

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

Number: 87-92

Date : 30-12-80

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY

COPY.
EXEMPLAIRE.

N° 115

AS (80) IO9

PA
FM LONDON
TO AIG 6006
AIG 6007
BT

NADA/ASSESSMENT/DEC 009/JIC/301525Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

19-10-01

(Poland)

1. THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS SUPERFICIALLY CALM BUT UNDERLYING TENSIONS REMAIN.
2. THERE WAS NO SERIOUS TROUBLE OVER THE CHRISTMAS PERIOD DESPITE FOOD SHORTAGES. SUPPLIES WERE IMPROVED SOMEWHAT IN THE PRE-HOLIDAY PERIOD AND MEAT RATIONING WAS INTRODUCED IN SOME AREAS TO ENSURE A FAIRER DISTRIBUTION. THERE WERE TWO LOCAL PROTEST STRIKES BUT THESE WERE SETTLED FAIRLY QUICKLY WITH SOME CONCESSIONS OVER SUPPLIES. SHORTAGES ARE HOWEVER EXPECTED TO GET WORSE OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND COULD LEAD TO SERIOUS TROUBLE. RATIONING OF CERTAIN FOODS IS TO BE INTRODUCED IN FEBRUARY BUT THE FORM AND SCOPE OF THIS IS STILL THE SUBJECT OF DEBATE.
3. THE UNITED PEASANTS PARTY (ZSL) HELD ITS CONGRESS FROM 13 TO 15 DECEMBER. ALTHOUGH THIS DID NOT PRODUCE ANY DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS THE ZSL IS CLEARLY INTENT ON ADOPTING A MORE DISTINCT LINE OF ITS OWN WHILE MAINTAINING ITS TRADITIONAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE PUMP (COMMUNIST PARTY). ONE OF ITS AIMS IS TO ENSURE A HIGHER PRIORITY FOR AGRICULTURE AND MAKE IT MORE PROFITABLE. THERE ARE LIMITS HOWEVER TO HOW FAR IT CAN GO IN REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF PRIVATE FARMERS VIS-A-VIS THE REGIME. A NATIONAL CONGRESS OF "RURAL SOLIDARNOSC", WHICH DOES AIM TO REPRESENT PRIVATE FARMERS IN A GENUINELY INDEPENDENT MANNER, WAS HELD ON 14 DECEMBER. THE ORGANISATION CLAIMS OVER HALF A MILLION MEMBERS (OUT OF MORE THAN A MILLION PRIVATE FARMERS). THOUGH THIS MAY WELL BE AN EXAGGERATION. THE UNION'S DEMAND FOR REGISTRATION WAS TO BE HEARD BY THE SUPREME COURT ON 30 DECEMBER, HAVING BEEN REJECTED BY A LOWER COURT ON THE GROUNDS THAT PRIVATE FARMERS ARE NOT "EMPLOYEES" AND THEREFORE DO NOT QUALIFY TO FORM A TRADE UNION. HOWEVER THE SUPREME COURT POSTPONED A DECISION, OSTENSIBLY TO ALLOW TIME FOR INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO POLISH. NO NEW DATE HAS BEEN FIXED FOR THE HEARING. 2,000 FARMERS DEMONSTRATED OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM. THE REGIME IS IN SOMETHING OF A DILEMMA: IT CAN ILL

Document NOT to be removed
from file.

AFFORD TO ALIENATE THE FARMERS AT A TIME OF FOOD SHORTAGES, BUT IT MUST ALSO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE REACTIONS OF ITS ALLIES TO ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS.

4. THE FREE TRADE UNION ORGANISATION SOLIDARNOSC HAS TAKEN ACTION IN A NUMBER OF CONTENTIOUS AREAS. ITS COMMITTEE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES HAS ISSUED AN APPEAL FOR THE RELEASE OF 7 DISSIDENTS: BUT THE APPEAL WAS NOT BACKED UP BY ANY THREATS. SOLIDARNOSC HAS ALSO REJECTED GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF 2 FREE SATURDAYS PER MONTH NEXT YEAR AS A STEP TOWARDS ACHIEVEMENT OF A 5-DAY-WEEK OVER A PERIOD OF 5 YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ABANDONED EARLIER PLANS - WHICH AROUSED WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION - TO COMPENSATE FOR FREE SATURDAYS BY LENGTHENING THE WORKING DAY. SOLIDARNOSC MAINTAINS THAT THE GDANSK AGREEMENT STIPULATES THE INTRODUCTION OF A FIVE-DAY WEEK WITHOUT COMPENSATING ARRANGEMENTS. IT DOES NOT HOWEVER SPECIFY A TIME-SCALE FOR IMPLEMENTATION. THE UNION HAS CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE DISPUTE IS LIKELY TO BE ACRIMONIOUS AND PROTRACTED. THE IMMEDIATE INTRODUCTION OF A 5-DAY WEEK THROUGHOUT THE ECONOMY WOULD SERIOUSLY AFFECT OUTPUT, EXPORTS AND MARKET SUPPLIES.

5. RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH LEADERS AND SECTIONS OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT ARE STRAINED. THE WORKERS SELF-DEFENCE COMMITTEE (KOR) HAS PROTESTED AT THE CHURCH SPOKESMAN'S ALLEGATIONS THAT IT IS IRRESPONSIBLE. SOME ELEMENTS IN THE CHURCH ARE ALSO DISSATISFIED WITH ITS CURRENT OFFICIAL LINE, WHICH THEY SEE AS LEANING TOO FAR IN FAVOUR OF THE REGIME. A CHURCH SPOKESMAN HAS SINCE STATED THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO CAMPAIGN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES. KANIA HAS MADE HIS SHARPEST ATTACK ON KOR TO DATE, ALLEGING THAT ITS MEMBERS "PROCLAIM OPINIONS WHICH NOT ONLY DO NOT SERVE STABILISATION BUT ARE DIRECTED AGAINST THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF SOCIALIST POLAND". ONE DISSIDENT CLAIMED DURING A VISIT TO LONDON THAT THE AUTHORITIES WERE PLANNING TO ACT AGAINST DISSIDENTS OVER THE HOLIDAY PERIOD. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED SO FAR, BUT THE REGIME ARE PROBABLY UNDER CONSIDERABLY PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW TO DO SOMETHING OF THIS KIND. ARRESTS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD TO PROTEST ACTION BY SOLIDARNOSC.

6. POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER CZYREK VISITED MOSCOW ON 25-26 DECEMBER AND WAS RECEIVED BY BREZHNEV. THE VISIT MAY HAVE BEEN USED BY THE RUSSIANS TO REMIND THE POLES OF THE COMMITMENTS THEY MADE AT THE WARSAW PACT SUMMIT AND TO SEEK A REPORT ON PROGRESS MADE. BREZHNEV IS REPORTED IN THE SOVIET PRESS TO HAVE WISHED THE POLES SUCCESS IN "RAPIDLY" OVERCOMING THE DIFFICULTIES "ON THE PATH OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT", WHICH SUGGESTS THAT SOME FAIRLY SWIFT ACTION IS REQUIRED. DEPUTY PREMIER JAGIELSKI IS CURRENTLY IN MOSCOW FOR ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS. PRAVDA ON 26 DECEMBER PUBLISHED ITS FIRST ARTICLE FOR SOME TIME ON TRADE UNIONS, A RATHER LAME DEFENCE OF THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY. WHILE ASSERTING

DECLASSIFIED - PUBLIC DISCLOSURE / DÉCLASSIFIÉ - MISE EN LECTURE PUBLIQUE

THAT THERE COULD BE NO RIGID PATTERN FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES IN PRACTICAL CONDITIONS AND THE STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION REACHED, THE ARTICLE ALSO CLAIMED THAT IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY THERE ARE NO SOCIAL GROUNDS FOR POLITICAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE; TRADE UNIONS HAD NO NEED TO STRIKE TO DEFEND WORKERS' INTERESTS; STRIKES PLAYED INTO THE HANDS OF ANTI-SOCIALIST ELEMENTS; DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WAS AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE IN TRADE UNION STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES; AND IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TRADE UNIONS "ALWAYS" WORKED UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. ALL THIS UNDERLINES THE DEEP DISTASTE THE RUSSIANS FEEL FOR TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, BUT DOES NOT MAKE IT CLEAR HOW MUCH DEVIATION FROM THE IDEAL IS TOLERABLE TO MOSCOW. OTHER SOVIET (AND POLISH) COMMENT CONTINUES TO ALLEGE THAT THE WEST IS TRYING TO SUBVERT POLAND AND DRIVE WEDGES BETWEEN IT AND ITS ALLIES, AND TO USE POLAND AS A PRETEXT TO UNDERMINE DETENTE AND STEP UP THE ARMS RACE. THE PETROV ARTICLE IN PRAVDA ON 18 DECEMBER WENT SOMEWHAT BEYOND THIS FORMULA, WITH A REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ANARCHY AND CHAOS IN POLAND AND CLEAR OVERTONES OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.

7. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP WILL BE RELIEVED IF THE HOLIDAY SEASON PASSES WITHOUT TROUBLE. HOWEVER, FOOD SUPPLIES ARE EXPECTED TO DETERIORATE FURTHER, THE END OF THE YEAR MARKS THE DEADLINE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF MANY OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENT, AND SOLIDARNOSC'S MORATORIUM ON STRIKES EXPIRES IN MID-JANUARY. IN ADDITION THE REGIME MUST SOONER OR LATER MAKE A NUMBER OF UNPALATABLE AND POTENTIALLY TROUBLESOME DECISIONS; ON ACTION AGAINST DISSIDENTS, ON THE FARMERS, ON THE NEW TRADE UNION AND CENSORSHIP LAWS, ON PRICES, WORKING HOURS AND OTHER ECONOMIC MATTERS, AND ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS SCHEDULED FOR THE END OF MARCH. IN ALL THESE IT MUST TRY TO RECONCILE CONFLICTING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES. ALTHOUGH SOVIET INTERVENTION DOES NOT APPEAR IMMINENT, SOVIET FORCES REMAIN IN A HIGH STATE OF PREPAREDNESS.

BT