

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
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NADA/ASSESSMENT/DECOO1/JIC/042030Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

THE POLISH PUBLIC ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO A BARRAGE OF WARNINGS OF THE DANGER OF CHAOS AND ANARCHY IN THE COUNTRY AND ITS POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES. POLICY DECISIONS AND PERSONNEL CHANGES HAVE BROUGHT A NEW SENSE OF URGENCY AND DIRECTION INTO PARTY POLICY. THE EMPHASIS IS ON COEXISTING DISRUPTION WHILE PRESERVING THE ESSENTIALS OF THE POLICY OF MORE OPEN GOVERNMENT.

2. THE MILITARY SITUATION IN AND AROUND POLAND DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE UNDERGONE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE LAST FEW DAYS. PREPARATIONS ARE CONTINUING FOR BREZHNEV'S TRIP TO INDIA ON 8-12 DECEMBER. WE WOULD EXPECT TO SEE FURTHER MEASURES IF AN INVASION WERE IMMINENT, INCLUDING MOVEMENT OF STAFFS AND LOGISTIC SUPPORT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE WE COULD EXPECT A WARNING TIME OF 48 HOURS OR POSSIBLY LESS OF A SOVIET MILITARY MOVE INTO POLAND. TRAINING IN GSFG APPEARS TO BE NORMAL FOR THIS TIME OF YEAR. CONTRARY TO SOME REPORTS, EAST GERMAN TROOPS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE CONFINED TO BARRACKS; REPORTS THAT SOME EAST GERMAN RESERVISTS WERE BEING CALLED UP MAY REFER TO A REINFORCEMENT OF THE POLISH/GDR BORDER TROOPS FOLLOWING TRAVEL RESTRICTION RECENTLY IMPOSED. IN THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS, SOME MOBILISATION EXERCISES AND FIELD TRAINING CONTINUE, ALTHOUGH WE ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO THEIR EXTENT. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT OF OR CONCENTRATION OF FORCES ALONG THE POLISH BORDER. THE SITUATION IN THE POLISH ARMED FORCES IS ENTIRELY NORMAL.

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3. WARNINGS OF THE DANGERS OF DISRUPTION AND ANARCHY WERE CONTAINED IN MANY SPEECHES AT THE VII PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD ON 1-2 DECEMBER, IN ITS RESOLUTION AND, MOST INSISTENTLY, IN AN APPEAL ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 24 HOURS AFTER THE END OF THE PLENUM. THE LAST CLAIMED THAT DISTURBANCES WERE "BRINGING THE FATHERLAND TO THE POINT OF MORAL AND ECONOMIC DEVASTATION." AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE DEFENCE MINISTRY TOOK THE EXCEPTIONAL STEP OF EXPRESSING ANXIETY THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION THREATENED "SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE AS AN ENTITY" AND DISCUSSED THE TASK OF THE ARMED FORCES. WARSAW RADIO HAS ALSO REPEATED (THOUGH WITH ITS OWN GLOSS) WARNINGS AGAINST SOVIET INTERVENTION ISSUED BY WESTERN LEADERS. CUMULATIVELY, THESE MEASURES SEEM TO BE INTENDED TO CONVINCE POLES IN GENERAL AND UNION LEADERS AND DISSIDENTS IN PARTICULAR THAT POLAND IS IN MORTAL DANGER AND THAT IT WOULD NOT TAKE MUCH TO PRECIPITATE SOVIET INTERVENTION.

