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CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

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NATO SECRET

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/DECO06/JIC/152025Z

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC

POLAND - SECRET

1. POLITICAL TENSION WITHIN POLAND APPEARS TO HAVE DECLINED IN THE DAYS PRECEDING THE CEREMONIES IN GDANSK ON 16 DECEMBER, BUT THIS HAS NOT BEEN REFLECTED IN SOVIET MILITARY PREPARATIONS WHICH CONTINUE AT A HIGH LEVEL.
2. WITHIN POLAND THE POLITICAL AND CHURCH ORGANISATIONS HAVE BEEN MAKING A CONCERTED EFFORT TO SHOW UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ENCOURAGE CALM AND RESPONSIBILITY. THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES ISSUED A JOINT "DECLARATION ON CO-OPERATION" WHICH ENDORSES EMPHATICALLY POLAND'S ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION: THE NEED TO OVERCOME ALL OBSTACLES TO THE PROCESSES OF RENEWAL; AND SUPPORT FOR BOTH OLD AND NEW TRADE UNIONS. IN THE MOST DECISIVE MOVE BY THE CHURCH SINCE THE CRISIS BEGAN AN EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE ISSUED A SHARPLY-WORDED STATEMENT APPEALING FOR RESPONSIBILITY, PRUDENCE AND COURAGE IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD POLISH SOVEREIGNTY, ENDORSING ATTEMPTS AT A PROCESS OF RENEWAL; AND CALLING FOR AN END TO ACTIONS WHICH "MIGHT EXPOSE THE HOMELAND TO THE DANGER OF LOSING INDEPENDENCE AND STATEHOOD". AT A PRESS CONFERENCE A CHURCH SPOKESMAN SAID THE LAST COMMENT WAS AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT KOR AND THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT POLAND. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE CHURCH HAS CRITICISED DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES AND IT WILL CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE AUTHORITIES IF THEY DECIDE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST DISSIDENTS. THE ALACRITY WITH WHICH MOSCOW RADIO REPORTED THESE REMARKS SUGGESTS THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE UNDER PRESSURE TO TAKE SUCH ACTION DESPITE THE WARNINGS ISSUED LAST WEEK BY SOLIDARNOSC. THE REGIME REACTED CALMLY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOLIDARNOSC COMMITTEE TO DEFEND POLITICAL PRISONERS, MERELY STATING THAT IT WOULD GET NOWHERE WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIVIDUALS NAMED.
3. THIS CONCERTED ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE TEMPERATURE DOWN IS CLEARLY AN EFFORT TO SEE THAT TOMORROW'S UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT TO THOSE KILLED DURING THE 1970 RIOTS PASSES OFF PEACEFULLY. IT IS TO BE ATTENDED BY LEADING STATE, CHURCH AND UNION FIGURES, AND SOLIDARNOSC IS TO CARRY OUT MUCH OF THE POLICING WORK. EMOTIONS WILL RUN HIGH. THERE IS PRESSURE ON THE COAST FOR PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT OF THE OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE 1970 EVENTS, STRENGTHENED RECENTLY BY THE APPOINTMENT OF ONE OF THE OFFICIALS INVOLVED TO A KEY PARTY POST IN WARSAW. DESPITE APPEALS FOR THE

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EVENT TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN BACKWARD-LOOKING, A GOOD DEAL OF RECRIMINATION MAY WELL BE EXPRESSED. THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF PARTICULAR PREPARATIONS FOR THE OCCASION BY POLAND'S INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES AND THE AUTHORITIES ARE PROBABLY HOPING TO AVOID CONFRONTATION BY KEEPING A LOW POLICE PROFILE. THEIR REVERSAL OF AN EARLIER DECISION NOT TO LET WESTERN JOURNALISTS ATTEND THE MEETING REFLECTS SOME CONFIDENCE THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED. THE LEADERSHIP PROBABLY HOPE TO TURN THE OCCASION TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE BY DISTANCING THEMSELVES FROM THE PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP AND DEMONSTRATING UNITY OF PURPOSE WITH WORKERS AND CHURCH LEADERSHIP.

4. SOVIET COMMENT IN THE LAST FEW DAYS HAS INCLUDED AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF FAVOURABLE REFERENCES TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. THESE INCLUDE REPORTS OF NORMAL WORKING IN FACTORIES, WORKER SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY'S POLICIES, POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY SINCE THE VII PLAN, AND EVEN AN OBLIQUE FAVOURABLE REFERENCES TO SOLIDARNOSC. IN ADDITION THE SOVIET TRADE UNION LEADER HAS QUOTED LENIN IN DEFENCE OF THE ASSERTION THAT THE FUNCTIONS AND FORMS OF ACTIVITIES OF TRADE UNIONS INEVITABLY CHANGE WITH CIRCUMSTANCES. A SENIOR SOVIET PARTY OFFICIAL HAS FOR THE FIRST TIME DENIED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ANY INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ADDING THAT, UNLIKE THE AFGHANS, THE POLES HAD NOT REQUESTED SUCH INTERVENTION. AT THE SAME TIME THE SOVIET MEDIA ARE TAKING A NEW LINE, ALSO REFLECTED IN THE POLISH AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA,

WHICH TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE NATO COUNCIL MEETING AND STATEMENT LAST WEEK. THE LINE IS THAT NATO IS OPENLY INTERFERING IN POLISH AFFAIRS; IS TRYING TO DESTROY THE COHESION OF THE WARSAW PACT ALLIANCE; AND IS USING POLAND AS A PRETEXT FOR UNDERMINING DETENTE AND MAKING FURTHER MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

5. THE RUSSIANS CAN MAINTAIN THE PRESENT HIGH LEVEL OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS ALMOST INDEFINITELY WHILE THEY KEEP DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND UNDER CLOSE WATCH. THE GDANSK CEREMONIES ON 16 DECEMBER ARE THE IMMEDIATE POINT OF DANGER, BUT EVEN IF THESE PASS WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR DEMONSTRATIONS OF ANTI-SOVIET OR ANTI-COMMUNIST FEELINGS THERE ARE MANY ISSUES WHICH COULD GIVE RISE TO TROUBLE. THESE INCLUDE THE DEMANDS OF PRIVATE FARMERS, FOOD SHORTAGES, A SERIES OF DEADLINES FOR ACTION BY THE AUTHORITIES UNDER THE GDANSK AGREEMENT, AND IMPORTANT CONGRESSES OF POLITICAL PARTIES, YOUTH ORGANISATIONS AND WRITERS. EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS THAT AFTER A LULL DURING A CRITICAL PERIOD SOLIDARNOSC MAY MAKE FURTHER UNACCEPTABLE POLITICAL DEMANDS. THE THREAT TO POLAND HAS NOT DIMINISHED.

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