE STRIKES IN DANZIG AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "UNITARY COMMITTEE" HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN WORSENING THE SITUATION.

ANOTHER REASON WHICH AFFECTED THE HARDER BEHAVIOUR OF THE GOVERNMENT IS THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE STRIKERS CLAIMS (ABOLITION OF CENSORSHIP, PRESS FREEDOM) AS ALSO THE MORE AND MORE EVIDENT NATIONAL ANTISOVIET COMPONENT THOUGH UNDER THE COVER OF THE POPE'S IMAGE OR TO RECALLS OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF 14 AUGUST. IT MAY ALSO BE THAT GROWING SOVIET WORRIES COULD WEIGH ON GIEREK. BUT IT CAN'T BE EXCLUDED THAT GIEREK, HIMSELF ABANDONING HIS SELF-RESTRAINT AND SO DEEPLY PLEDGING HIS PRESTIGE, WANTED TO PLAY, HEAVILY, THE RUSSIAN CARD ON ONE SIDE AGAINST THOSE UPRISING TENDENCIES THAT ALTHOUGH BEING FULLY ORTHODOX CLAIM FOR MORE SPACE FOR POLISH NATIONAL PRIDE, ON THE OTHER SIDE AGAINST BABIUCH WHO WAS TRYING TO PUT HIMSELF IN A BETTER VIEW AND APPARENTLY WAS COMPLAINING FOR NOT RECEIVING ENOUGH SUPPORT. MANY PEOPLE THINK THAT THESE REPEATED RECALLS TO THE SOVIET CONTROL EXAGGERATE THE THREAT OF MOSCOW'S INTERVENTION AND ARE NOT AT ALL LIKED BY THE SOVIETS. BUT IT IS SURELY NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT IN POLAND, OR GENERALLY SPEAKING IN THE EAST, THIS THREAT COMES UP IN ORDER TO DEFEND PERSONAL POSITIONS. AS A MATTER OF FACT IN SPITE OF THE STRIKES AND GENERAL DISCONTENT, ONE HAS NOT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE COUNTRY COULD BE IN A PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION OR, AS IT HAPPENED FOR THE "PRAGUE'S SPRING", IN SUCH A SITUATION, TO JUSTIFY "ULTIMATE-RATIO"

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MOSCOW'S ARMED INTERVENTION.

GOVERNMENT'S FORCE ELEMENTS ARE AT PRESENT: - MOSCOW'S CONSTANT RELANCE TO GIEREK - A WESTERN ECONOMICAL SUPPORT ESPECIALLY THE ONE OF WESTERN EUROPE - GIEREK'S POSITION ACTING AS ARBITRATOR AND MODERATOR - THE LACK OF SOUND ALTERNATIVES IN ECONOMICAL POLICY - THE CHURCH'S DISCRETION WHICH REINFORCES THE SENSE OF REALITY AND RESPONSABILITY OF THE POPULATION.

FINALLY, IN SOME WAY AND DESPITE THE RECENT PROGRESSES OF SOCIALIST OPPOSITION, THE STILL EXISTING DISTANCE BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL AND THE NEW MIDDLE CLASSES ON ONE SIDE AND THE WORKERS MASSES ON THE OTHER.

THE WEAKNESSES RAISE FROM: - THE NEW TACTICS OF "NON VIOLENCE" RELYING ON THE PEACEFULL OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORIES AND ON THE ORDER SERVICE ASSURED BY THE WORKERS THAT MAKES REPRESSION MUCH MORE DIFFICULT EVEN IF THE PARTY PRESS WARNS AGAINST THE INCREASED ACTIVITY OF ANTISOCIALIST FORCES THREATENING THE SECURITY AND VITAL INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY - THE DANGER FOR MOSCOW COMING FROM A WIDENING OF THE POLISH INTERNAL AUTONOMY (TRADE UNION RIGHTS SHOW FOR EASTERN COUNTRIES A MUCH BIGGER CONTAGIOUS POSSIBILITY THAN THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM GRANTED TO CATHOLICISM OR TOLERANCE AWARDED TO THE POLITICAL DISSIDENCE IN POLAND).

AT SHORT TERM IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE FACTORS OF FORCE COULD PREVAIL AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO AVOID THAT THE PRESENT MOVEMENT OVERFLOWS THREATENING ITS STABILITY BY MAKING PRAGMATICAL CONCESSIONS TO SINGLE FACTORIES AND PROMISING REFORMS WHICH ANYWAY NEED WORK AND TIME.

AT LONG TERM IT LOOKS LIKE WEAKNESSES MAY GROW AND BRING POLAND INTO A DISEASE STATUS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT ONE OF THE MAJOR CHRONIC AND PERMANENT WEAKNESS ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AS IT WERE FOR THE CZARIST SYSTEM.

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