4. THE PLENUM WAS REPORTEDLY POSTPONED BECAUSE OF LACK OF AGREEMENT ON THE CONTENT OF KANIA'S REPORT. IN THE EVENT THIS TOOK A MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD LINE ON MOST ISSUES CURRENTLY IN DISPUTE. IT ENDORSED THE PROCESS OF "RENEWAL OF SOCIAL LIFE" WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPING OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS, IN THE TRADE UNIONS, THE YOUTH AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND ELSEWHERE, BUT ATTACKED ANY ATTEMPTS TO ABUSE THIS PROCESS. IT PLEDGED PARTY CO-OPERATION WITH SOLIDARNOSC SO LONG AS IT STUCK TO THE ROLE SPECIFIED IN ITS STATUTES AND DID NOT USURP THE POWERS OF THE STATE, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A MAJOR PARTY DOCUMENT ADOPTED THE LINE THAT SOLIDARNOSC HAD BEEN PENETRATED BY GROUPS LINKED WITH "CENTRES OF IMPERIALIST SUBVERSION" WHICH HAD COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PLANS. A LARGE PART OF THE REPORT CONSISTED OF A RALLYING-CRY FOR PARTY MEMBERS, A CALL FOR THE PARTY TO FULFIL ITS LEADING ROLE AND FOR ITS MEMBERS TO ADHERE MORE STRICTLY TO A PARTY LINE ONCE ADOPTED. A RESOLUTE STAND WAS PROMISED AGAINST THE EXTREMES OF CONSERVATIVE RESISTANCE TO THE NEW TRENDS IN SOCIETY AND "IDEOLOGICAL CAPITULATION". A COMPROMISE WAS REACHED ON THE HOLDING OF AN EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS; THIS WILL BE HELD, BUT NOT UNTIL MARCH-APRIL 1981. MEANWHILE NEW ELECTIONS TO LOWER PARTY ORGANS ARE TO BE PERMITTED BUT WILL NOT BE COMPULSORY, AND SECRET BALLOTS MAY, BUT NEED NOT, BE USED. MUCH STRESS WAS LAID ON THE NEED TO MAKE FULL USE OF THE TALENTS OF NON-PARTY MEMBERS IN THE RUNNING OF THE COUNTRY. PINKOWSKI'S REPORT CONTAINED GLOOMING WARNINGS ABOUT THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY.

5. THE CHANGES ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF THE PLENUM INVOLVED THE REMOVAL OF 4 MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO, INCLUDING A PARTY SECRETARY, AND THE ELECTION OF TWO NEW MEMBERS AND ONE NEW CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO AND A NEW PARTY SECRETARY. THE DISMISSALS REPRESENT A CLEARING OUT OF DISCREDITED GIEREK ASSOCIATES WHO HAD ALREADY LOST THEIR OTHER JOBS. WERBLAN AND KOWALCZYK COULD ALSO HAVE FALLEN FOUL OF MOCZAR IN THEIR PREVIOUS POSTS. WERBLAN HAS BEEN REPLACED AS PARTY SECRETARY FOR IDEOLOGY BY ROMAN NEY, AN ACADEMIC FROM CRACOW WITH LITTLE PARTY

EXPERIENCE AND A REPUTATION AS A LIBERAL. THE PROMOTIONS IN THE POLITBURO BRING IN THREE STRONG PERSONALITIES; MOCZAR, THE FORMER HARD-LINE SECURITY CHIEF WITH A REPUTATION FOR NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; GRABSKI, WHO FAVOURS MODEST REFORM IN THE ECONOMY COMBINED WITH ORDER AND DISCIPLINE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PARTY; AND, AS CANDIDATE MEMBER FISZBACK, THE GDANSK PARTY CHIEF WHO HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CHIEF SUPPORTERS OF THE FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

6. THE CHANGES SUGGEST A DESIRE TO MAKE A CLEAN BREAK WITH THE PAST AND TO FORM A MORE UNITED AND PURPOSEFUL LEADERSHIP. THE ADDITIONS WILL REINFORCE THOSE FAVOURING A STRONGER LINE ON LAW AND ORDER. MOCZAR, HAVING ADDED POLITBURO STATUS TO HIS JOBS AT THE HEAD OF THE WATCHDOG SUPREME CHAMBER OF CONTROL AND THE INFLUENTIAL VETERANS ORGANISATION, IS BECOMING A POWERFUL FIGURE. HE HAS BEEN AT PAINS TO ADOPT A MORE CONCILIATORY AND STATESMANLIKE TONE IN RECENT SPEECHES AND MAY HAVE HIS EYE ON THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT BEEN POPULAR IN MOSCOW IN THE PAST BECAUSE OF HIS NATIONALIST VIEWS, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT BE CONTENT TO SEE A STRONG SUPPORTER OF LAW AND ORDER AT THE TOP IN POLAND IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. HIS ELEVATION NOW MAY REASSURE THEM THAT ANARCHIC TENDENCIES WILL BE OPPOSED.

