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POLAND

1. THE WARSAW PACT SUMMIT AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF PRESSURE ON THE POLISH PEOPLE TO ACCEPT A HARDER-LINE POLICY DESIGNED TO RESTORE THE PARTY AUTHORITY IN THE COUNTRY. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN GIVEN A LAST CHANCE WHICH MIGHT PROVE SHORT LIVED TO ASSERT THE PARTYS AUTHORITY WITH THE THREAT OF INTERVENTION REMAINING IF IT FAILS.
2. THE SOVIET MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE CONTINUED TO IMPROVE THEIR GENERAL PREPAREDNESS TO INTERVENE IN

POLAND IF AND WHEN A DECISION IS TAKEN. BUT THERE IS NO SIGN THAT SUCH A DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN. WE STILL EXPECT A WARNING TIME OF 48 HOURS OR POSSIBLY LESS OF A SOVIET MILITARY MOVE INTO POLAND. THERE HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT OF TROOPS INTO THE TEMPORARY RESTRICTED AREAS IMPOSED LAST WEEK ALONG THE GDR/POLISH BORDER. A POSSIBLE WARSAW PACT EXERCISE IN THIS REGION MAY HAVE BEEN DELAYED BECAUSE OF POOR FLYING WEATHER.

3. THE MOSCOW MEETING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS (INCLUDING SOME DEFENCE AND INTERIOR MINISTERS) OF ALL 7 WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ON 4-5 DECEMBER MUST HAVE BEEN HELD TO IMPRESS ON THE POLES THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND WERE REGARDED BY ITS ALLIES AND TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DISCUSSION OF FUTURE POLISH POLICY. JUDGING BY THE COMMUNIQUE THE POLISH LEADERS GAINED PROVISIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE HARDER LINE ADOPTED AT THE VII PLENUM, PROBABLY ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE TREND TOWARDS MORE OPEN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO GO MUCH, IF ANY, FURTHER.

MORE OR LESS PRECISE COMMITMENTS OVER MOVES TO BE MADE IN THE NEXT STAGE MAY HAVE BEEN DEMANDED OF THE POLES. THEY WERE ALMOST CERTAINLY TOLD THAT IF THEY COULD NOT GET A GRIP ON THE SITUATION THE SOVIET UNION WOULD INTERVENE, PROBABLY WITH HELP, IF ONLY NOMINAL, FROM MOST OF THE OTHER ALLIES. (THE HUNGARIANS HAVE REPORTEDLY TOLD THE POLES THAT THEY WOULD BE OBLIGED TO TAKE PART.)

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4. THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IS DETERMINED, OR BEING OBLIGED, TO TAKE A HARDER LINE IS CLEAR FROM THE POLISH POLITBUREAU'S STATEMENT ON THE SUMMIT MEETING WHICH SPOKE NOT ONLY OF THE CONTINUING PROCESS OF RENEWAL BUT OF THE NEED FOR "RESOLUTE DEFENCE OF THAT RENEWAL FROM THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM WHO ARE CAUSING ANARCHY IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE AND ARE CREATING A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY THREAT." THE NEXT BIG PROBLEM FOR THE LEADERSHIP WILL BE TO TAKE ACTION TO COUNTER THIS ALLEGED THREAT WITHOUT PROVOKING A REACTION FROM THE WORKERS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO VIOLENCE AND PROBABLY EVENTUALLY TO OUTSIDE "ASSISTANCE". THE LEADERS OF SOLIDARNOSC HAVE DENIED THAT THE UNION IS SOWING

ANARCHY AND HAVE CONDEMNED WILD-CAT STRIKES AND CALLED FOR A SIX-WEEK MORATORIUM ON ALL STRIKES. THREATENED STRIKES HAVE BEEN CALLED OFF, A MARCH PLANNED FOR WARSAW ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1970 RIOTS HAS BEEN CANCELLED, AND AN APPEAL HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR CALM AT THE COMMEMORATION CEREMONY IN GDANSK ON 16 DECEMBER, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO ATTRACT ABOUT A MILLION PARTICIPANTS. THE SOLIDARNOSC LEADERSHIP SEEMS PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE MOMENT, AND TO THAT EXTENT THE RECENT PRESSURE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL. THERE WOULD BE A RISK OF CONFRONTATION HOWEVER IF THE REGIME DECIDE, EITHER ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE OR IN RESPONSE TO WARSAW PACT DEMANDS, TO ACT AGAINST SOLIDARNOSC MEMBERS OR DISSIDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNION. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN COLLECTING EVIDENCE AGAINST SUCH PEOPLE WHICH COULD BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR CHARGES AGAINST THEM.

5. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN GIVEN A LITTLE MORE TIME IN WHICH TO REASSERT ITS AUTHORITY AND GET THE SITUATION IN POLAND UNDER CONTROL.

THE EMPHASIS ON THE EXTERNAL THREAT HAS FOR THE MOMENT PRODUCED A MORE SUBDUED POPULACE AND UNION LEADERSHIP; BUT ASSERTIVE MOVES BY THE REGIME COULD UPSET THE FRAGILE CALM. THE WARSAW PACT SUMMIT HAS IN NO WAY REDUCED THE LIKELIHOOD OF MILITARY INTERVENTION AND WE EXPECT THE RUSSIANS TO MAINTAIN A HIGH LEVEL OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS FOR THIS EVENTUALITY.

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