7. FOLLOWING THE PLENUM WE CAN EXPECT SOME TIGHTENING UP IN POLAND, A TREND WHICH WAS ALREADY BEGINNING TO BE EVIDENT WITHIN THE PARTY. A MORE ROBUST LINE IS NOW LIKELY TO BE TAKEN AGAINST STRIKES WHICH ARE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED OR CALLED WITHOUT PROPER NEGOTIATION. A CLOSE WATCH WILL BE KEPT ON THE RADICALS IN SOLIDARNOSC, AND WE MAY SEE A CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT SUCH PEOPLE AND POSSIBLY EVEN LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THEM. THE SAME APPLIES TO DISSIDENTS, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO CAN BE SHOWN TO HAVE DOUBTFUL WESTERN CONTACTS. UP TO NOW THE AUTHORITIES HAVE FELT UNABLE TO ACT AGAINST KOR LEADERS SINCE THEY ENJOY GREAT SUPPORT WITHIN SOLIDARNOSC, BUT THE NEW LEADERSHIP COULD DECIDE, WITH OR WITHOUT PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW, THAT THEY MUST TRY TO CURB THE ACTIVITIES OF DISSIDENTS. THIS WOULD CARRY THE RISK OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOLIDARNOSC. THE OTHER FLASHPOINT LOOMING UP IS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1970 RIOTS AND THE UNVEILING OF A COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT IN GDANSK ON 16 DECEMBER. GDANSK OFFICIALS FEAR THAT STRONG EMOTIONS COULD LEAD TO THE SITUATION GETTING OUT OF HAND AND KANIA IN HIS PLENUM REPORT WARNED AGAINST ANY URGE TO USE THE OCCASION TO "INFLAME FEELINGS OR GET REVENGE." THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENT SCHEDULED FOR MID-DECEMBER COULD ALSO PROVE TRICKY.

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8. WE DO NOT KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT THE PLENUM *RESULTS REFLECT* SOVIET WISHES. THE COMMITMENT TO FURTHER SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEMOCRATISATION IN THE PARTY IS LIKELY TO BE UNPALATABLE TO THE RUSSIANS BUT MAY BE REGARDED AS INEVITABLE IN THE LIGHT OF POPULAR FEELING IN POLAND. THE CLEAR TREND IN FAVOUR OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE LINE ON WESTERN SUBVERSION WILL BE SEEN AS MORE SATISFACTORY. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE REPORTED THE PERSONNEL CHANGES WITHOUT COMMENT AND REPORTED KANIA'S SPEECH AT LENGTH. THE SOVIET ACCOUNT DID NOT APPEAR TO HIDE THE BLEAKNESS OF KANIA'S ASSESSMENT, AND WILL HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF PROVIDING THE SOVIET PEOPLE WITH A FULL EXPOSITION OF CURRENT DIFFICULTIES IN POLAND AND HENCE OF THE CASE FOR INTERVENTION IF THAT PROVES NECESSARY.

9. DESPITE THE SURFACE CALM OF RECENT DAYS THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS SUGGEST THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP WAS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED AT ITS LOSS OF AUTHORITY AND INABILITY TO STEM THE TURMOIL IN THE COUNTRY. THE LEADERSHIP HAS NOW BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE REMOVAL OF SOME OPPONENTS OF THE POLICY OF CONSULTATION AND MORE OPEN GOVERNMENT AND BY THE ADDITION OF SOME MORE FORCEFUL PERSONALITIES. THE LEADERSHIP MAY JUDGE THAT BY NOW THE PUBLIC AT LARGE HAS HAD ENOUGH OF STRIKES AND DISORDER AND WILL SUPPORT ACTION AGAINST EXTREMISTS SO LONG AS THERE IS NO BACK-TRACKING ON MAJOR POLITICAL TRENDS. AT ANY EVENT THEY PROBABLY HAD LITTLE CHOICE SINCE MOSCOW MUST HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT FURTHER CONCESSIONS AND CONTINUED CHAOS WOULD LED TO ANARCHY, WHICH COULD NOT BE TOLERATED. THE MAINTENANCE OF SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION HAS NOT ONLY SERVED THE PRACTICAL PURPOSE, OF INCREASING MILITARY READINESS, BUT HAS ALSO HELPED TO KEEP UP THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON OPPOSITION ELEMENTS IN POLAND. MUCH WILL NOW DEPEND ON WHETHER THE MODERATES IN SOLID-ARNOSC CAN PERSUADE THE RADICALS TO CURB THEIR DEMANDS AND GIVE THE AUTHORITIES A BREATHING-SPACE, AND WHETHER THE REGIME FEELS IMPELLED TO TAKE ACTION WHICH WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER CONFRONTATION. THE SITUATION IS DELICATELY BALANCED. THE POLES MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN A FURTHER *CHANCE* TO PUT THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION; BUT THE RUSSIANS COULD DECIDE AT ANY MOMENT THAT TIME HAS RUN OUT.

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